

Imprimatur,

White-hall,
June 4. 1664.

WILL. MORICE.

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THE
TRAVELS
OF
Sig. Pietro della Valle,
A Noble ROMAN,
INTO
EAST-INDIA
AND
Arabia Deserta.

In which, the several Countries, together with the
Customs, Manners, Traffique, and Rites both
Religious and Civil, of those Oriental Princes
and Nations, are faithfully Described :

In Familiar Letters to his Friend

Signior *MARIO SCHIPANO*.

Whereunto is Added

A Relation of Sir *THOMAS ROE*'s Voyage
into the *EAST-INDIES*.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *J. Macock*, for *John Place*, and are to be sold at his
Shop at *Furnivals-Inn-Gate* in *Holborn*. 1665.

THE
SIXTH

AND

ALPHABET

in which the Roman
Catholic, Protestant,
Religious and
and various

and various

and various

and various



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
ROGER

Earl of ORRERY, &c.

My Lord,

IT is not more commonly then truly observ'd, That the Preeminence of Excellent Things is universally attended with a proportionable Result of Benefit to those of Inferior Degree: And the same may with equal verity be affirm'd of the Glory of Great Personages. Your Names serve, not onely to distinguish you, or, by the Addition of Titles, to give you higher rank in the State; but, like the Sun communicating Light and Life together, they animate and beautifie what-ever is irradiated by them. Which general Consideration, though it could not give me any particular Right, yet it may in some sort warrant the suitability of dedicating this Transcript to your Lordship's Name; A Name, which besides

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

having been able to revive and support a long-depressed Interest in a Considerable Kingdom, is so highly celebrated upon the account of other Performances, as scarce to find a Parallel among those of your own, or any other Orb. Nor is it a little ground of Confidence to me, that what I present is neither wholly my own in any sort, nor any of it otherwise then as an Interpreter; nor (lastly) one of those refined Pieces of Invention, which while your Protection is implored, do with all solicite your judgment; But of that kind of Writings, which containing Descriptions of Countries and their Customs, can onely please by the Variety of the Relations, and the Veracity of the Relator. He, whom I have interpreted, was a Noble Roman, (Persons of which Quality, as they have greater Curiosity, so they have far more Advantages in reference to making of Observations in Forreign Countries, than they whose chief business is Traffick) and was carried onely by his own curious Genius into those Oriental parts of the World, whereof he here gives an Account; which is so full of delightful Variety, and considerable Remarks, that as after his Return his Person was dignifi'd with an Honourable Office in the Court of his own Prince; so, since his Death, his Travels have no less happily travell'd, and been naturaliz'd in some other Languages.

The other Piece hath been judg'd fit to be adjoyned, as one of the Exactest Relations of the

The Epistle Dedicatory

the Eastern parts of the World that hitherto hath been publish'd by any Writer, either Domestick or Forreign ; having been penn'd by one that attended Sir *Thomas Roe* in his Embassy to the Great *Mogol* : Than whom, 'tis acknowledg'd by one of that Country that trades most into those parts , none ever gave a more faithful Account thereof. It remains onely, that, as by this action I have (though with all the Modesty that becomes me) assum'd an Interest in a Great Name , so I also testify the Honour and Veneration I bear to Great Worth and Rare Accomplishments ; which I shall do summarily (and yet in the utmost importance of the words) by professing my self,

*Inter eos qui
relationes su-
as de hoc
Regno (sc.
M. Mogolis)
prodiderunt,
facile fide &
dignatione
princeps est
Thomas
Roeus, Mag-
Britanniae
Regis ad su-
periores In-
dia Regem
Legatus.
Saith John
de Laet.*

My Lord,

*Your Lordships in all Humble
Respect and Observance,*

G. Havers.

P. Scipionis Sgambati è Societate Jesu,
PETRO à VALLE PATRICIO Romano,
Ob cineres Conjugis ex *ASIA* reventos.

Æ Neadum soboles Albani sanguinis hares,
Æneæ proavi quàm bene facta refers !
Ille senem ex Asia fertur vexisse parentem ;

Ex Asia conjux est tibi ducta comes.

Par utrique fides esset, nisi quòd tua major

Est pietas, Italùm gloria VALLIADE.

Ille senem extinctum Siculâ tellure reliquit ;

Tu Romam extinctæ conjugis ossa vehis.

THE
TRAVELS
OF
Peter Della Valle,
Surnamed
The Traveller.

Containing a DESCRIPTION of the
EAST-INDIES, &c.

LETTER I.

From Surât, March 22. Anno 1623.



IN the beginning of this year, at my departure from *Persia*, I writ last to you from aboard the Ship call'd the *Whale*, in which I was newly embarqu'd upon the coasts of that Country, and had not yet begun my Voyage. Since which time having sail'd over a good part of the Ocean, arriv'd at the famous Countries of *India*, travell'd and view'd no inconsiderable portion thereof; by conveniency of the same Ship which brought me hither, and is ready to set sail speedily towards *Muchà* in the Arabian Gulph, (and the rather for that a German Gentleman a friend of mine is embarqu'd in her, with an intention to travel from thence, in case he can get passage, to see *Æthiopia*;) with this Letter (which I recommend to him to get transmitted into *Italy*, if possible, from those Ports of the Red Sea, or by the way of *Cairo*, where

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they

I.

they trade, or by some other conveyance) I come again to give you an Account of my Adventures, and the Curiosities which have hitherto afforded delicious repast to my alwayes hungry Intellect. To begin therefore: Upon *Thursday* the 19 of *January*, having dispatch'd and taken order for what was needful, a little before day, after the discharge of some Guns, as 'tis the custome at going off from any Coast, we began leisurely to display our sails, moving but slowly, because we waited for the ship-boat which was still at shore; upon whose return we unfolded all our Canvase, and though with a small gale, directed our course between the Islands of *Ormuz* and *Kesom*, passing on the outer side of *Ormuz* next *Arabia*, in regard the shallowness of the Channel towards *Persia* afforded not water enough for such great Ships as ours. We were in company only two English Ships, namely, the *Whale*, which was the Captain-ship, (in which I was embarqu'd) commanded by Captain *Nicholas Woodcock*, and another call'd the *Dolphin*, which had for Captain, Master *Matthew Willis*. At noon, being near *Lareck*, and no wind stirring, we cast Anchor without falling our sails, and our Captain sent his long boat a shore to *Lareck*, with two Grey-hounds which the English of *Combrà* had given him, to catch what game they could light upon. Towards night we set sail again; but though the wind somewhat increas'd, yet because the boat was not return'd we struck sail a little, and staid for it, discharging also several musket-shots, to the end those that were in it might hear and see where we were: And because 'twas one a clock in the night, and the Boat was not yet come, we doubted some disaster might have befalln it, in regard of the multitude of those Arabian Thieves call'd *Nouteks*, which rob upon that Sea, and frequently reside in this Island of *Lareck*: Yet at length it return'd safe and sound, and brought us abundance of Goats; whereupon we again spread our sails freely to the wind, which was pretty stiff, although not much favourable to our course. However, we went onwards, plying from the coast of *Arabia* to that of *Persia*; and on Saturday morning, as we drew near the Arabian shore, we saw three small Islands, situate near one another, and not far from a certain Cape, the name of which, and the Islands, they could not tell me, so as that I might set it down truly; whereby I perceiv'd how it comes to pass that many names of places in these parts are very corruptly written in Geographical Charts; for in the Countries themselves, where commerce is had for the most part with rude and ignorant people, few of them know how to pronounce the same aright. On Sunday we went from our Ship to recreate our selves in the *Dolphin*, our companion, where the Captain entertain'd us liberally all day. In the mean time we had a good fresh gale, and sailing directly in the middle of the gulf, we beheld both the coasts of *Arabia Felix* and *Persia*; and in the latter discern'd a famous white Rock, which standing in the midst of a low

low sandy shore, looks like a little hill made by hand. We pass'd the Cape, which they call in Persian *Com barick*, that is, small sand; and the next night we left behind us the point or peak of *Giasck*. On Monday, the Sea being calm, the Captain and I were standing upon the deck of our ship, discoursing of sundry matters; and he took occasion to shew me a piece of a Horn which he told me himself had found in the year 1611. in a Northern Country, whither he then sail'd, which they call *Greenland*, lying in the latitude of seventy six degrees. He related how he found this horn in the earth, being probably the horn of some Animal dead there; and that when it was intire it was between five and six feet long, and seven inches in circumference at the root, where it was thickest. The piece which I saw (for the horn was broken, and sold by pieces in several places) was something more then half a span long, and little less then five inches thick; the colour of it was white, inclining to yellow, like that of Ivory when it is old; it was hollow and smooth within, but wreath'd on the outside. The Captain saw not the Animal, nor knew whether it were of the land or the sea; for according to the place where he found it, it might be as well one as the other: but he believ'd, for certain, that it was of a Unicorn; both because the experience of its being good against poyson argu'd so much, and for that the signes attributed by Authors to the Unicorn's horn agreed also to this, as he conceiv'd. But herein I dissent from him; inasmuch as, if I remember aright, the horn of the Unicorn, whom the Greeks call'd *Monoceros*, is by *Pliny* describ'd black, and not white. The Captain added that it was a report, that Unicorns are found in certain Northern parts of *America*, not far from that Country of *Greenland*; and so not unlikely but that there might be some also in *Greenland*, a neighbouring Country, and not yet known whether it be Continent or Island; and that they might sometimes come thither from the contiguous lands of *America*, in case it be no Island. This Country of *Greenland* is of late discovery; and the first Christian that discover'd it, or went thither, was this Captain *Woodcock*, in the year above-mention'd; and he gave it the name of *Greenland* upon this account, because whereas the other Northern Countries thereabouts are destitute of grass, (whence the white Bears and Wolves which inhabit them live upon dead Whales and other like things) he found this green and full of Grass, although it be always cover'd over with Snow; so that when the Animals there mind to feed, they hollow the snow with their feet, and easily find the grass which is kept continually fresh under the same. The English now yearly sail thither, where they take abundance of Whales; and some so vast, that when they open the mouth, the wideness is above three Geometrical paces, or fifteen foot over. Of these Whales the English make Oyle, drawing it onely out of the fat of their paunch; and they make such plenty, that out of one single

Whale, they say, they often get 19, 20, and 21, Tun of Oyl. This *Greenland*, by what Captain *Woodcock* saw, who discover'd it, from the end of seventy six degrees, to seventy eight and a half, (the cold not suffering him to go further) was uninhabited; he not having found any person there but only wild beasts of many sorts. The Company of the *Greenland* Merchants of *England* had the horn which he found, because Captains of ships are their stipendiaries, and, besides their salary, must make no other profit of their Voyages; but whatever they gain or find, in case it be known, and they conceal it not, all accrues to the Company that employes them. When the Horn was intire, it was sent to *Constantinople* to be sold, where two thousand pounds Sterling was offer'd for it: But the English Company hoping to get a greater rate sold it not at *Constantinople*, but sent it into *Muscovy*, where much about the same price was bidden for it; which being refus'd, it was carry'd back into *Turkey*, and fell of its value; a much less sum being now proffer'd then before. Hereupon the Company conceiv'd, that it would sell more easily in pieces, then intire; because few could be found who would purchase it at so great a rate. Accordingly they broke it, and it was sold by pieces in sundry places; yet for all this, the whole proceed amounted onely to about twelve hundred pounds Sterling. And of these pieces they gave one to the Captain who found it, and this was it which he shew'd me.

II.

On the 25. of *January*, sailing in the main Sea with the prow of the Ship South East and by East; and, as I conceive, at a good distance from the Country of *Macran*, (which I conjecture to be part either of the ancient *Caramania*, or else of *Gedrosia*, and at this day having a Prince of its own, lyes upon the Sea Coast between the States of the *Persian* and those of the *Moghol*) we discern'd behind us three or four Ships which seem'd to be Frigots or Galliot, but towards Evening we lost sight of them. The same day, and the other before, began to be seen in the Sea abundance of certain things, which I took to be Snakes, or at least fishes in the form of Snakes, being exactly of the form of large Eeles, long and round, and according to the motion of the water seem'd crooked as they floated along the Sea. Nevertheless demanding of intelligent persons what they were, I understood that they were neither those Animals, nor yet living things, but onely a kind of excrement of the Sea in that shape, void of all motion, saving what the agitated water gave it; although by reason of the motion of the ship they seem'd to move contrary to us, whilst we saw them left behind. And they told me, that the nearer we came to *India*, we should see more of these things. The next Evening, our Captain, who was a little more merry then ordinary, (because, the Captain of the *Dolphin* dining with us that day, he had drank pretty freely in conversation) discoursing with me, as he was wont, after Supper, spoke very frankly to me concerning their affairs of *Ormuz*: In conclusion

sion he told me, that their Treaty with the *Persians* stood thus; That if they would deliver to the English the Fortrefs of *Ormuz*, with half the revenues of the Custom-house and the City, as they desir'd from the beginning; then the English would people *Ormuz*, and restore the trade as formerly, keeping the same continually open with *Persia*; and that for this purpose, and also for guarding that Sea against the *Portugals* and other Enemies, they would keep four ships in *Ormuz*. That when this were agreed upon, the English would transport a good number of people from *England*, and whole Families with Wives and Children, to dwell in *Ormuz*, as the *Portugals* did before: and then they would prosecute the War against the *Portugals* at *Maschat*, and every where else. But if these things were not agreed to, they would make War no longer against the *Portugals*; nor car'd they for the Traffick of *Persia* upon other terms. Now should these Treaties take effect, they would in no wise be advantagious for the Catholick Religion; and were there no more to be fear'd, the *Portugals* would thereby be for ever excluded from recovering *Ormuz*; yea, all the rest which they possess in those parts would be in great danger. *Imanculi Beig*, who was General of the *Persians* in the late Wars, and with whom the English treated in *Combrù* concerning this affair, Captain *Woodcock* said, inclin'd to the bargain; but it was not known what the *Chan* of *Sciraz*, and (which is more important) the King would do. On one side, I know, the *Persians* insisted much upon having *Ormuz* wholly to themselves; accounting it a small matter to have gain'd, with so much War, and loss of men, onely the half, or rather less than half, the Fortrefs being deducted which the English demanded for themselves; so that the *Persians* would have but the same interest there as the King of *Ormuz* had with the *Portugals*, and no more. They conceive also, that they have done little, and perhaps ill, should they make no greater acquisition, in having onely chang'd the *Portugals* in *Ormuz* for the English, and Christians for Christians; that upon easier terms it might be hop'd, that perhaps the *Portugals*, after the loss of *Ormuz*, would agree with the *Persians*, now there was no more to lose, and onely give the *Persians* that which the King of *Ormuz*, a Mahometan like themselves, enjoy'd. Moreover, to the *Persian*, no doubt, the friendship of the *Portugals* would be more profitable, in regard of the many States which they possess in *India*, from whence they may with more facility and certainty maintain the accustomed Commerce with *Persia*. But, on the other side, to see the *Portugals* so worsted, and the English more fortunate, at least, and courageous, if not more strong, 'tis a clear case that *Ormuz* will never be reinhabited, nor Trade set on foot again, unless some Nation of the *Franks*, which have ships and strength at sea, reside there (things which the *Persians* wholly want, there being neither Mariners nor Timber in *Persia*, about that Sea, wherewith to build ships) and the loss resulting to *Persia* by the

tinguishing of this Traffick, the charge of maintaining the Fortrefs of *Ormuz* without any profit, and the continual danger of loſing it every hour, unleſs the Engliſh guard the Sea with their ſhips and help to defend it; theſe and other like conſiderations may not improbably induce the King of *Persia* (contented to have demonſtrated his power and valor, and chaſtis'd his Enemies, the *Portugals*, according to his deſire) to grant the Engliſh as much as they demand: For he ſhould not yield it to them upon force, but out of his liberality; and for his own profit give them that freely, which to retain to himſelf, as things now ſtand, would not onely be of no advantage, but of loſs. Peradventure he may alſo imagine now, in the pride of his victory, that as with help of the Engliſh he has driven the *Portugals* out of *Ormuz*; ſo 'twill be eaſie for him to expel the Engliſh too, either by the help of others, or elſe by his own Forces alone, ſhould they not comply with him. However, becauſe theſe Treaties with the *Persian* are manag'd by the Company, of Merchants who alſo made the War, and not by the King of *England*; and hitherto 'tis not known, whether their King approve the fact or no, and will proſecute or let fall the enterprize; therefore, for a total concluſion, beſides the conſent of the King of *Persia*, they alſo wait the determination of the King of *England*; and the greateſt hope I have of the defeating of theſe projects ſo prejudicial to the Catholicks, is this alone, that the Engliſh King will not meddle in them, and, perhaps alſo, prohibit his Subjects ſo to do; as a perſon whom we know to be a Friend to Peace, moſt averſe from all kind of War, eſpecially with the King of *Spain*, while the Match of his Son with the Daughter of *Spain* is in agitation.

III.

In the mean time we began to find the Sea ſufficiently rough, being got wholly out of the *Persian Gulph*, and enter'd into the open Sea, (terin'd by the Ancients *Mare rubrum*, and by us at this day the Southern Ocean) and having paſs'd not onely the Cape of *Giaſck*, but alſo that of *Arabia*, which the *Portugals* vulgarly call *Reſalgate*, as it is alſo ſet down in the Maps; but properly ought to be call'd *Ras el had*, which in the Arabian Tongue ſignifies *Capo del fine*, or the Cape of the Conſine, becauſe 'tis the laſt of that Country, and is further then any other extended into the Sea; like that of *Galicie* in our *Europe*, which for the ſame reaſon we call *Finis Terra*. On *Saturday*, the 28. of *January*, having taken the meridional altitude of the Sun, according to daily cuſtom, and made ſuch detraction of degrees as was neceſſary, we found our ſelves twenty three degrees five minutes diſtant from the Equinoctial towards the North: whence by conſequence we had paſs'd the Tropick of *Cancer* twenty ſix minutes and a half, according to the opinion of the Moderns, who reckon the Sun's greateſt declination where the Tropicks are, twenty three degrees thirty one minutes and a half diſtant from the Equinoctial. During the ſucceeding dayes we ſail'd with a briſk but favourable wind, and with a Sea not tempeſtuous but

but something rough. Every day about the hour of noon the Sun's altitude was infallibly observ'd, not onely by the Pilots, as the custom is in all ships, and the Captain, (who was a good Seaman, and perform'd all the exercises of Art very well) but (which pleas'd me most, and which I thought worthy of great praise and imitation) there was no day, but at that hour twenty or thirty mariners, masters, boys, young men, and of all sorts came upon the deck to make the same observation; some with Astrolabes, others with Cross-staffs, and others with several other instruments, particularly with one which they told me was lately invented by one *David*, and from his name call'd *David's-staff*. This Instrument consists of two Triangles united together, one longer then the other, both having their base arch'd, and between them in the circle of their bases containing an intire quadrant of ninety degrees. But whereas the shortest Triangle, whose Angles are less acute, contains sixty degrees divided by tens (according to custom) in the circle of its base, which are two thirds of a quadrant; the other longer and of acuter Angles, which extends much backward, and opens in a wider circle at the base, comprehends no more then thirty, which make the remainder of the quadrant; so that the longer Triangle contains fewer degrees by half then the shorter; and he that would have the degrees larger for the better subdividing them into minutes, may make the circle or base of the lesser Triangle take up seventy degrees, and so there will remain to the longer no more then twenty for the complement of the quadrant. According to this distribution, the degrees in the longer Triangle will come to be so large, as to be capable of the smallest division of minutes; a thing very important. Besides, it hath two Fanes or Sights, in each Triangle one, which are to be mov'd backward and forward; and with these, that is, with that of the long Triangle, the level of the Horizon is taken; and with the other of the short Triangle, that of the Sun; with this further conveniency, that the Sights being sufficiently large, are therefore very expedient for performing the operation with speed, notwithstanding the dancing of the ship when the Sea is rough; in which case, if the Sights be too small, 'tis hard to make any observation. With this Instrument, and several others, many of the English perform'd their operations every day; such as knew not how to do them well, were instructed; and if any one err'd in computation or otherwise, his error was shew'd him, and the reason told him, that so he might be train'd to work exactly: The opinion of the skilful was heard, and taken notice of; and at length all the observations being compar'd together, the Pilot and the Captain resolv'd, and with mature counsel determin'd of all; by which means their voyages are very well manag'd, and almost always succeed prosperously to them. In the Portugal ships I hear the contrary comes to pass; because the Pilots being extremely jealous of their affairs (an habitual

humour

humour of that Nation) will be alone to make their observations, and for the most part perform them in secret, without any Associate to see them: Should any other person in the ship offer to take the altitude of the Sun, or look upon the Map or Compass, or do any thing that relates to the well guiding of the Vessel, and knowing its course, they would quarrel with him, and by no means suffer him to do it; being averse that any other should meddle with what they say is their office and belongs to them alone. From their being so little communicative, and very averse to teach others, it happens that few amongst them understand any thing of the Art of Navigation, there being none that will teach it experimentally; and they understand little enough, because they have no conference about the practical part, and learn much less of the Theory. This is the reason that their ships frequently miscarry, to the incredible detriment both of particular persons and of the Kingdom: And which is worse, 'tis said that not onely many of them are lost through the ignorance or negligence of those that guide them, but also sometime by malice: For the *Portugal* Pilots have got a custom when they are to make a Voyage, to take up great sums of money at *Lisbon* upon interest, the most they can get to trade withall; and they take the same by way of Venture upon the ships which they guide: Now when by the way any small disaster befalls them, they not onely avoid it not, as many times they might do, but, if they be of evil intention, they cunningly run the ships aground either in these Coasts of *Africa* or elsewhere; so that though oftentimes the people, and also the arms, goods, especially of the greatest value be sav'd, yet so it is, that sometimes many perish or suffer excessive loss; and this onely to the end, that the shipwrack may be the occasion of their remaining gainers of the monies taken up at interest upon the hazard aforesaid; which monies they carry not with them to trade withall, but leave all at home in *Portugal*: A practice indeed very pernicious, and which ought to be most rigorously punish'd: but the *Portugals* have now no King in their Country to mind their affairs, and the government depends upon *Madrid*, where perhaps they that administer it, being more intent upon their private interests than the publick, these and infinite other disorders pass unredress'd. The English, on the contrary, and other *Europæans* which sail upon the Ocean, are most diligent and strict observers of all exact discipline, and of what concerns the good conduct of their ships; and because they well understand all the most exquisite points of Navigation, and are extremely curious, as well in the Practice as in the Theory, they spare no pains, and neglect not the doing of any thing whereby they may render their Navigations in all places more easie and secure: Insomuch that Captain *Woodcock*, upon occasion of his having staid a year and odd moneths with his ship in the Persian Gulph, shew'd me a Chart or Plat-form of the whole Streight
of

of *Ormuz*, made by himself during that time with the highest exactness; for he had not onely taken the most just measures and distances of all the adjacent places, but also sounded all the Coast with a plummet, to find all the convenient places where great ships, such as theirs, might ride and cast anchor when occasion should require.

On the Third of *February*, conceiving by our reckoning that we were near *India*, in the Evening we let down the plummet into the Sea, as we us'd often to do, and found it not above seventeen fathom; whereby 'twas concluded, that we were little more then six leagues distant from land, although by reason of the darkness of the Air none could be yet discern'd; because that precise depth of water uses to be found in those Seas at that distance from land. The Captain, who by well observing the Sun and the Winds, had every day diligently noted the ships way in the Map, as the custom is, hop'd that we might be near the City of *Daman*, which lies within the Gulph of *Cambaia*, on the right hand as you enter into it, a good way inwards; but I, without having so much minded the Maps, said, that I conceiv'd we were much lower, and more without the Gulph towards *Bassain*; because although we had always sail'd and kept the ships prow directed to *Daman* by the shortest line, yet for the two or three last dayes we had had the Wind for that place contrary; which although it hinder'd us not from holding our course, because we help'd our selves with the rudder, and siding of the sails, yet the violence of the Wind must needs have continually driven the ship something lower then we intended. Two hours after midnight, the current of the Gulph of *Cambaia* being contrary, against which, by reason of its impetuofness, there is no failing for a while, but the ship must stay either for the turning of it, (which is known when it will happen, because it regularly changes according to the hours and days of the Moon) or for a strong Wind wherewith to master the current; for this reason, and also that the day-light might resolve us in what place we were, we cast anchor, and struk sail, to wait for a more fitting time. The Sea in this place began to be very rough, which happens by reason of the strong current which it hath. The next Morning we discern'd land afar off, and, according to my conjecture, it appear'd that we were lower, that is, more to the South of *Daman* about twelve leagues, in a place a little distant from *Bassain*, which the English call *Terra di San Giovanni*, but in the Sea-Chart is noted in the Portugal Tongue with the name of *Ilhas das vacas*, or the *Islands of Cows*. About one a clock in the Afternoon, the Tide being become less contrary, we set sail again by degrees, approaching still nearer the shore of *India*. But a little before Night the current turning against us, we were constrain'd to cast anchor once more; nevertheless after midnight it became favourable again, and we sail'd onwards by degrees till day. This slow course through the Gulph of *Cambaia*,

IIII.

with the plummet always in hand, and sounding every hour, it was requisite for us to hold, because the place is dangerous, in regard of the many shelves or quick-sands which are in it, and especially because the current, which turns every six hours, now setting one way, and anon the other, causes great hindrance. By reason of which shelves, from the time of our entrance into the Gulph, we did not guide the ship directly towards *Surât*, which no doubt would have been the shortest way by a strait line, but keeping lower towards *Daman*, fetch'd a large compass to the South, tacking about afterwards to the North when we were near land, onely to avoid the many shelves and shallows, through which our great ships could not pass. On *Sunday*, the the fifth of *February*, being at anchor in the Morning, we discover'd near the land, which was not very far from us, ten or fifteen Frigots or Galliot's sailing Eastwards; which probably were either *Portugal* or *Indian* Merchants of some *Casila*, (as they call a Fleet or Consort of ships) coming from *Cambaia* to go to *Goa*, or some other place thereabouts. The night following, we heard the report of Artillery, which we conceiv'd to come from the City of *Daman*, being the place nearest us. *Wednesday* night after, the Wind blew somewhat hard against us, in regard whereof, and the strength of the current which carry'd us in that narrow channel amongst shelves and quick-sands, we sail'd for a good while very circumspectly, and not without some danger. On *Thursday* we stood right against the mouth of the River of *Surât*, which City is not situate upon the shore, but some leagues within land: And because there is no station there for great ships, we continued sailing Northwards to the place where is the Port most frequented by the ships of *Europe*; which though the best of all that Coast, yet the Vessels of that Country, not knowing so well how to steer, make not much use of it, because the entrance is a little difficult. On *Fryday* the tenth of *February*, in the Afternoon, the favour of the current failing us, we cast anchor in sight of the Port of *Surât* at a little distance; and our boat going a shore, the President of the English Merchants (who uses to reside in *Surât*, and is superintendent of all their Trade in *East-India*, *Persia*, with the other places depending on the same, is now one Mr. *Thomas Rastel*) perceiving our ships near, and being at that time at the Sea-side near the landing place, came in our boat to the ships, together with one of their Ministers, (so they call those who exercise the office of Priests) and two other Merchants; and after a collation and a supper lodg'd with us all night. He spoke *Italian* very well, and made me many civil offers and complements; shewing himself in all things a a person sufficiently accomplish'd, and of generous deportment, according as his gentile and graceful aspect bespoke him. He inform'd me, that Sig^r *Alberto di Scilling*, a *German* Gentleman, known to me in *Persia*, having return'd from the Court of the *Moghol*, and other parts of *India*, which he had travell'd to see,

see, was at that time in *Surat*, from whence he was gone to see the City of *Barocci* hard by, and would return speedily : with which intelligence I was much pleas'd, because Sig: *Alberto* was my great friend, and I extremely desir'd to see him. On *Saturday* Morning we convers'd together for some time, drinking a little of hot wine boyl'd with Cloves, Cinnamon, and other spices, which the English call *burnt wine*, and use to drink frequently in the Morning to comfort the stomach, sipping it by little and little for fear of scalding, as they do *Cahue*, (Coffee) by me elsewhere describ'd. And they use it particularly in the Winter to warm themselves; though in *India* 'tis not necessary for that end, because albeit 'twas still Winter, according to our division of the seasons, yet we had more heat there then cold. After this short refection, the President return'd a shore, and I remain'd in the ship, not expecting to disimbarque till we were got into the Harbour, which was a little before night, and the anchors were cast very near the land : but because 'twas now late, and the City of *Surat* was a good distance off, none of us car'd to land. Nor did I go out of the ship on *Sunday*, both because it was a sacred day, and because our Captain was pleas'd to give an Entertainment to us and the Captain of the *Dolphin*, our companion in the voyage. *Monday*, the thirteenth of the same moneth, was the day of my Ague, whereof I had had divers fits by the way at sea; nevertheless, after a collation I went on shore, together with the Captain of our ship, where we continu'd under certain tents pitch'd for convenience of the *Tonnellers*, (so the English term certain of their Mariners imploy'd to fill the Casks with water) in expectation of Coaches to carry us to *Surat*; there being in those Countries subject to the *Moghols*, abundance of Coaches made after their fashion, which I formerly describ'd when I saw some of them at *Casbin*, which the Indian Ambassador gave, amongst his presents, to the King of *Persia*; nor remains any thing more to be said of them, but that they are at this day much like the ancient Indian Chariots, describ'd by *Strabo*, and are generally cover'd with crimson silk, fring'd with yellow round about the roof and the curtains: And that the Oxen, which also as anciently draw the same, are fair, large, white, with two bunches like those of some Camells, and run and gallop like Horses; they are likewise cover'd with the same stuff, but beset with many tufts or tassels, and abundance of bells at their necks; so that when they run or gallop through the streets they are heard at a sufficient distance, and make a very brave show. With these kind of Coaches in *India*, they not onely go in Cities, but also for the most part travel in the Country. To the Sea side came no Coach, and therefore the Captain went on foot to a Town a mile off, call'd *Sobali*, where he intended to spend the day in recreating himself amongst the *Franks*, who have Houses there for repositing the goods which they continually send to the Sea side to be ship'd: but I could not accompany him, be-

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cause of my Ague, and therefore staid in a Tent, well cover'd with Clothes upon my bed, which I caus'd to be laid upon the ground, waiting till the Captain sent me a Coach, and Carts from the City for my goods. Whilst I was lying in this place, the violence of my fit was scarce over, when I beheld a Cavalier appear on the shore on Horse-back, cloth'd and arm'd after the Indian manner with a Scimiter and Target, who came towards our Tent, and stood still to speak with some person, as if he inquir'd for something among us : Upon his nearer approach, and my better considering him, I perceiv'd 'twas my great friend Sig: *Alberto di Scilling*, who being return'd from *Barocci*, whither the President had told me he was gone, and hearing news of us, was come from *Surat* to the Sea side to meet me. Whereupon, raising my self suddenly from the bed, we received one the other with such kindnesses as are usual between two good friends, who come from far, and have not seen one another a long time ; after which sitting down together, we recounted our adventures one to the other at length, he much condoling my misfortunes, and regretting to find me sufficiently different from what he had left me in *Persia*. Towards Evening came two Coaches and a Carr, with which we went together to the Town *Sohali*, where we found the two Captains of the ships waiting for us with a Colation ready prepar'd, which immediately they gave us, entertaining us in conversation till night ; and certain Indian Women of the Town, publick dancers, gave us some pastime by dancing to the sound of Drums, Bells, and other instruments of their fashion, which were sounded by their Husbands with very great noise, and not without disturbance of my head. A little within night the Captains took leave of us, and returned to their ships, and we betook our selves to rest the remainder of the night in this Town, because it was necessary to stay till day before we could enter into *Surat*, the Gates of the City being shut in the night time, at least that of the *Dogana*, or Custom-house, through which we were to pass. They told us the way to the City was seven *Cos*, or *Coru*, (for 'tis all one) and every *Cos* or *Coru* is half a *Fersagna*, or league of *Persia* ; so that it answers to little less than two English Miles.

- V. The next Morning very early we put our selves on the way towards *Surat*, and being I conceiv'd my abode there would be but short, and that when I should depart thence my way would be by Sea ; therefore to avoid greater trouble, both of conveyance and of the *Dogana*, or Custom-house, which is known to be rigorous in *Surat*, I left all my Trunks and gross luggage in the ship, and carry'd with me onely such few things as were requisite for daily use. The high-way from the Sea side to the City, (as 'tis also generally in this province of *Guzarat*, wherein we were) is all very even; the soil green all the year, and about the Town *Sohali* grow abundance of Trees of Indian Nuts, Tamarinds, and other fruits. Beyond the Town the Trees are not so plentiful,

plentiful, unless near certain houses; but the fields are every where either ploughed, or full of living creatures feeding in them. We arriv'd at the City in good time, in the entrance of which there is a River call'd *Tapi*, or *Tapti*, which was to be pass'd over by boat: On the other side of which River, something on the right hand as you go into the City, which hath no walls, stands a Castle lately built, but very ill design'd. Moreover, near the place where the boats land stands the *Dogana*, or Custom-house, and it took us up some time to dispatch there, because they observe very narrowly all goods that are brought in, (although they be but Clothes for change) to see whether there be any thing coming to the Customs; nor will they suffer strangers to enter till they be first known and have licence, as 'tis also practis'd in *Venice*. In all things they proceed with so great wariness and good order, that it being known that I conducted with me the Sig^{ra} *Mariuccia*, although a girl very young, the *Capo*, or President of the *Dogana*, requir'd likewise to be inform'd of her quality, and gave order that she should not be conducted with any violence or other disorder: otherwise, in lawful things, there is no difficulty, either through diversity of Religion, or upon any other account. We were no sooner come to the *Dogana*, but the news of our arrival was, I think, by Sig: *Alberto's* means, carried to the House of the Dutch, many of which have Wives there which they married in *India*, purposely to go with them and people a new colony of theirs in *Java Major*, which they call *Batavia Nova*; where very great priviledges are granted to such of their Country-men as shall go to live there with Wives and Families: For which end, many of them, for want of European, have taken Indian, Armenian, and Syrian Women, and of any other race that falls into their hands, so they be or can be made Christians. Last year the Fleet of the Portugals which went to *India* was encountred at Sea, and partly sunk, partly taken by the Hollanders; amongst other booty, three Maidens were taken, of those poor but well descended Orphans which are wont to be sent from *Portugal* every year at the King's charge, with a dowry which the King gives them, to the end they may be married in *India*, in order to further the peopling of the *Portugal* Colonies in those parts. These three Virgins falling into the hands of the Hollanders, and being carry'd to *Surat*, which is the principal seat of all their traffick, the most eminent Merchants amongst them strove who should marry them, being all passably handsome. Two of them were gone from *Surat*, whether to the abovesaid Colony, or elsewhere, I know not. She that remain'd behind was call'd *Donna Lucia*, a young Woman, fair enough, and Wife to one of the wealthiest and eminentest Hollanders. The President of the Hollanders call'd by them the *Commendator*, who resides in *Surat*, and has the general superintendency of their affairs in all these parts of the East, is at this time Sig: *Pietro Vandenbroecke*, a Gentleman of good breeding,

ing, and very courteous; he speaks no Italian, but Spanish very well, as being born at *Antwerp*: He lives in a goodly Palace, which hath many distinct apartments, with several entrances into a Court, like so many different houses, onely included within the same wall, which is entred into by one great Gate: Here the Commendator holds the best and largest apartment to himself; in the rest lodge some of their gravest Merchants, which are of the Council for management of affairs, in order to their better conveniency and union, besides many others of inferior condition, which live out of this great inclosure, dispers'd elsewhere in the City, and when occasion requires, they all repair to the Palace of the Commendator. Amongst those whose habitation was in the Palace of the Commendator, *Donna Lucia's* Husband has one of the principal, where he lives with his family and and Wife, whom, according to the custom of *India*, he maintains with much splendor and gallantry. Now upon their knowledge of our arrival, *Donna Lucia* presently sent her coach to bring Sig: *Marinuccia* to her house, for her better accommodation with her, till we had settled out business, and provided lodgings. I was well pleas'd with the motion, because till I had well accommodated my self with a place of residence, the Sig: *Marinuccia* could not be better dispos'd of then with this Portugal Gentlewoman, who is a Christian, and withal secretly a Catholick, with the privity and connivance of her Husband, although in publick she makes a virtue of necessity, and in appearance conformes to the unhappy mode of that Nation, into whose power the fortune of war and the disaster of her Country-men hath brought her. Sig: *Alberto Scilling*, had, before we came from the Sea-side, importun'd me in the name of the Commendator to lodge at his house; which favour I much thank'd him for, and handsomely declin'd, not thinking fit to accept it, because I had receiv'd and wav'd the like invitation made to me before by the English President, who thought me the more oblig'd to comply with his offer, because I came in their Ships: But I excus'd my self both to the Commendator and the President; partly, because I was desirous to be at liberty by my self, and partly, for that it was requisite for Sig: *Marinuccia* to be amongst Women, of which there was none in the English House. Being got quit of the Custom-house, I went to see for a House; and because I was a new comer, and and had no servant that knew the City, I referr'd my self to the direction of Sig: *Alberto*, who took this care upon himself, and soon after told me he had sent to get one prepar'd and put in good order; But by what I found afterwards, he had contriv'd with the Dutch Commendator onely to delude me; for as he was carrying me to the place where he pretended to have taken a House for me, he made me pass by the Palace of the Hollanders, out of the Gate whereof a Gentleman belonging to the Commendator step'd forth, and invited me in his name to alight from my Horse, and at least stay and dine with him that day, the rather because

because Sig^{ra} *Marinuccia* was there; telling me that it was not convenient for me wait in the streets undecently and tediously, whilst a House was preparing for me elsewhere, which could not be done so speedily. Notwithstanding which reasons, I endeavour'd all that possibly I could to decline this invitation, out of respect to the English President, and with affectionate thanks desir'd the Gentleman to excuse me to the Sig^r Commendator, straining my self to correspond to his courtesie with the best Complements I had: But this avail'd me little; for as I was hastening to break off the discourse and be gone, the Commendator himself came forth into the street half undress'd as he was in the house, and taking hold of my Horse's bridle, told me that he would by no means suffer me to go any where else now it was late without certain quarters; at least, I must needs stay and dine with him that day. Beholding him thus on foot before me, I alighted in civility from my Horse, and with the best words I could, endeavour'd to get quit from the courteous violence which he us'd to me: But there was no remedy; he held me prisoner, as I may say, and I was fain to stay dinner with him as he desir'd. Moreover, when night came, being I was resolv'd to lodge in another House of mine own, under pretext that none could be got though sought for all day, (wherein I know not whether Sig^r *Alberto* deluded me too) I was forc'd to accept of a large House from the Commendator which he had taken for himself, before his late removal to that great Palace wherein he liv'd with the rest of his Country-men; which former House remaining empty at his charge and disposal, I was by his great importunity oblig'd to accept. Wherefore I went to lodge there this night, and for the conveniency of Sig^{ra} *Marinuccia*, they sent thither one of their Wives, a young Christian Woman of Armenian race, though born in *India*, with some other women-servants. Now lest the English President should take this ill, I purpos'd to prevent him with terms of courtesie; and the next Morning after a short, and the last fit of my Tertian, I went to give him a visit, and make my excuses to him by representing to him the reasons of what had pass'd with the Hollanders, without any voluntary fault of mine: But upon my enquiry at his House, and sending my message to him, I was answer'd that he was not at home, although we perceiv'd by certain signes that he was, but fairly declin'd to receive my visit. Wherefore understanding afterwards that he was much incens'd not onely against me, but also against the Holland Commendator, conceiving that he had unhandsomely stolne and usurp'd me from him, (as he said) in regard of the interest he had in us, upon the account of our being brought thither in their ships; and that he had a more particular displeasure against Sig^r *Alberto*, knowing him to have been the principal occasion of all, I thought it expedient to appease him by all means, and upon what ever terms of satisfaction: Nevertheless I did not judge it meet to venture another repulse by
going

going to visit him, but sent him a Letter in justification of myself, with all the civil expressions I could devise. At first he was something backward to receive it, doubting perchance that I had written angrily to him, in regard of my preceding visit: yet at length, upon the request of some mediators whom I made use of, he took it, read it, and remain'd very well satisfied with my proceedings, in which there was nothing but gentleness. The Commendator likewise, being one of an excellent nature, us'd all means he could to give the President satisfaction, and to shew him that what he had done with us was to no ill end; he went purposely to visit him, carrying Sig: *Alberto* with him, to the end he might justify himself too: both of them intreated, and both of them took the blame upon themselves; in fine, so much was done and said that the President was reconcil'd with all. And because it was insisted on my behalf that he would admit a visit from me, he consented upon this condition, that this first time should not be simply my visit but his invitation, which accordingly he made to us to come all together that night to supper with him, where he treated us very splendidly, and every thing ended in jollity and friendship as at first. And all the while that I stay'd at *Surât*, he oblig'd me continually with sundry demonstrations of his affection; particularly, by often sending his own Coach to me, with his Interpreter, who is an Armenian Christian, and a Catholick, call'd *Scander*, Brother to *F. Agostino Bagiezzi* of *Alingia*, a Dominican, my acquaintance in *Persia*: which Interpreter being skill'd in the Country, and conversing with me in the Persian Tongue, carry'd me frequently abroad to see sundry things. As for the Hollanders, the caresses and civilities which they have done, and still continue to me, are so numerous, that I shall have them in remembrance as long as I live. But 'tis time now to speak a little of this City, and the curiosities which here and elsewhere I have lately seen.

VI.

The City of *Surât* is of a handsome greatness, and, for these Countries, of sufficiently good building: 'Tis very populous, as all other Cities and places are in *India*, which every where abounds with people. The Inhabitants are partly Gentiles, and partly Mahometans; and, if I am not deceived, the former are the greater number: However, they live all mixt together and peaceably, because the *Gran Moghol*, to whom *Guzarât* is now subject, (having sometimes had a distinct King) although he be a Mahometan (but not a pure one, as they report) makes no difference in his Dominions between the one sort and the other: and both in his Court and Armies, and even amongst men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration. Yet the Mahometans, as the Masters, especially those of the Mogholian Race, which now is the Imperial in these parts, seems to have some little more of authority. But forasmuch as I have formerly survey'd and observ'd the manners of the Mahometans both in *Turkey* and *Persia*, I now turn my mind to those of the

Gentile

Gentile-Idolaters in *India*, which are more new to me; and with such observations in reference to both, as shall seem worthy of notice, I shall not fail to acquaint you. In the first place, I shall give you the relation of a Nuptial Pomp, which I saw one day pass by my house in this manner; A long train of men with Drums and Trumpets before them march'd in the day time first, carrying cover'd baskets full of sundry things, which were either a Present sent from the Bridegroom to the Bride, or rather the attiring of the Bride, which uses to be publickly shewn in the East. Then follow'd on foot likewise some black Women-slaves, well cloth'd, being given to the Bride either by the Father or the Husband. Lastly, to conclude the Pomp, came a Palanchino, a kind of Litter, wherein persons of quality are wont to be carry'd in *India*. It was not of the ordinary form, which hang downwards upon one pole between the bearers before and behind; but it was to be carry'd on high upon poles by four men, one at each corner, and it was cover'd all over with silk, yet no body was within it; so that I know not what it serv'd for, unless haply it was intended to transport the Bride to her Husband; this different fashion being for greater solemnity made use of, in such an occasion as Marriage. At night the married couples pass'd by, and, according to their mode, went round about the City with a numerous company. They were four, all very small Children, two boys and two girls; (for in *India* most Marriages are made at that age) and because they were not big enough to ride on Horse-back alone, therefore they were held up by so many well-grown men who sat upon the saddle. Before them went many Torches and Musical instruments, with a great troop of people on foot accompanying them. But the persons of quality follow'd in Coaches, of which there was a good number, and going one by one they made a very long train; whereby it was known that the married Children were of considerable quality.

Of remarkable things without the City, there is on one side a very large Cistern or Artificial Pool, surrounded with stonework, and contriv'd with many sides and angles, at which there are stairs leading down to the surface of the water. In the midst stands a little Island, which cannot be gone to but by boat or swimming. The Diametre of this Artificial Lake is two good furlongs, which in our parts would seem a competent largeness, but here 'tis not much; and this Fish-pond of *Surat* is not accounted among the greatest, but the least in *India*; where indeed they are numerous, and the most magnificent and goodly structures, or rather, the only structures in this Country which have any thing of magnificence or handsomeness. They are made in divers places by Princes, Governours of Countries, or other wealthy persons, for the publick benefit, and as works of Charity; because the soil, suitable to the Climate, is sufficiently hot, and aboundeth not in water: Rivers are not in all places; and

D

other

VII.

other running waters and springs there are scarce any, especially in the more in-land parts remote from the Sea; Rain likewise very seldom through the whole year, saving in that season call'd by them *Pauscâl*, which signifies, *The time of rain*, being about three moneths, beginning about the middle of *June*; and during which time, the Rain is continual and very great: whence some upon this account call these three moneths Winter, although the weather be then hottest, as well in *India* as in all the rest of the northern Hemisphere. And this, no doubt, proceeds from the Providence of God; since, were it not for this great rain, *India* would be in regard of the great heat and drought at this time, uninhabitable; as likewise the whole torrid Zone, in which most of *India* lies, was believ'd by the Ancients, who had no knowledge of these marvellous rains, which render it not onely habitable, but also fertile and most delicious. Now, for that the Country is in some parts so scarce of water, many Cities and inhabited places have no other but the rain-water gather'd in these great Cisterns; which are so capacious, that one of them suffices a City for a whole year and more: And it not onely affords drink to men and animals, but also they wash clothes and beasts in it when occasion requires, and make use of it to all purposes; whereby it comes to pass that in some places the water they have is not over clear; and the rude Indians care not for such delicacies, but 'tis enough for them if they have what is barely needful. The Cistern, or Lake of *Surât*, hath a great Trench adjoyn'd to it on one side, long, large, and deep, over which certain small bridges are built; and it falls into another less Cistern a good way off, which though but small here comparatively, would yet be a very large one in our parts; 'tis built with many sides of stone like the former, as also the banks of the Trench are. Between the great Lake and the less, upon the Trench, stands a small *Cupola*, or arched Structure, made for the sepulture of some principal Mahometans of the Country; and, as they say, of two brethren who kill'd one the other, and of their Wives. 'Tis no long time since this Cistern was made, according to the common report, by a private man of this City, but sufficiently wealthy; whose Daughter, they say, or rather one descended from him, is still living, and I know not by what sinister hap of fortune, very poor, so that she hath scarce bread to eat: Wherein I observ'd a great ingratitude of the Citizens of *Surât*, in suffering his heir to want food, who for their publick benefit had been at so great expence. This Poole of *Surât* is call'd *Gopî Telan*, that is, the Poole of *Gopî*, which was his name who made it at his own charge. And although the King, who in those dayes rul'd over *Guzarât*, did what he could to have it call'd after his own name; yet that of the Builder has been justly retain'd by the vulgar, and remains to this day. 'Tis not improbable, that this *Gopî*, who made this Piscina of *Surât*, is the same whom *Giovanni di Barros* in his second Decade of *Asia* frequently

frequently mentions with the title of *Melîk*, and relates to have been in those times, a little above a hundred years ago, a great friend to the Portugals; styling him often Lord of *Barocci*, and once, in the last book, Lord of *Surât*; but I rather believe that he was onely Governour of either of these Cities under the then Mahometan Kings of *Cambaia*, (as he speaks) that is, of *Guzd-rât*; of which Province *Cambaia* is a principal, and in a manner the Maritime City, more known then the rest to the Portugals by trade; whence they have given its name to the whole Kingdom, although not *Cambaia*, but *Ahmedabâd*, more within land, is properly the Royal Seat. 'Tis therefore possible that *Melîk Gopi*, mention'd by *Barros*, made this Cistern when he was Governour of *Surât*, it being the work and expence of such a person. Nor do the vulgar mistake in saying that he was a private man, since under the Mahometan Princes, who never allow any hereditary Lord in their Territories, the Governours of their Cities, and all other Ministers, (whom they choose indifferently out of all sorts of people, and not seldome out of the lowest plebeians, and are always removable at pleasure) may with reason be call'd private persons, although advanc'd to whatever high dignity.

Lib. 4. c. 6.
Lib. 6. c. 2.
Lib. 10. c. 1.

On an other side of the City, but out of the circuit of the houses, in an open place, is seen a great and fair Tree, of that kind which I saw in the sea coasts of *Persia* near *Ormûz*, called there *Lul*, but here *Ber*. The Gentiles of the Country hold it in great veneration for its greatness and age, visiting and honoring it often with their superstitious ceremonies, as dear and dedicated to a Goddess of theirs call'd *Parveti*; whom they hold to be the Wife of *Mahadeu*, one of their greatest Deities. On the trunk of this Tree a little above the ground, they have rudely engraven a round circle, which really hath not any feature of a humane countenance, but according to their gross application represents that of their Idol. This face they keep painted with a bright Flesh-colour, and this by a sacred rite of Religion; as the Romans also dy'd the face of *Jupiter* with Vermillion, as *Pliny* testifies: Round about it are fastned Flowers, and abundance of a plant whose leaves resemble a Heart, call'd here *Pan*, but in other places of *India*, *Betle*. These leaves the Indians use to champ or chaw all day long, either for health's sake, or for entertainment and delight, (as some other Nations for the same reasons, or rather through evil custome, continually take Tobacco:) And therewith they mix a little ashes of sea-shells, and some small pieces of an Indian Nut sufficiently common, which here they call *Foufel*, and in other places *Areca*; a very dry fruit, seeming within like perfect wood; and being of an astringent nature they hold it good to strengthen the Teeth: Which mixture, besides its comforting the stomach, hath also a certain biting taste wherewith they are delighted; and, as they chaw it, it strangely dyes their lips and mouths red,

VIII.

which also they account gallant ; but I do not, because it appears not to be natural : They swallow down onely the juice after long mastication, and spit out the rest : In Visits, 'tis the first thing offer'd to the visitants ; nor is there any society or pastime without it. He that is curious to know more of it, may consult the Natural Historians who have written of the exotick Simples of *India*, particularly *Garcias ab Horto*, *Christopher Acofta*, *Nicolaus Monardes*, translated all together into Latin by *Carolus Clusius*. I shall onely add, that the same I had heard in *Persia* of this Indian Masticatory, (especially from an Italian Fryer who had been in *India*, and told me 'twas a thing not onely of great nutriment, and very good for the stomach, but moreover of an exquisite relish) made me desirous to try it. As for its other qualities I can say nothing ; but there is no great matter in the taste, nor should I make much difference of chawing these leaves of *Pan*, or those of our Cedars. But to return to my Relation ; Those flowers and leaves about the Idol's face carv'd in the Tree, are frequently chang'd, and fresh constantly supply'd ; and those which at times are taken away, are given as a sacred thing to the people who come from all parts to visit it. In the same rude sculpture of a humane face, they have put certain eyes of Silver and Gold with some jewels, which were given by some persons who foolishly believ'd themselves cur'd of maladies of the eyes, by virtue of the Idol : Before whom, upon a little hillock, stands continually one of their *Gioghi*, who among the Indians are a sort of Hermits ; and sometimes I have seen a Woman too standing there. On high, there hangs a Bell, which those that come to make their foolish devotions, first of all ring out, as if thereby to call the Idol to hear them ; then they fall to their adoration, which is commonly to extend both hands downwards as much as possible, being joyn'd together in a praying posture ; which lifting up again by little and little, they bring to their mouths as if to kiss them ; And lastly, extend them so joyn'd together, as high as they can, over their heads : Which gesticulation is us'd onely to Idols and sacred things ; for to men, even to Kings themselves, they make the same Salutation (which in the *Persian*-Tongue they call *Teslim*, and in their *Indian*, *Sumbaia*) only with the right hand. This ceremony being perform'd, some make their prayers onely standing, others prostrate themselves with their whole body groveling upon the earth, and then rise again ; others onely touch the ground with the head and fore-head, and perform other like acts of Humility. After which, they go about the Tree, some once, others oftner, and then sprinkle before the Idol either Rice, or Oyle, or Milk, or other such things which are their Offerings and Sacrifices without blood ; for to shed blood, even for Sacrifice, is not their custome ; but to kill any sort of Animal is counted a great sin. Such as are of ability, give moreover some Almes to the person attending the service of the Idol ; from whom in requital they receive the flowers and leaves which are
about

about the Idol, and that with great devotion, kissing them, and in token of reverence laying them upon their heads. A-side of this Tree, stands a very small *Cupola*, or Chappel, with a very narrow window for entrance ; I saw not what was within it, but I was inform'd that Women who have no Children go in there sometimes, and after they have been there become fruitful by the virtue of the place ; but as in false Religions every thing is imposture, so 'tis the opinion here, that the attendants of the Idol play fine pranks in this particular, either beguiling simple young Women, or satisfying the more crafty ; whom indeed they sometimes cause to become pregnant, but 'tis by natural means without miracle, the Priests within the Chappel supplying the defects of their Husbands. Moreover, on another side of this Tree, stands a square low Post, on which certain figures of Idols are engraven : and at the foot thereof, there is a little kind of trench or hole, where also they pour Milk and Oyle, and make divers other Oblations. They are very solicitous in keeping the Tree with every bough and leaf of it, not suffering it to be injur'd by animals or men, nor in any wise violated and profan'd. They tell a story of an Elephant who one day by chance eat but one single leaf of this Tree, for which being punish'd by the Idol, he dy'd within three dayes : Which story I understood to be thus far true, namely that the event was in this manner ; but 'twas thought that for the reputation of the place, the attendants of the Idol either poyson'd or knock'd the Elephant on the head ; in which Arts the *Gioghi* and Priests of the Gentiles use to be very dextrous.

The Commendator of the Dutch, came one day to give me a visit, and after a competent conversation, carried me in his Coach a little out of the City, to see one of the fairest and famousst gardens of *Surât*. The plot was level, well contriv'd and divided with handsome streight Walks : on either side whereof, were planted rowes of sundry Trees of this Climate, namely, *Ambe*, or, as others speak, *Manghe*, before describ'd by me in my last Letters from *Persia*, in the maritime parts whereof I saw some Trees of this kind ; *Foufel*, whose leaves are like those of the *Palm-tree*, but of a livelier and fairer green ; *Narghil*, like the *Palm* in the leaves also, and is that which we call *Nux Indica* : and others, different from what are found in our parts. The plots between the several walks was full of herbs and flowers, partly such as we have, and partly not ; amongst the rest they shew'd me a Flower, for bigness and form not unlike our *Gilly-flower*, but of a whitish yellow, having a very sweet and vigorous scent, and they call it *Ciampà*. In a convenient place there is a square place, rais'd somewhat from the ground, and cover'd with large sheds, to sit there in the shade, after the manner of the East : and here we entertain'd our selves a while, and had a Collation ; other things in the garden worthy of remark I saw none. As for the plants and strange simples of *India*, and the whole

IX.

whole Torrid Zone, (in these things very different from ours) I shall say briefly once for all, that they are such and so many, that to write fully of them would require express volumes, and make as big as those of *Dioscorides* and *Pliny*, all of things unknown to us. Nevertheless, the curiosity of the *Portugals*, and other Europeans who trade in these parts, hath hitherto been so small that I know not any that have spoken and observ'd any thing in this kind, besides the three Authors above mention'd. And they have written of very few things, although of those few they have written faithfully and well; and I, who have read them all with diligence, have made some not unprofitable Notes upon them, which I keep in Manuscript by me, and you may see one day; when it shall please God to bring us together. As for the Dutch Commendator, and the English President also, who came frequently in this manner to carry me abroad; I must not forbear to say, that both of them live in sufficient splendor, and after the manner of the greatest persons of the Country. They go abroad with a great train, sometimes also of their own men on Horse-back; but especially with a great number of Indian servants on foot, arm'd according to the mode, with Sword, Buckler, Bows, and Arrows. For 'tis the custome of servants in *India*, whether Mahometans or Gentiles, to go alwayes arm'd not onely upon a journey but also in the City, and to serve in the house all day with the same weapons by their sides, and never to lay them off, saving at night when they go to sleep. Moreover, these Governours of the two Frank or Christian Nations which reside in *surât*, use to have carry'd before their Coach or Horse when they ride, a very high Bannerol or Streamer by a man on foot; (which likewise is the custome of all men of quality here) and likewise to have a saddled Horse lead by hand before them: And not onely they who are publick persons, but any private person whatever, of whatever Country or Religion, may in these parts live with as much grandeur and equipage as he pleases: and such is the liberty here, that every one may do, if he will and be able, as much as the King himself. Hence, generally all live much after a genteel way; and they do it securely, as well because the King doth not persecute his subjects with false accusations, nor deprive them of any thing when he sees them live splendidly, and with the appearances of riches, (as is often done in other Mahometan Countries) as because the Indians are inclin'd to these vanities, and servants cost very little, in regard of the multitude of people, and the small charge wherewith the common sort are maintain'd; for a simple Servant, who is not an Officer, commonly in the best houses, between wages, victuals, and clothing, stands not in more then three *Rupia* a moneth, amounting to about the value of a Venetian Zecchine, or ten shillings sterling. Of Slaves there is a numerous company, and they live with nothing; their clothing is onely white linnen, which though fine, is bought very cheap; and their dyet for the

the most part is nothing, but Rice, (the ancient food of all the Indians, according to *Strabo*) of which they have infinite plenty; Lib. 15.¹ and a little fish, which is found every where in abundance: So that every body, even of mean fortune, keeps a great family, and is splendidly attended; which is easie enough, considering the very small charge, as I said, and on the other side the very considerable gains of traffick wherein most men are imploy'd, and the incomes of the Land, through its incredible fruitfulness, I dare say, unmeasurable. Upon this occasion I must not forget, that amongst the Indian Men, both Mahometans and Pagans, agreeably to what *Strabo* testifies, they did of old wear onely white linnen, more or less fine according to the quality of the persons, and the convenience they have of spending: which linnen is altogether of Bumbast or Cotton, (there being no Flax in *India*) and for the most part very fine in comparison of those of our Countries. The Garment which they put next to the skin, serves both for Coat and Shirt from the girdle upwards, being adorn'd upon the breast, and hanging down in many folds to the middle of the Leg. Under this Caslack from the girdle downwards, they wear a pair of long Drawers of the same Cloth, which cover not only their Thighs, but legs also to the Feet; and 'tis a piece of gallantry to have it wrinkled in many folds upon the Legs. The naked Feet are no otherwise confin'd but to a slipper, and that easie to be pull'd off without the help of the Hand; this mode being convenient, in regard of the heat of the Country, and the frequent use of standing and walking upon Tapistry in their Chambers. Lastly, the Head with all the hair, which the Gentiles (as of old they did also, by the report of *Strabo*) keep long, contrary to the Mahometans who shave it, Lib. 15.² is bound up in a small and very neat Turbant, of almost a quadrangular form, a little long, and flat on the top: They who go most gallant, use to wear their Turbant only strip'd with silk of several colours upon the white, and sometimes with Gold; and likewise their girdles wrought of Silk and Gold, instead of plain white. I was so taken with this Indian dress, in regard of its cleanness and easiness, and for the goodly shew me-thought it had on horse-back, with the Scemiter girt on, and the buckler hanging at a shoulder belt, besides a broad and short dagger of a very strange shape ty'd with tassell'd strings to the girdle, that I caus'd one to be made for my self, complete in every point, and to carry with me to shew it in *Italy*. The Mahometan Women, especially of the Mogholsians, and Souldiers of other extraneous descents, who yet are here esteem'd, go clad likewise all in white, either plain, or wrought with Gold-flowers; of which work there are some very goodly and fine pieces. Their upper Garment is short, more befitting a Man then a Woman, and much of the same shape with those of Men: Sometimes they wear a Turbant too upon their heads, like Men, colour'd and wrought with Gold: Sometimes they wear onely fillets either white or red,

red, or wrought with Gold and Silver; for other colours they little use. Likewise their Clothes are oftentimes red, of the same rich and fine linnen; and their Drawers are also either white or red, and oftentimes of sundry sorts of silk-stuff, strip'd with all sorts of colours. When they go along the City, if it be not in close Coaches, but on foot or on horse-back, they put on white veils, wherewith they cover their faces, as 'tis the custom of all Mahometan Women: Yet the Indian Gentile Women commonly use no other colour but red, or certain linnen stamp'd with works of sundry colours, (which they call *Cit*) but all upon red, or wherein red is more conspicuous then the rest; whence their attire seems onely red at a distance. And for the most part they use no garment, but wear onely a close Wastecoat, the sleeves of which reach not beyond the middle of the Arm; the rest whereof to the Hand is cover'd with bracelets of Gold, or Silver, or Ivory, or such other things according to the ability of the persons. From the waste downwards they wear a long Coat down to the Foot, as I have formerly writ that the Women do in the Province of *Moghostan* in *Persia*, near *Ormuz*. When they go abroad, they cover themselves with a Cloak of the ordinary shape like a sheet, which is also us'd by the Mahometan, and generally by all Women in the East; yet it is of a red colour, or else of *Cit* upon a red ground, that is, of linnen stamp'd with small works of sundry colours upon red. Those that have them, adorn themselves with many gold-works, and jewels; especially their Ears with pendants sufficiently enormous, wearing a circle of Gold or Silver at their Ears, the diametre whereof is oftentimes above half a span; and 'tis made of a plate two fingers broad, and engraven with sundry works, which is a very disproportionate thing. The Pagan Women go with their faces uncover'd, and are freely seen by every one both at home and abroad: Nevertheless they are modest, and honor'd much more then the Mahometans; and amongst them 'tis a certain thing that there is not any publick Courtisan; but amongst the Mahometan Women there are infinite, who go every day publickly to houses, and where they please; to play on Musick, sing, dance, and do what else belongs to their profession. But of these things, enough for this time.

- X. I came from *Persia* with a great desire to go to *Cambaia*, in regard of what I had heard of it; being told that in that City, which is one of the ancientest of *India*, the Pagans are very numerous, and above measure observers of their Rites; so that I might probably see more remarkable Curiosities there of those Idolaters then elsewhere: Sig: *Alberto Scilling* had the same desire; so that upon my imparting my mind to him, and his consenting thereunto, both of us desir'd the Dutch Commendator, that when any of his Nation went to *Cambaia*, as they us'd to do sometimes about their affairs, he would do us the favour to advertise us thereof, that we might go thither in their company.

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The Commendator promis'd to do us this kindness as soon as possible, nor was it long before we were advertis'd of an opportunity: The Commendator's Steward, who takes care of the like busineses, came to know of us how many Coaches we should need; Sig: *Alberto* spoke to him for one for himself, and I for two, intending to carry Sig^a *Mariuccia* with me, because I thought not fit to leave her in *Surat* without me, although she had the company of good Women. I offer'd the Steward money for the Coaches, but he refus'd then to take it, saying that it was not the custome, and that at our return, accounts should be made up; for so they were wont to deal with those Hackney-men, with whom the Nation has always long account for such matters; and I, who understood things no otherwise then by this information, suffer'd my self to be perswaded. Now, on Monday the 23^d of *February*, being the day for our setting forth, besides the three Coaches for Sig: *Alberto* and me, and two others full of Dutch-men who were to go this journey with us, all in very good order for habits and arms, and also with a Trumpeter with a silver Trumpet to recreate the Travellers, the Commendator himself came to my house with many others of his followers in their City-Coaches, to conduct me forth and set me in the way. He accompany'd me to a certain place without the City, where, in the shadow of a small Chappel, we convers'd together for a good while, and were entertain'd with sundry fruits, particularly with Grapes, which here in *Surat* we have often eat ripe, sweet, and good in *February*, yet green of colour, like the *Uva-Engliatica*, or early *July*-grape of *Italy*; and I believe there is plenty enough to make Wine. Whilst we were in this place, a Post came to the Commendator from *Agra* and from the Court, with news that *Sciàh Selim*, King of the Country, had sent one of his principal Chans, call'd *Asaf Chan*, to *Agra*, to remove the Royal Treasure thence before the arrival of Sultan *Chorròm*, one of the same Kings Sons, lately rebell'd against his Father, and then reported to be upon his march with his Army thither: And from *Agra* it was signifi'd, that things were in great danger of alterations through this war rais'd between the Father and the Son, with great danger of the whole State of *India*. This notable Passage happening in my time, will give me occasion to write many things worthy of memory, usually attending the like Conjunctions; and being present in the country, peradventure I shall hereafter be an eye-witness, or at least have certain intelligence of sundry occurrences. In the mean time, to the end what I shall have occasion to speak of these Revolutions may be better understood, I shall here give such account of the State of the King and his people, as may suffice to give light to all the rest.

Sciàh Selim, (who, as I have formerly writ to you, is King of the greater part of *India*, between *Indus* and *Ganges*, and whose Countries are extended Northwards as far as the cliffs of mount

Part 3. tit. 19.
c. 8. and else-
where.

Lib. 1.

Taurus, or *Imaus*, where it divides *India* from *Tartaria*;) is that great Monarch, whom in *Europe* you commonly call the Great *Moghòl*: Which Name is given him, because of his being deriv'd from a Race of Tartars call'd *Moghòls*, who are of the City of *Samarcand*, and the Province of *Giagatà*, which is the ancient *Sogdiana*; as 'tis manifested by the Persian Geography, where to this day that Territory is denoted and distinguish'd by the ancient name of *Soghol*. *Teimùr Lenk*, call'd by us *Tamerlane*, as *Mir Aliscir* reports, a famous Author of those times, who writ his History in the *Persian-Tongue* handsomely and with great exactness, descended by a collateral line from the near kindred of *Cnighiz Chan*, the most puissant King of *Chataio*, known also in *Europe* to our Histories, and by *S. Antonino*, who writes largely concerning him, nam'd with a little corruption *Cingis Cham*. This *Cnighiz* warring with his neighbours, and destroying many other Principalities, became at length Lord of a Vast Dominion, and in a manner of all *Tartaria*, (which comprehends both the one and the other *Scythia*) and at his death divided the same between his Sons. To *Giagatà*, the second Son, fell the Country of *Samarcand*, with all *Sogdiana*, and sundry other adjacent Territories; and He, from his own Name call'd it *Giagataio*, and all the Nations who remain'd under his Government *Giagataians*: A very ancient custome of the *Scythians* to give the Princes Name to Counties and their Subjects, as appears by *Diodorus Siculus*. In process of time, a Descendant of *Giagatà* reigning still in these parts, *Teimùr Lenk*, though extracted from the noblest blood of the Kings, yet remote from the Royal Stock by a long series, liv'd in *Samarcand* his own Country, a man rather of valour then of great fortune. But it falling out that the King at that time was slain for his evil deportments, by the Grantees of the Country; in which conjuncture *Teimùr Lenk* was elected and placed in the Sovereignty: He, not contented with the sole Kingdom of *Giagataio*, being increas'd in strength and power, made afterwards those great Expeditions which the World beheld: Of which nevertheless, little sincere fame arrives to us; there being no European who hath written truly thereof, saving briefly in the *Spanish-Tongue* *Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo*, who was sent thither Ambassador by his King *Don Henry* the Third of *Castile*. In like manner *Teimùr* at his death left that his great acquired Empire, divided amongst many Sons and Nephews, who falling at variance afterwards, and their Successors continuing the same, ruin'd one another with sundry wars; and God knows whether in *Tartary* there be left at this day any Prince of that Race. A Cadet, or Younger Brother of them, who had no share among the *Tartars*, came over the Mountains to seek his fortune in *India*, within the Court of a Prince then reigning in one part of it: Where being once introduc'd, by great alliances and services he rais'd a great House; and in time, various Revolutions brought it to pass that

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one of his Successors came to be possess'd of that Kingdom, and to found the Royal Family now regnant; of which, with very great augmentations of Dominion *Sciàh Selim*, now living, is the fourth King, as his own Seals testifie, the impressiion whereof I keep by me, wherein is engraven all his pedigree as far as *Tamerlain*, from whom *Sciàh Selim* reckons himself the eighth descendent. When *Sciàh Selim* was born, he was at first call'd *Sceichù*; because the King *Ekbàr* his Father, having before had no children, conceiv'd he had obtain'd him by the prayers of a certain *Sceich*, (so they call a Religious Man) to whom he bore great reverence. But after he was come to ripe age, his Father chang'd his Name, as here they sometimes do, into *Sciàh Selim*, which, in the Arabian Dialect, the learned Language to all Mahometans, signifies *Rè Pacific*, a Peaceable, or Peace-making King; conceiving this Name to agree to his Nature: The Father dying, *Sciàh Selim* being advanc'd to the Kingdom, chang'd his Name once again (as 'tis the custom of many Oriental Princes on such an occasion) with more Magnificent Titles, (for their proper Names are nothing but Titles and Epithets) and would be call'd *Nur eddin*, *Muhammèd*, *Gihòn ghìr*, which partly in *Arabick*, partly in *Persick*, signifies, *The Light of the Law*, *Atahomet*, *Take the World*; in regard of the profession which he makes in publick of the Mahometan Sect; though really in secret, by what they report, he little cares for Mahomet and his Law, or any other Religion; accounting, according to the vain opinion of some in these parts, that a man may be sav'd in every Law. Nevertheless, the Name *Sciàh Selim*, tenaciously inhering in the memory of people, remains still to him, and in common discourse he is more frequently call'd by this than any other Name. He had two Brothers: One, who took a part of the Province *Dacan*, was call'd by his proper Name *Pekari*, and by surname *Sciàh Muràd*: The other, who dy'd in the City *Berhampòr*, was nam'd *Daniel*, and surnam'd *Sombòl Sciàh*, but both dyed without Heirs; whereupon their Dominion returned back to *Sciàh Selim*. I know not whether by one or more Women, this King had four Sons; the first, is call'd *Sultàn Ghosrou*; the second, *Sultàn Ferniz*; the third, *Sultàn Chorròm*, now in rebellion, (to whom, when he return'd from a war which he had prosperously manag'd in *Dacan*, his Father gave the title of *Sciabi' Gihòn*, which is interpreted, *King of the World*;) and the fourth *Sultàn Scehriar*, is yet a youth of small age. 'Tis possible, others besides these have been born to him; but being dead, either in Child-hood or long ago, there is no mention made of them at present. He hath one Wife or Queen, whom he esteems and favours above all other Women; and his whole Empire is govern'd at this day by her counsel. She was born in *India*, but of Persian Race; that is, the Daughter of a Persian, who coming, as many do into *India*, to the service of the *Moghòl*, hapned in time to prove a very great man in this Court, and, (if I mistake not) Chan

or Vice-roy of a Province. She was formerly Wife in *India* to an other Persian Captain who serv'd the *Moghòl* too; but after her Husbands death, a fair opportunity being offer'd, as it falls out many times to some handsome young Widows, I know not how *Sciàh Selim* had notice of her, and became in love with her. He would have carried her into his *Haràm*, or *Gynæceo*, and kept her there like one of his other Concubines, but the very cunning and ambitious Woman, counterfeited great honesty to the King, and refus'd to go into his Palace; and, as I believe, also to comply with his desires, saying, that she had been the Wife of an Honourable Captain, and Daughter of an Honourable Father, and should never wrong her own Honour, nor that of her Father and Husband: and that to go to the King's *Haram*, and live like one of the other Female-slaves there, was as unsuitable to her noble condition. Wherefore, if his Majesty had a fancy to her, he might take her for his lawful Wife, whereby his Honour would be not onely not injur'd, but highly enlarg'd; and on this condition she was at his service. *Sciàh Selim*, so disdain'd this haughty motion at first, that he had almost resolv'd in despatch to give her in Marriage to one of the Race which they call *Halàlchor*, as much as to say *Eater-at-large*, that is, to whom it is lawful to eat every thing; and for this cause they are accounted the most despicable people in *India*. However, the Woman persisting in her first resolution, intending rather to dye then alter it; and Love returning to make impetuous assaults on the King's Heart, with the help too, as some say, of Sorceries practis'd by her upon him, if there were any other charms (as I believe there were not) besides the conditions of the Woman which became lovely to the King by sympathy; at length he determin'd to receive her for his lawful Wife and Queen above all the rest. And as such she commands and governs at this day in the King's *Haram* with supream authority; having cunningly remov'd out of the *Haram*, either by Marriage or other handsome wayes, all the other Women, who might give her any jealousy; and having also in the Court made many alterations by deposing and displacing almost all the old Captains and Officers, and by advancing to dignities other new ones of her own creatures, and particularly those of her blood and alliance. This Queen is call'd at this day *Nurmabàl*, which signifies, *Light of the Palace*; A Name, I believe, conferr'd on her by the King, when he made her Queen. She hath a Brother, who is still in great favour with the King, and of great power, and is the *Asáf Chan*, whom I mention'd above, and one of whose Daughters is one of the Wives of *Sultan Chorròm* now in rebellion; whence some, not without ground, suspect that the present rebellion of *Sultan Chorròm*, is with some participation of *Asáf Chan*, and of *Nurmabàl* her self; perhaps upon design that the Kingdom may fall to him after the death of the Father. *Sultan Scehriàr* hath also to Wife a Daughter of *Nurmabàl* by her first Husband, for
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by the King she hath hitherto no Children : Wherin appears the prudence of this Woman, who hath so well establish'd her self with alliances in the Royal Family. But to return to the King's Children, *Sultàn Chofrou* the eldest, who was a Prince of much expectation, well belov'd, and, as they say, a friend in particular of the Christians, being at the government of I know not what Country, rebell'd against his Father, under pretext that the Kingdom by right belonged unto him, because indeed King *Ekbab* his Grand-father, at his death left it to him his Nephew being then born, and not to *Selim* the Father who was his Son ; being displeas'd with his Son *Selim*, for that one time in his life he attempted to rebel against him. So easie are Insurrections amongst these Infidels, and so little faith can Fathers have in Sons, and they in their own Fathers : With this pretence *Sultàn Chofrou*, once rais'd a great Army against his Father ; but coming to a battel he was routed and fore'd to surrender himself freely to his Father : Who chiding him with words rather gentle than otherwise, ask'd him to what end he made these tumults, knowing well that he held and kept the whole Kingdom for him? Yet his deeds were sharper then his words ; for in the first place, he caus'd all the chief Captains who had follow'd him in the war to be cruelly slain, and shewing them so slain to *Chofrou*, as in his return with Triumph he made pass along with himself in the middle of a long row of them barbarously mangled in several manners, and to behold some of his faithfullest Confidants sew'd up in beasts skins, and be so left miserably to rot ; he bad him see in what sort of people he had confided. Moreover, he suffer'd him no longer to live freely, but committed him to the safe but Honourable custody of certain Grandees of his Court : And, which was worse, he caus'd his eyes to be sew'd up, as 'tis sometimes the custom here ; to the end to deprive him of sight without excacating him, that so he might be unfit to cause any more commotions ; which sewing, if it continue long, they say it wholly causes loss of Sight ; but after a while, the Father caus'd this Prince's eyes to be unrip'd again, so that he was not blinded but saw again, and it was only a temporal pennance. Yet he was not deliver'd from prison, in which he lived so closely for two years, that onely one person was suffer'd to be with him in the prison to serve him. *Nurmabàl*, who had apprehended that *Sultàn Chofrou* would succeed his Father in the Kingdom, and desir'd to establish her self well, had frequently offer'd her Daughter to *Sultàn Chofrou* before she married her to *Sultàn Scehriàr* ; but he, either for that he had another Wife he lov'd sufficiently, and would not wrong her, or because he scorn'd *Nurmabàl's* Daughter, would never consent : Infomuch that whilst he was in prison, and was told by reiterated messages that if he would marry *Nurmabàl's* Daughter, he should be immediately set free ; nevertheless he would not be brought to do it. His Wife, on the contrary, who lov'd him as well as he lov'd her, obtain'd to be the person

person allotted to serve him in the prison, and accordingly went thither and liv'd with him so long as he was there, never ceasing to perswade him to marry *Nurmahal's* Daughter, that so he might be deliver'd from those troubles; that for her part, she was content to live with him as a slave, provided she saw him free and in a good condition; but he could never be prevail'd with. Thus he liv'd in prison with his faithful and dear Wife, till, the malice of his persecutors and his Father's anger being wearied, about two years after he was taken out of prison, but still held in a more honourable custody. For these things, *Sultan Chofrou* remain'd always much in the hatred of *Nurmahal*; who despairing to marry her Daughter to him, gave her to *Sultan Scehriar*, as is above said. *Sultan Peruiz*, the second Son, is now Governour of the Kingdom of *Bengala* at the mouth of *Ganges*, and lives peaceably, nor is any news heard of him. *Sultan Chorròm*, the third Son, had and hath under his Government that part of *Dacan*, which is subject to the *Moghol*, but now is about to usurp the Kingdom of *Guzarat*, where I writ these things. *Sultan Scehriar* hath no Government yet, but 'tis said that he is lately made Captain of eight thousand Horse: Now touching the rebellion and the beginning of it; *Sultan Chorròm*, after the alliance that he made with *Asaf Chan*, so wrought by the means of his Father in law, and *Numerhal* his Aunt, that the King granted him the prisoner *Sultan Chofrou* into his own power, taking him out of the hands of him that kept him, and committing him to him to keep, yet with order to use him very well and have great care of him. And this, because *Chorròm* refus'd to go to his government, and to the war whereunto they sent him, unless he carried *Sultan Chofrou* with him, alledging that it was not convenient that he should be absent from the Court whilst *Sultan Chofrou* his competitor and back-friend staid there; when he had got him into his hands, he went to his government, and there kept and treated him honourably a year or two: but afterwards, out of the intention which he always had to remove him out of his way to the succession of the Kingdom, he being absent (as some say) sent him poyson'd meats, appointing certain of his Captains who kept him, to make him eat those meats by any means, either fair or foul. The Captains punctually executed this order; but because *Sultan Chofrou*, becoming suspicious by their importunity to have him eat, would by no means taste of those meats, saying plainly, that they intended to poyson him; the Captains, since there was no other remedy, and perhaps having order, leap'd all upon him, and he defended himself bravely, till at length having fell'd him to the ground, they strangled him with a Bow-string. Others say, that *Sultan Chorròm* himself slew him with his own hand publickly. Be it as it will, *Sultan Chofrou* dy'd of a violent death; and *Sultan Chorròm* was either by himself, or by mediation of others the Murtherer. *Sciah Selim* upon hearing this news, being highly displeas'd with

Sultan

Sultan Chorrorm, calls him to Court to give account of the fact. *Sultan Chorrorm* would not obey the Summons, but gathering together his Forces, which nevertheless are not great to withstand his Father; and raising not onely those of his own jurisdiction, but also divers other neighbouring Cities not comprehended therein, (as *Cambaia* and other such, from which he hath remov'd the Governours plac'd there by his Father, and appointed others at his own devotion) with the assistance and counsel of some petty Gentile Princes, he remov'd his Camp towards *Agra*, as is above intimated. In which commotions, and the death of *Sultan Chosrou*, 'tis not onely suspected that there is some conspiracy of *Asaf Chan* and *Nurmahal*, his ancient enemies in secret, but also that the King of *Persia* is of intelligence with them, who about the same time, or a little before, on his side made the warr of *Candabar*: in which the coldness which the *Moghol* shew'd, proceeded, no doubt, either from his not being well inform'd, because perhaps *Nurmahal*, and *Asaf Chan*, who were his chief Counsellors, suffering not true intelligence to be signifi'd to him; or perhaps, because the evil carriage of *Sultan Chorrorm* hath hitherto necessitated him to stand in suspense. 'Tis true, the last Advertisements from *Agra*, that the King, as I said, sent *Asaf Chan* to remove the treasure from thence, argue that the King still entrusts him; and consequently, either that he is not in fault, or that his fault is not yet known. The doubt will be best clear'd by Time. *Sultan Chosrou* left a little Son behind him, whose name is *Sultan Bulachi*: But my journey now calls me elsewhere.

The Commendator having read the Letters from *Agra*, and communicated to me all the News, it being now Evening, I took leave of him; and after sundry volleys of muskets he return'd to the City; and I with my company of five Coaches, took the way of *Cambaia*. Having travell'd two *Cos*, we ferri'd over the same River of *Surat*; and then proceeded four other *Cos*, which in all were six, and at Night took up our lodging at a Town call'd *Periab*: But we rested little, because soon after mid-night we put our selves upon the way again. Our journey from *Surat* to *Cambaia*, was always with our faces towards the North. The next Morning early, we made a Collation by the side of a Piscina, or Lake, which we found by the way of a long and narrow form, of which kind there are many in these parts. Having travell'd sixteen *Cos*, which was from *Surat* in all two and twenty, before Evening we arriv'd at the City of *Barocci*, or *Behrug*, as they call it in Persian; under the walls whereof, on the South side runs a River call'd *Nerbeda*, which we ferri'd over. The City is encompass'd with a wall of moderate bigness, built high upon a rising hill. For the circuit 'tis populous enough, as generally are all the parts of *India*. 'Tis considerable for a very great Trade of fine Cotton Cloth, or Callico, made more plentifully there than in other places, and dispers'd not onely through

Asia,

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Asia, but also into our *Europe*; so that the English and Dutch (which two Nations have Houses of constant residence here) freight five or six great ships therewith every year; and for the better imbarcking it, make it up in very great balls, each as big as Roman Coach; and every piece of Cloth, little bigger then one of our Towels, being carri'd to *Aleppo*, will not be sold for less then three or four *Piastre*, and in *Italy* at least for six Crowns. Whence you may infer, what wealth comes out of this small City alone, which for compass and buildings, is not greater then *Siena* in *Tuscany*, although 'tis above three times as populous; and you may also consider to what summ the Prince's Customs arise. A few *Cos* from the City, is a Mine of *Calcidonies* and *Agates*, white and green; but these stones are carry'd less into *Barocci* then to *Cambaia*, although it be further from the Mine, because there is a Sea-port, and a greater concourse of foreign Merchants; and in *Cambaia* they are wrought into little Globes, either round or oval, to make Coronets or Neck-laces, and also little Cups, and divers other curious vessels for ornament. The Sea comes not up to *Barocci* even at the highest tides, but is about as many miles distant as 'tis from *Surât*. When we pass'd over the River, our Dutch Trumpeter sounding his Instrument, gave notice of our coming to his Country men residing in *Barocci*; and they, at the Summons, came immediatly to the bank-side to meet us; from whence we went with them to lodge in the Dutch House there. Late in the Evening they carry'd us to see a *Patache*, or small Indian ship which they were building, and was not yet finish'd, in which they treated us till night, drinking of *Tari*, which is a liquor drawn from the Nut-trees of *India*, whitish and a little troubled; of taste, somewhat sowrish and sweet too, not unpleasing to the palate, almost like our Poignant or Brisk-wine; yet it inebriates as Wine doth, if drunk immoderately. The next day, which was *Wednesday Feb. 22.* we departed from *Barocci* late in the Forenoon. Six *Cos* off, we made a Collation near a water without lighting out of the Coach, having brought provision with us for this purpose from *Barocci*. Afterwards upon the way we met the Wife and Family of the Governour of *Cambaia*, remov'd from that charge by the Rebel *Sultan Chorrôm*, who had plac'd another there at his devotion; and this, being driven from thence, return'd to *Surât*, where his house and usual habitation was. His Wife was carry'd upon an Elephant, in a cover'd and very convenient litter. Three other Elephants follow'd unladen, saving with the men upon their necks who guided them; then abundance of Coaches, partly cover'd and full of women, partly uncover'd with men in them; then a great number of Souldiers, Horse and Foot; and, in brief, a great train suitable to the quality of the person and the custom of *India*, which is to have a very numerous attendance whoever it be. After this we foarded a small River, which I believe, was of salt water,; which, they say, is call'd

call'd *Dilavel*; and before night having travell'd eighteen *Cos*, we staid to lodge in a great Town call'd *Giambuser*. On *Thursday*, two hours before day, we arose to go along with a great *Casila*, or *Caravan*, which was there united; nevertheless we departed not so soon, but were fain to wait in the Coach till almost day; because the City was lock'd up, and none was suffer'd to go forth without paying a Toll, as likewise was paid in many other places the same day, though of small value. The *Casila* was so great, and the Coaches so many, that in certain narrow places we were fain to stay a good while before we could go forwards; just as it happens in the streets of *Naples* and *Rome* at solemn poms. Having travell'd about five *Cos*, an hour after Sun-rise, we came to an arm of the Sea, or, to speak better, to the inmost part of the Gulph of *Cambaia*, directly where the River *Mehi* falls into the Sea: In which place, the flux and reflux of the Sea is more impetuous and violent, and with a more rapid current, then perhaps in any other part of the world, at least any whereof I have knowledge. But before I proceed further, 'tis needful here to correct an enormous error of many of our Geographers, even Moderns, which hath likewise given occasion of mistake to sundry Historians. In almost all the Mapps which hitherto I have seen, the River *Indus* is always describ'd falling into the Sea at the inmost recess of the Gulph of *Cambaia*; which is a grievous error, and as wide from truth as the whole Country of *Guzarat* is broad, (and 'tis no narrow one): for *Indus*, which is discharg'd into the Sea with two very large mouths, sufficiently distant, runs not on the East of *Guzarat*, as it should do if it enter'd into the Sea at the Gulph of *Cambaia*; but rather on the West, and so far from the Gulph of *Cambaia*, that all *Guzarat*, and perhaps some other Countries lye between. Wherefore the River which disembogues in the inmost part of this Gulph, is not *Indus*, but this *Mehi* which I speak of, a River of handsome but ordinary greatness, and hath not the least correspondence with *Indus*. Now, being come to the side of it, we were fain to foard over this Water, and not without danger: For there is a plain of about five *Cos*, which is all over-flow'd at high Tide; and when the water is lowest, in three or four places there are waters sufficiently broad and deep to be foarded; and should the Sea happen to come in whilst a man is in that passage, he would infallibly be drown'd. And besides, even in those places which are always foardable, when the Water is a little higher, or the current more furious then ordinary (for 'tis not always equal, but more or less, according to the times of the Moon) it often carries away people, and sometimes with such violence, that an Elephant cannot bear up against it, but is swept away by the Water. Therefore they wait certain fit hours to pass this foard, namely, when the Sea is at the lowest Ebb; which, if I mistake not, in all other places of the World is wont to be when the Moon is either rising or setting in the Horizon;

zon; as, on the contrary, when the Moon is in the middle of Heaven, the Tide uses to be at the highest. But in the Gulph of *Cambaia*, I know not upon what reason, perhaps because 'tis much within the Land, and far from the great mass of the Ocean, it happens at another different hour, yet well known to the Country-people. The more cautious, wait also the most fitting days in the month; because at the New Moon and Full Moon the Waters are always greater and higher; and, without comparison, highest and most impetuous of all, about the *Æquinoxes* and *Solstices*: In the quarters of the Moon the Tides are moderate, and in other intermediate days, lower than the rest. So that we being come to this place a few days before the New Moon, were come in a good time, and likewise in a seasonable hour, the *Casila*, or *Caravan*, having set forth from the City in such a moment as was exactly convenient for ordering matters right; for the owners of the Coaches, and the others imploy'd in this journey, are well instructed of every thing, and know what they have to do. So being united in a great troop, the better to break the stream, we pass'd over all that space of five *Cos*, which was moist yet firm ground; saving that in four places where we forded the running-water of the River, which nevertheless is salt there, the great strength of the Sea overcoming that of the River. Of the four streams which we waded, the first was inconsiderable, the other three came higher than the belly of the Oxen which drew the Coaches, into which nevertheless the Water enter'd not, because their floor, and especially the wheels are very high; and you sit, according to the manner of the East, as upon plain ground, without hanging the Legs downwards, but keeping them bow'd under you. For greater security, they hir'd sundry men on foot, who held the Coaches on either side stedfast with their hands, that so in regard of their lightness, they might not float and be carry'd away; and also to carry our bundles high on their heads, that so the same might not be wetted if the Water should come into the body of the Coaches. The men who go on foot in this passage, either strip themselves naked, covering onely their privities with a little cloth, or pulling up their coat, which, as I said, is of plain white linnen, and serves both for garment and shirt; and also tucking up their breeches made of the same, they care not for wetting themselves. 'Tis certainly an odd thing to behold in this passage, which is very much frequented, abundance of people go every day in this manner, some in Coaches and Charriots, others on Horseback and a foot, men and also women naked, without being shie who sees them; a spectacle, no doubt, sufficiently extravagant. This wet passage being over, there remain two other *Cos*, but of firm and higher ground, (which is not overflow'd, although it be plain and the Sea-shore) to arrive at the City of *Cambaia*, whither we came before dinner-time, having travell'd that day, in all, twelve *Cos*. And here likewise

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we went to lodge in the House which belongs to the Dutch Merchants, by whom we were receiv'd with great kindness, and treated continually with exquisite cheer ; for such was the order of the Commendator concerning us in all places.

Cambaia is a City indifferently large, though most of its greatness consists in Suburbs without the walls, which are sufficiently spacious. 'Tis seated on the Sea-shore, in a plain, almost in the utmost recess of that great Gulph, whereunto it gives name. The City, that is the inner part, without the Suburbs is encompass'd with walls, built with plain cortines and round battlements. The Houses within, are brickt with coverings of Tiles and Cisterns, which is the custom in *India* for provision of Water, which falls in such plenty during those three moneths of the great Summer rains. In our Countries they would be ordinary Houses, but in these parts they are counted good, and perhaps, the best of the whole Province ; and they are made shady and cool, as the heat of the place requires. The City hath no form'd Port, because it stands in a low Plain, but 'tis call'd a Port, by reason of the great concourse of Vessels thither from several parts ; which nevertheless for the most part are Frigots, Galeots, and other small ones of that make, which go either by oar or sail ; because great ones cannot come near the Land by a great way. The people of *Cambaia* are most part Gentiles ; and here, more then elsewhere, their vain superstitions are observed with rigor. Wherefore we, who came particularly to see these things, the same day of our arrival, after we had din'd and rested a while, caus'd our selves to be conducted to see a famous Hospital of Birds of all sorts, which, for being sick, lame, depriv'd of their mates, or otherwise needing food and cure, are kept and tended there with diligence ; as also the men who take care of them, are maintain'd by the publick alms ; the Indian Gentiles, (who, with *Pythagoras* and the ancient *Ægyptians*, (the first Authors of this opinion, according to *Herodotus*) believe the Transmigration of Souls, not onely from Man to Man, but also from Man to brute beast) conceiving it no less a work of Charity to do good to beasts then to Men. The House of this Hospital is small, a little room sufficing for many Birds : Yet I saw it full of Birds of all sorts which need tendance, as Cocks, Hens, Pigeons, Peacocks, Ducks, and small Birds, which during their being lame, or sick, or mateless, are kept here ; but being recover'd and in good plight, if they be wild, they are let go at liberty ; if domestick, they are given to some pious person who keeps them in his House. The most curious thing I saw in this place, were certain little Mice, who being found Orphans without Sire or Dam to tend them, were put into this Hospital ; and a venerable Old Man with a white Beard keeping them in a box amongst Cotton, very diligently tended them with his spectacles on his nose, giving them milk to eat with a Bird's feather, because they were so little that as yet they could

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eat nothing else ; and, as he told us, he intended when they were grown up, to let them go free whither they pleas'd. From this place we went out of the City to the Sea-side, to see a Garden sometimes belonging to the Kings of *Guzarat*. 'Tis small, adorn'd with the same Trees as that which I saw in *Surât*, with some also of ours, as the Figtrees and Coleworts of *Europe*, which in *India* are accounted rare things. There is a running-water which at the entrance falls from a great *Kiosck*, or cover'd place to keep cool, standing upon a great *Piscina*, or Lake, contiguous to the Garden on the out-side ; and serving like that of *Surât*, to the common uses of the City. Besides which, in this Garden there is nothing worth notice : Going from hence we went to see upon the same Lake a *Meschita*, or Temple of the Mahometans, whereunto there is continually a great concourse of people with ridiculous and foolish devotions, not onely Mahometans, but likewise Gentiles. In the street before the Gate, many persons sitting on the ground asked Alms, to whom the passers-by cast some Rice ; others, certain other Corn, but no Money : Within the *Meschita*, in a narrow dark place by a wall's side, is a kind of little Pyramid of Marble, and this they call *Pir*, that is, *Old*, which they say is equivalent to Holy : I imagine it the Sepulchre of some one of their Sect accounted such. The people enter in with great crowds, especially Women, who use to be more forward in these things than others : All who go in, strew Flowers or Rice there ; to which end stand divers near the Gate that sell Flowers to who so pleases for such Offerings : But this is rather a Custom of the Gentiles than Mahometans ; and the Gentiles being more numerous and ancient in *Cambaia*, 'tis no wonder that some Rite of theirs hath adher'd to the Mahometans. A little distant from this place, we saw another Sepulchre ador'd too of some Mahometan (for the Gentiles, who burn their dead, have no Sepulchres) built with a great roof four square, supported by divers pillars, and under it a place open on all sides like a Porch ; this also many persons came to kiss and venerate. Beyond the abovemention'd Garden upon the Sea-side, we saw another Sepulchre of a Mahometan of quality, having a high round Cupola, like a Tower, which is ascended by a little ladder, and there you have a most goodly prospect upon the Sea and Land, to a great distance. These things being seen, we return'd home the same way we came : The next Morning, going about the City, we saw another Hospital of Goats, Kids, Sheep, and Weathers, either sick or lame, and there were also some Cocks, Peacocks, and other Animals needing the same help, and kept altogether quietly enough in a great Court ; nor wanted there Men and Women lodg'd in little rooms of the same Hospital, who had care of them. In another place, far from hence we saw another Hospital of Cows and Calves, some whereof had broken Legs, others more infirm, very old, or lean, and therefore were kept here to be cur'd. Among the beasts there was

was also a Mahometan Thief, who having been taken in Theft had both his Hands cut off: But the compassionate Gentiles, that he might not perish miserably, now he was no longer able to get his living, took him into this place, and kept him among the poor beasts, not suffering him to want any thing. Moreover, without one of the Gates of the City, we saw another great troop of Cows, Calves, and Goats, which being cur'd, and brought into better plight, or gather'd together from being dispers'd and without Masters, or being redeem'd with Money from the Mahometans who would have kill'd them to eat, (namely, the Goats and other Animals, but not the Cows and Calves) were sent into the field to feed by Neat-herds, purposely maintain'd at the publick charge; and thus they are kept till being reduc'd to perfect health, 'tis found fitting to give them to some Citizens, or others who may charitably keep them. I excepted Cows and Calves from the Animals redeem'd from slaughter; because in *Cambaia*, Cows, Calves, and Oxen, are not killed by any: And there's a great prohibition against it, by the instance of the Gentiles, who upon this account pay a great sum of Money to the Prince; and should any, either Mahometan or other be found to kill them, he would be punish'd severely, even with death. At Night we had Musick at home, made by some Mahometan Women Singers and Dancers, (for among the Gentiles none practise such Arts) who with their Indian Instruments, which are Drums, Bells ty'd to the Arms, and the like, all of great noise, gave us divertisement, playing, dancing, and singing whilst we were at Supper; but their Musick being too full of noise, was to me rather distasteful then pleasing. The next Morning we saw in the City a Temple of Idols, one of the best which the Gentiles have in *Cambaia*. The form of it is perfect square, with walls round about, supporting a flat roof, which is also upheld in the middle by four pillars dispos'd in a square too; within which, upon the little space remaining, is advanc'd somewhat higher then the roof, and yet of a square form, a kind of *Cupoletta*, or little Chappel. In the principal part of this Temple stand in three great *Nieches* so many great Idols, made of white Marble, and naked, (as the Indians paint all their Idols:) They are in a sitting posture, yet after the manner of the East, as they use to sit upon the ground with the Legs gather'd under; but they sit in a place somewhat higher then the floare, as it were upon a large Pedestal. These *Nieches* are inclos'd with doors made with lattices; that so the Idols may be seen without opening them; but they are open'd upon occasion for any that are minded to go in: They were so for us, but we entred not, because the *Nieches* are so small that we saw every thing well enough from the doors. The principal Idol in this Temple, is that which stands in the middle *Nieche*, call'd *Mahavir*, from whom the Temple is denominat'd: Who this *Mahavir* is, and whether he be all one with *Mahaden*, as I have

have some suspicion, I do not yet know; because the Indians who talkt with us, either in the *Portugal* or *Persian*-Tongue, being all Factors or Merchants, and consequently unlearned, could not give us any account of these things; besides, they speak those Languages ill, and are not intelligible saving in buying and selling: With other learned Gentiles, to whom alone their Indian Speech is familiar, we could not discourse for want of Language; wherefore of all these things, and all the particularities of their Religion, I reserve my self to be further inform'd at *Goa*, if it shall please God; where I shall have better convenience and more time, and meet with some learned Brachman, perhaps turn'd Christian, and able to give me a more certain Relation hereof either in *Portuguez* or *Latine*; and if he be a Christian, he will, no doubt, give it me more truly then the Gentiles, who I believe, talk with us concerning their own matters neither willingly nor sincerely. Wherefore referring my self to the better intelligence which I hope to have there, I shall here only relate what I saw with mine own eyes, and something more which I attain'd to understand, without suspicion of error. Before the Idol without the *Nieche* hung a Bell, (as 'tis the custom in all their Temples) which, as I said before, all those who come to make their prayers ring at their first entrance. Within this and the other *Nieches* on the sides, were one or two lighted Candles. In the other sides of the Temple, something higher then the pavement, were in the wall certain little *Nieches*, in each of which stood an Idolet, or little Idol, some in the shape of Men, others of Women. One there was which had many Arms on a side, and many Faces; and this they said was call'd *Brachma*, one of their chief false Deities. Another had the head of an Elephant, and was call'd *Ganescio*: They say, he is the Son of *Mahaden*, who finding him one day with *Parveti* his Wife, but his own Mother, and not knowing who he was, kill'd him out of jealousy, cutting off his Head; but afterwards understanding that he was his own Son, he repented him of his error, and resolv'd to bring him to life again: Wherefore meeting with an Elephant, (as he had purpos'd to do with what he first happen'd upon) he cut off his Head and plac'd it on his dead Son's Shoulders: Whereupon *Ganescio* reviv'd, and thenceforward liv'd immortal with an Elephants Head. But behold another delusion. One there is with the Head, I know not, whether of a Tyger or Lyon, probably 'tis that *Narofinba*, which I formerly writ that I saw in *Combru*, in the maritime parts of *Persia*. Some of these Idolets sate upon fundry Animals, as Tygers and the like, and even upon Rats; of which things the foolish and ignorant Indians relate ridiculous stories: But I doubt not, that under the veil of these Fables, their ancient Sages (most parsimonious of the Sciences, as all Barbarians ever were) have hid from the vulgar many secrets, either of Natural or Moral Philosophy, and perhaps also of History: And I hold for

for certain, that all these so monstrous figures have secretly some more rational significations, though express'd in this uncouth manner: As we know in ancient time among the Gentiles of our Countries there was, in the figures of quadrifronted *Janus*; of *Jupiter Ammon*, with the Head of a Ram; of *Anubis*, with the Head of a Dog, and many other extravagances not onely of the *Grecians* and *Egyptians*, but also of the *Romans*. The Sieling, Pillars, and Walls of this Temple were adorn'd with Painting, especially red, which how dear 'tis to the *Indians*, I formerly intimated. The doors of their Houses, namely, the Posts, Architraves, and Barrs that fasten it, are all colour'd so; adding some mixture of white limes to the red; for of white too they are so enamour'd, that all Men are generally cloth'd with it. A custom peradventure deriv'd to them from *Egypt* where it was in use, as *Herodotus* writes; and whence perhaps *Pythagoras* himself learnt it, who went cloth'd in white, as we find noted by *Ælian*, and others. And I observe, that in many particulars the manners of the present *Indians* much resemble those of the ancient *Egyptians*; but since the *Egyptians* who descended from *Cham* the Son of *Noah*, were a very ancient people, I rather believe that the *Indians* learnt from the *Egyptians*, then the *Egyptians* from the *Indians*; and 'tis known, that from *Egypt* there was always Navigation and Commerce into *India* by the Southern Ocean. The red colour, amongst these *Indians* is, besides by the Women, worn also by the *Sami*, who are a kind of religious persons; with red, the *Gioghi* who live like Hermits and go about begging, sometimes paint their bodies in many parts; and also with red blended with yellow, that is, with some parcel of Sanders or Saffron, almost all the Indian Gentiles dye their fore-heads, and sometimes their garments; accordingly, as *Strabo* reports from the testimony of *Onesicritus*, they did likewise in the time of *Alexander* the Great. Lastly, they wear red Turbants upon their Heads, and their Girdles are oftner wrought with red then any other colour. After having seen the Temple of *Mahavir*, we went to visit an old Brachman, accounted very learned amongst them, with whom we discours'd as well as we could by an interpreter, because he understood no other Language but the *Indian*. We found him amongst many Scholars, to whom he was giving a Lecture: He shew'd us his Books written in an antique Character, which is the learned amongst them, not common to the vulgar, but known onely to the learned, and us'd by the Brachmans; who, in distinction from other vulgar Characters, us'd variously in sundry Provinces of *India*, call it *Nagheri*. I have, and shall carry with me two small Books of it, which I sometimes bought in *Lar*. This Brachman is call'd *Beca Azàrg*; of which words, *Beca* is his proper Name, and *Azàrg* his Title of Honour. Amongst other Books, he shew'd us that of their sect; in which, though it was bound long ways, as 'tis the fashion of their Books, yet the lines were written cross the paper, after the manner of
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De Vita Apoll.
lib. 3. cap. 6.

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some of our Musick-Books : He affirm'd to us for certain, that it was a work of *Pythagoras*, which well agreeth with what, *Philostratus* saith, *Jarchas* told *Apollonius*, namely, that they *Indians* believ'd the same concerning the Soul which *Pythagoras* had taught them, and they the *Egyptians* ; which is quite contrary to what, I said before, was my opinion, which of these two Nations first taught the other. But *Diogenes Laertius*, who writes *Pythagoras's* Life copiously enough, making mention of his going into *Egypt*, and how he convers'd likewise with the *Chaldeans* and *Magi*, yet speaks not a word that ever he went into *India*, or had communication with the *Brachmans*. Wherefore, if *Pythagoras* taught any thing to the *Indians*, as *Jarchas* said, he did it not in person but by his books, which possibly were carry'd into *India*. Moreover *Beca Azarg* added, that their *Brachma*, esteemed one of the chief amongst their false Gods, (from whom they are denominatèd *Brachmans*) is all one with *Pythagoras* : A curious notion indeed, and which, perhaps, would be news to hear in *Europe*, that *Pythagoras* is foolishly ador'd in *India* for a God. But this, with *Beca Azarg's* good leave, I do not believe : Either he did not expressly speak thus, and by the fault of the Interpreters we did not understand him aright ; or, if he did affirm it, perhaps he came to be mistaken by having heard *Pythagoras* nam'd by some *Europæans* for the Author of that foolish opinion of the Transmigration of Souls. Be it as it will, I cannot believe that *Pythagoras* and *Brachma* are all one ; because though *Pythagoras* be very ancient, for he flourish'd in the Consulship of *Brutus*, who expell'd the Kings out of *Rome* ; yet I hold the Rites and opinions of the *Brachmans* much more ancient. For when *Diodorus* relates the contest of the two Wives of *Ceteus*, an Indian Captain in the Army of *Eumenes*, each of whom would be burnt with her Husband slain in battel, speaking of the Laws, Customs, and Rites of the *Indians*, he calls them, even at that time, Ancient things. And though *Pythagoras* and the Consulship of *Brutus* may precede not onely *Eumenes*, who was one of *Alexander the Great's* successors, but *Alexander* himself by about two ages, according to the Chronology of *Bellarmino*, which to me seems good enough ; yet the space of two hundred years or somewhat more, is not such as that those things may be call'd Ancient, which had their beginning within so short a term ; as it should be infallibly, if *Pythagoras*, whom they take to be their *Brachma*, were the first Author to the *Indians* of their Learning, and consequently of their Rites, Customs, and Laws. But since I have already made frequent mention of the *Brachmans*, and perhaps shall have occasion to do the same hereafter ; to the end it may be understood what they are, I shall here subjoyn so much as I have hitherto attain'd to know concerning them, and all the other *Indians*.

The whole Gentile-people of *India* is divided into many sects or parties of men, known and distinguish'd by descent or pedigree,

pedigree, as the Tribes of the Jews sometimes were; yet they inhabit the Country promiscuously mingled together, in every City and Land several Races one with another. 'Tis reckon'd that they are in all eighty four; some say, more, making a more exact and subtle division. Every of these hath a particular name, and also a special office and imployment in the Commonwealth, from which none of the descendents of that Race ever swerve; they never rise nor fall, nor change condition: Whence some are Husbandmen, others, Mechanick, as Taylors, Shoemakers, and the like; others, Factors or Merchants, such as they whom we call *Banians*, but they in their Language more correctly *Vanià*: Others, Souldiers, as the *Ragia-puti*; And thus every one attends, and is employ'd in the proper Trade of his Family, without any mutation ever hapning amongst them, or Alliance of one Race contracted with another. *Diodorus* and *Strabo*, (almost with the same words, as if the one had transcrib'd the other) affirm, that anciently the Races of the Indians were seven, each addicted to their proper profession; and for the first of all, they place that of the Philosophers, who, no doubt, are the Brachmans. Into seven kinds of men with their particular, and by Generation perpetuated Offices, *Herodotus* in like manner writes, (and *Diodorus* confirms it, though he disagrees in the number) the people of *Ægypt* was divided in those days; whereby 'tis manifest what correspondence there was between *Ægypt* and *India* in all things. Nor do I wonder at the division into seven Races onely, because what is observ'd at this day, must then also have hapned, namely, that the so many Races which they reckon, are reduc'd to four principal; which, if I mistake not, are the Brachmans, the Souldiers, the Merchants, and the Artificers; from whom by more minute subdivision all the rest are deriv'd, in such number as in the whole people there are various professions of men. In the substantial points of Religion all agree together, all believe the Transmigration of Souls, which according to their merits and demerits (they think) are sent by God into other bodies, either of Animals more or less clean, and of more or less painful life; or else of men more or less noble and handsome, and more or less pure of Race, wherein they place not a little of their vain superstition; accounting all other Nations and Religions, besides themselves, unclean; and some more than others, according as they more or less differ from their Customs. All equally believe that there is a Paradise in Heaven with God, but that thercinto go onely the Souls of their own Nation, more pure and without any sin, who have liv'd piously in this world: Or in case they have sin'd, that after divers Transmigrations into various bodies of Animals and Men, having by often returning into the world undergone many pains, they are at length purg'd, and at last dye in the body of some man of Indian and noble Race, as the Brachmans, who amongst them are held the noblest and purest;

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because their employment is nothing else but the Divine Worship, the service of Temples and Learning, and they observe their own Religion with more rigor then any others. 'Tis true, the Brachmans, who amongst the Indians, in my opinion, much resemble the Levites of the Jews, are divided too into several sorts, one more noble then another, and, according to nobility, more rigorous also in matter of eating, and in their other superstitious Ceremonies; for some of them are Astrologers, some Physitians, some Secretaries of Princes; and so of other sorts of Scholars which I know not well: but the most esteem'd and most sublime amongst the Brachmans, and consequently, the most rigorous of all in point of eating and other observances, are those who perform the Office of Priests, whom they call *Boti*. Ordinarily they never admit into their Sect any man of another Religion; nor do they think that they do ill herein, or contrary to the zeal of saving Souls; since believing the Transmigration, they conceive it not necessary to salvation to change Religion, although one be of a false Sect; but judge that if this Soul shall be worthy to have pardon from God, it shall after death, and after being purg'd sundry ways, pass into, and be born in the body of some Indian amongst them, and live excellently; and so by this way at last arrive at Paradise and live with God, although in the beginning it was in the world in the body of the worst sinner and miscreant whatever. With people of other Religion they never eat, nor will have any communication of food, and, as much as possible, they avoid even to touch them; conceiving themselves polluted by communicating with others. And herein they are so scrupulous, that even amongst the Indians themselves, one of more noble Race, not only neither eats, nor makes use of the same clothes, or vessels, nor communicates in any thing with one less noble, but also endures not to be touch'd by him; which if it fall out by chance that he be, he must purifie himself from the defilement by washings, and other arrogant Ceremonies. And hence 'tis a pretty sight to behold the great respect which upon this account the ignoble bear to the more noble then themselves, and how upon meeting in the street, the ignoble not onely give place, but dance wildly up and down for fear of rushing against the noble, and polluting them in any measure; which, if they should not do, the Noble, and especially the Souldiers, would make them do it to the Musick of blows. From this averfeness to communicate one with another, particularly, in the use of eating and drinking-vessels, concerning which they are most strict, is sprung a strange Custom, which I was delighted not onely to see, but also sometimes out of gallantry to imitate in conversation. It happens very often during hot weather, both in Travelling and in Towns, that people have need of refreshing themselves, and drinking of a little water; but because every one hath not a drinking-vessel of his own ready, to avoid defiling or being de-
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fil'd by his companion's cup ; there's a way found out whereby any person may drink in that, or any other whatever, without scruple or danger of any either active or passive contamination. This is done, by drinking in such manner that the vessel touches not the lips or mouth of him who drinks ; for it is held up on high with the hand over the mouth, and he that lifts it up highest, and holds it farthest from his mouth, shews himself most mannerly ; and thus powring the liquor out of the cup into the mouth, they drink round while there is any left, or so long as they please. So accusom'd are the Indians to drink in this manner, that they practise it almost continually with their own vessels for delight, without the necessity of shunning communication with others ; and they are so dextrous at it, that I remember to have seen one of them take with both hands a vessel as big as a basin, and lifting it up above a span higher then his mouth, powre a great torrent of water into his throat and drink it all off. Having been frequently present at such occasions, that where ever I came the Indians might not be shie of reaching me a cup of water, I purposely set my self to learn this manner of drinking, which I call *drinking in the Air*, and at length have learn'd it ; not with cups as big as basins, like his above said ; but with a handsome cruze, like those we use, or with a little bottle or drinking glass made on purpose, I do it very well : Sometimes in conversation we drink healths *all' Indiana*, after this fashion, with consent that all do reason in the same manner ; and he that cannot do it right, either wets himself well, or falls a coughing and yexing, which gives occasion of laughter. But to return to the opinions of the Indians ; As for good works and sins, they all agree with the Doctrine of Morality, and the universal consent of Mankind, that there are differences of Virtue and Vice in all the world. They hold not onely Adultery, but even simple Fornication a great sin ; nor do they account it lawful, as the Mahometans do, to have commerce with femal slaves, or with others besides their own Wives. Yea, slaves of either Sex they no-wise admit, but hold it a sin ; making use of free persons for their service, and paying them wages, as we do in *Europe* : Which likewise was their ancient custom, as appears by *Strabo*, who cites *Megasthenes* and other Authors of those times for it. They detest Sodomy above measure, and abhor the Mahometans whom they observe addicted to it. They take but one Wife, and never divorce her till death, unless for the cause of Adultery. Indeed some, either by reason of the remoteness of their Wives, or out of a desire to have Children, in case the first Wife be barren ; or because they are rich and potent, and are minded to do what none can forbid them, sometimes take more Wives ; but 'tis not counted well done, unless they be Princes, who always in all Nations are priviledged in many things. When the Wife dyes, they marry another if they please ; but if the Husband dye, the Woman never marries

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more; were she so minded, nor could she find any of her own Race who would take her, because she would be accounted as bad as infamous in desiring a second Marriage. A very hard Law indeed, and from which infinite inconveniences arise; for not a few young Widows, who in regard of their Reputation cannot marry again, and have not patience to live chafly, commit disorders in private, especially with men of other Nations and Religions, and with any they find, provided it be secret. Some Widows are burnt alive, together with the bodies of their dead Husbands; a thing which anciently not onely the Indian Women did, according to what *Strabo* writes from the Relation of *Onesicritus*; but also the chaste Wives of the *Thracians*, as appears by *Julius Solinus*. But this burning of Women upon the death of their Husbands, is at their own choice to do it or not, and indeed, few practise it; but she who doth it, acquires in the Nation a glorious name of Honour and Holiness. 'Tis most usual among great persons, who prize Reputation at a higher rate then others do; and in the death of Personages of great quality, to whom their Wives desire to do Honour by burning themselves quick. I heard related at my first coming, that a *Ragîâ*, that is, an Indian Prince, (one of the many which are subject to the *Moghol*) being slain in a battel, seventeen of his Wives were burnt alive, together with his body; which in *India* was held for great Honour and Magnificence. I have heard say, (for I have not seen any Women burnt alive) that when this is to be done, the Wife or Wives who are to be burnt, inclose themselves in a pile of wood, which is lay'd hollow like the rafters of a house, and the entrance stop'd with great logs, that they may not get out in case they should repent them when the kindled fire begins to offend them: Yea, divers men stand about the pile with staves in their hands to stir the fire, and to powre liquors upon it to make it burn faster; and that if they should see the Woman offer to come out, or avoid the flames, they would knock her on the head with their staves and kill her, or else beat her back into the fire; because 'twould be a great shame to the Woman and all her kindred, if she should go to be burnt, and then through fear of the fire and death, repent and come out of it. I have likewise heard it said, that some Women are burnt against their own Will, their Relations resolving to have it so for Honour of the Husband; and that they have been brought to the fire in a manner by force, and made besides themselves with things given them to eat and drink for this purpose, that they might more easily suffer themselves to be cast into the fire; but this the Indians directly deny, saying, that force is not us'd to any; and it may be true, at least in Countries where Mahometans command; for there no Woman is suffer'd to be burnt without leave of the Governour of the place, to whom it belongs first to examine, whether the Women be willing; besides, and for a Licence, there is also paid a good sum of money.

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Nevertheless, 'tis possible too that many Widows being in the height of their passion taken at their word by their kindred who desire it, go to it afterwards with an ill will, not daring to deny those that exhort them thereunto, especially if oblig'd by their word; nor to discover their own mind freely to the Governour. Things, which amongst Women, through their natural fearfulness and modesty, easily happen. And I would to God that in our Countries, in sundry cases, as of marrying or not, and the like matters, we had not frequent examples which Women not seldom give of great resolutions, not forc'd in appearance, but indeed too much forc'd in reality, for avoiding displeasure and other inconveniencies. In the Territories of Christians, where the *Portugals* are Masters, Women are not suffer'd to be burnt, nor is any other exercise of their Religion permitted them. Moreover, the Indian-Gentiles believe that there is a Devil in the world, almost of the same conditions wherewith we conceive him; but they think too, that many wretched Souls unworthy ever to have pardon from God, as the last of the great punishments which they deserve, become Devils also; than which they judge there cannot be a greater misery. The greatest sin in the world they account shedding of blood, especially that of men; and then, above all, the eating of humane flesh, as some barbarous Nations do, who are therefore detested by them more than all others. Hence the strictest amongst them, as the Brachmans, and particularly the *Boti*, not onely kill not, but eat not, any living thing; and even from herbs tinctur'd with any reddish colour representing blood, they wholly abstain. Others, of a larger conscience eat onely fish. Others, the most ignoble and largest of all, though they kill not, nevertheless they eat all sort of Animals good for food, except Cows; to kill and eat which, all in general abhor, saying, that the Cow is their Mother, for the Milke she gives, and the Oxen she breeds, which plough the Earth, and do a thousand other services, especially in *India*, where through the paucity of other Animals, they make use of these more than any for all occasions. So that they think they have reason to say, That Cows are the prop of the world, which perhaps would signifie by that Fable, common also to the Mahometans, and by me formerly mention'd; That the world is supported upon the Horns of the Cow. Moreover, they have these creatures in great Veneration; for Cows being kept well in *India*; and living with little pains and much ease, therefore they believe that the best Souls, to whom God is pleas'd to give little pain in this world, pass into them. All the Indians use many washings, and some never eat without first washing the whole body. Others will not be seen to eat by any one; and the place where they eat, they first sweep, wash, and scoure with water and Cow-dung. Which, besides cleanliness, is to them a Ceremonial Right, which they think hath the virtue to purifie: But having observ'd it too in the houses of Christi-

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ans, I find that indeed it cleanses exquisitely, and makes the floores and pavements of houses handsome, smooth, and bright. And if the Cows and Bulls whose dung they use, eat grafs, it gives a pretty green to the pavement; if straw, a yellowish: But for the most part the floores are red, as those of *Venice* are, and I know not with what they give them that colour. But these and other Ceremonies which I have not seen my self, and know onely by Relation, I willingly pass over. I shall conclude therefore with saying that by the things hitherto mention'd, it appears that in the substance of Religion, and what is most important, all the Races of the Indians agree together, and differ onely, perhaps, through the necessity, which is caus'd by the diversity of humane conditions in certain Rites and Ceremonies, particularly, of eating more or less indistinctly. Wherein the *Ragiaputi*, Souldiers, with the wonted military licentiousness, take most liberty, without thinking themselves prejudic'd as to the degree of Nobility. Next to them, the meanest and most laborious professions are more licentious in eating than others, because they need more sustenance; some of which drink Wine too, from which the others more strict, abstain to avoid ebriety; and so from all other beverage that inebriates. But those of other Races whose employments admit more rest and a better life, are also more sparing and rigorous in the use of meats, especially the Brachmans, as I said, dedicated wholly to Learning and the Service of Temples, as the most noble of all. In testimony whereof they alone have the priviledge to wear a certain Ensign of Nobility in their Sect, whereby they are distinguished from others; 'tis a fillet of three braids, which they put next the flesh like a Neck-chain, passing from the left shoulder under the right arm, and so round. This fillet hath a mystery, and is given to all persons of that Race, and to a few of one other for a great favour, with many superstitious Ceremonies, of which I forbear to speak, because I have not yet any good information thereof. There was a long dispute in *India*, between the Jesuits and other Fathers, whether this fillet, which the *Portugals* call *Linha*, was a badge of Religion, or onely an Ensign of piety; and whether it was to be permitted, or not, to Indian Converts, who were very loth to lay it aside. Much hath been said, and with great contest by both parties, and at length the cause is carried to *Rome*, and I was inform'd of it two or three years ago in *Persia*. For I remember Sig: *Matteo Galvano Gudigno*, a Canon and Kinsman to the then Archbishop of *Goa*, pass'd by *Sphahan*, and continu'd there many days; being sent by the same Archbishop, who favour'd the side contrary to the Jesuits, purposely to *Rome* with many writings touching this affair, which he out of courtesie communicated to me. I know not whether the final determination of it be yet come from *Rome*; some say it is, and in favour of the Jesuits: But at *Goa* we shall know these things better. The truth is, the Jesuits prove,
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(on one side) that the honour of wearing this Ribban is frequently granted not onely to the Indians, but also to strangers of different Nation and Sect; as to Mahometans, who (by condescension of that King, who among the Indians hath authority to do it, as Head of their Sect in spirituals) have in recompence of great and honourable services enjoy'd this priviledge, without becoming Gentiles, or changing their Religion, but still persisting to live Mahometans; which indeed is a strong Argument. On the other side, they prove that many Brachmans and others of the Race priviledg'd to wear it, intending to lead a stricter life, and abandon the world by living almost like Hermits; amongst other things, in humility lay aside this Ribban, being a token of Nobility; which 'tis not likely they would do, if it were a Cognizance of Religion; yea, they would wear it the more. But this second Argument seems not to me so cogent, because, amongst us Christians, if a Knight of the order of *Calatrava*, or the like, which are Ensignes of Nobility, in order to a more holy life enter into some Religion, either of Fryers, Monks, or other Regulars; 'tis clear that taking the Religious Habit, he layes aside the body of his Knight-hood, although it be that Cross, than which there cannot be a greater Cognizance of Christian Religion; albeit 'tis worn by those Knights as a token of Nobility too. 'Tis enough, that the Jesuits think their opinion abundantly confirm'd by the two abovesaid Reasons, namely, that it is rather a sign of Nobility than a Cognizance of Religion. And although the same is conferr'd with many superstitious Ceremonies, yet they will not have it taken away, alledging for example, that the Crosses of our Knights, however Ensignes of Nobility, are given with many Ceremonies and Rites of our sacred Religion, the more to authorize them. Whence it appears that the use of this Ribban may be without scruple permitted to the Indians, provided these superstitious Ceremonies be lay'd aside, and especially the End, in which alone consists the sin; changing it in that manner as the ancient Christians chang'd many Festivals and superstitions of the Gentiles into Festivals of Martyrs, and other pious Commemorations. And this may be done by applying (*e.g.*) the signification of the three Braids to the most Holy Trinity, or in some such manner, turning it to a pious and lawful use. Nevertheless those of the contrary party impugn this opinion with no bad Reasons; they say, 'tis a thing in it self, of its own nature, wholly unlawful to Christians, as being perfectly a Gentile-superstition; which is prov'd by the Ceremonies and words us'd in conferring it; and that for the three Braids, 'tis well known, they hold and wear them in honour of three of their chief false Gods; and that although they be Ensigns of Nobility in the wearer, yet they are withall, and principally a manifest Cognizance of their Religion; as Crosses are amongst our Knights, wherewith who ever hath the same on his breast, not onely ostentates his Nobility, but

but also firmly profess the Christian Faith. That the Gentile-Kings having honour'd with this Ensign some Mahometan, their Vassal, and remaining a Mahometan, is no more then as if in our Countries we should grant to some Jew the privilege of wearing a black Hat without becoming a Christian; which may be done by way of dispensation, and yet it cannot be deny'd but that the wearing a black one, or a yellow, is, besides the matter of credit, a Cognizance also of the Religion or Sect which a man professes. Many other Reasons they alledge, which I do not well remember, and which, no doubt, will be narrowly examin'd at *Rome*. What the determination will be, I shall know more certainly at *Goa*; and for the present thus much may suffice concerning the Opinions and Rites of the Indian-Gentiles.

XV.

Now in pursuance of the Narration of my Travells, I am to tell you, that after the seeing of the Temple, and visiting the Brachman abovesaid, the same day, which was *Saturday* the 25th of *February*, upon occasion of a *Casila*, or *Caravan*, which was setting forth from *Cambaia* to *Ahmedabad*, which is the Royal Seat and Head of the whole Kingdom of *Guzarat*, we, namely, Sig: *Alberto Scilling*, and my self, with our attendants, were desirous to see that City; and since the insecurity of the wayes allow'd us not to go alone, we resolv'd to go with the *Casila*. And because at the same time another *Casila* was setting forth for *Surat*, in which some of the *Hollanders*, residing at *Cambaia*, went with their goods which they carry'd thither in order to be shipt; we all went out of the Town together, and in a place without the Gate and the Suburbs, were the wayes divided under the shade of certain great Trees of Tamarinds, which the Indians call *Hambelè*, (where also are certain Sepulchres, and a Mahometan *Meschita* or Temple, unroof'd and without walls about, saving a little wall at the front, and a place markt where prayers are to be made; of which sort of *Meschita's* many are seen in *India*, especially in the Country) we entertain'd our selves a good while with the Dutch, being diverted with Musick, singing and dancing by the same Women, which we had the night before at our house. At length taking leave, they took their way towards *Surat*, and Sig: *Alberto* and I with our company towards *Ahmedabad*, going a little out of the way to see another very famous Temple of *Mahaden*. The Fabrick is small and inconsiderable; within there is no other Idol but that of *Mahaden*, which is no other but a little column or pillar of stone, thicker below then at top, and which diminishing by degrees, ends at the top in a round. Whatever 'tis that would signifie thereby, the name of *Mahaden* they in their language, is properly interpreted *Great God*. But we had enough to laugh at, when we heard that this Idol was held by the Country people for a worker of miracles; and amongst other of his miracles, they relate that he grows every day,

day, and becomes bigger hourly; affirming, that many years since he was no higher then a span, or little more, and now he is above two, and perhaps three; and thus he continues increasing every day: a folly not to be believ'd but by such fools as themselves. Having seen this Temple, we overtook our *Casila* at a Town call'd *Saimà*, three miles distant from *Cambaia*, where we all lodg'd that night. The next Morning being *Sunday*, the *Casila*, which consisted of above a hundred Coaches, besides foot-men and horse-men, and great loaden Wagons, set forth three hours before day; and staying not to rest any where, according to the custom of the East, (which is to make but one bout of a days journey) having travell'd fifteen *Cos* by noon, or little later, we lodg'd at a Town call'd *Màter*, where we saw an infinite number of Squirrels leaping amongst the trees every where; they were small, white, and with a tail less, and not so fair as those of our Countries. On *Monday*, about two hours before day, we resum'd our Voyage. When it was day, we saw upon the way every where abundance of wild Monkies, of which almost all the Trees were full. They put me in mind of that Army of Monkies, which the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great, beholding upon certain Hills a far off, and taking to be Men intended to have charg'd, had not *Taxilus* inform'd them what they were, as *Strabo* relates. We found abundance of people too upon the way begging alms with the sound of a Trumpet, which almost every one had and founded, and most of them were arm'd with Bows and Arrows; two things sufficiently uncouth for beggars, and indeed, not be suffer'd by Governours, since these *Russians* under pretext of begging, rob frequently upon the way when they meet persons alone and unarm'd; which having weapons themselves, they may easily do. This County was almost all woody, the ground unmeasurably dusty, to the great trouble of Travellers; the High-ways were all enclos'd on the sides with high hedges of a plant always green and unfruitful, not known in *Europe*; and having no leaves, but instead thereof cover'd with certain long and slender branches, almost like our *Sparagus* but bigger, harder and thicker, of a very lively green; being broken, they send forth Milk like that of immature Figs, which is very pernicious to the flesh wherever it touches. The Fields were full of Olive-trees, Tamarind-trees, and other such which in *India* are familiar. About noon, having travell'd twelve, or, as others said, fourteen *Cos*, we arriv'd at *Ahmedabad*, and our journey from *Cambaia* hither was always with our Faces towards the North East. Being entred into the City, which is competently large, with great Suburbs, we went directly to alight at the house of the English Merchants, till other lodging were prepar'd for us, where also we din'd with them. After which we retir'd to one of the houses which stand in the street, which they call *Terzì Carvanse-rai*, that is, the *Taylers Inn*. For you must know that the Car-

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vanse-rai,

vanferai, or Inns in *Ahmedabâd*, and other great Cities of *India*, are not, as in *Persia* and *Turkey*, one single habitation made in form of a great Cloyster, with abundance of Lodgings round about, separate one from another, for quartering of strangers; but they are whole great streets of the City destinated for strangers to dwell in, and whosoever is minded to hire a house; and because these streets are lockt up in the night time for security of the persons and goods which are there, therefore they call the *Cavanferai*. Notwithstanding the wearisomness of our journey, because we were to stay but a little while at *Ahmedabâd*, therefore after a little rest we went the same Evening to view the market-place, buying fundry things. It displeas'd me sufficiently that the streets not being well pav'd, although they are large, fair, and strait, yet through the great dryness of the Earth they are so dusty, that there's almost no going a foot, because the foot sinks very deep in the ground with great defilement; and the going on Horse-back, or in a Coach, is likewise very troublesome in regard of the dust; a thing, indeed, of great disparagement to so goodly and great a City as this is. I saw in *Ahmedabâd*, Roses, Flowers of *Jasmin*, and other sorts, and divers such fruits as we have in our Countries in the Summer; whence I imagin'd, that probably, we had repass'd the Tropic of *Cancer*, and re-enter'd a little into the temperate Zone; which doubt I could not clear for want of my Astrolabe, which I had left with my other goods at *Surât*. On Tuesday following, which to us was the day of *Carnaval*, or *Shrove-Tuesday*, walking in the Morning about the Town, I saw a handsome street, strait, long, and very broad, full of shops of various Trades; they call it *Bezari Kelân*, that is, the *Great Mèrkat*, in distinction from others, than which this is bigger. In the middle is a structure of stone athwart the street, like a bridge with three Arches, almost resembling the Triumphal Arches of *Rome*. A good way beyond this bridge, in the middle of the same street is a great Well, round about which is built a square *Piazzetta*, a little higher then the ground. The Water of the Well is of great service to all the City, and there is always a great concourse of people who come to fetch it. Going forwards to the end of the Market, we came to the great Gate which stands confronting the street, and beautif'd with many Ornaments between two goodly Towers; 'tis the Gate of a small Castle, which they call by the *Persian* word *Cut*. Nor let it seem strange, that in *India* in the Countries of the *Moghòl*, the *Persian* Tongue is us'd more, perhaps, then the *Indian* it self, since the *Mogholian* Princes being originally *Tartars* and of *Samarcand*, where the *Persian* Tongue is the natural of the Country, have therefore been willing to retain their native Speech in *India*; in brief, the *Persian* is the Language of the *Moghols* Court, most spoken and us'd in all publick writings. Near this Castle Gate, in a void place of the street are two pulpits handsomely built of stone, somewhat

somewhat rais'd from the ground, wherein 'tis the custome to read the King's Commandments publickly, when they are be proclaim'd. Thence turning to the right hand, and passing another great Gate, and through a fair Street we came to the Royal Palace; for *Ahmedabad* is one of the four Cities, amongst all the others of his Dominions, where the *Grand Moghòl* by particular priviledge hath a Palace and a Court; and accordingly he comes sometimes to reside there. This Palace hath a great square Court, surrounded with white and well polish'd walls. In the midst stands a high Post to shoot at with arrows, as is also usual in the Piazzas of *Persia*. On the left side of the Court as you go in, are the King's Lodgings, a small and low building. What 'tis within side, I know not, for I enter'd not into it; but without, 'tis as follows; Under the King's Windows is a square place inclos'd with a rail of colour'd wood, and the pavement somewhat rais'd; within which, when the King is there, are wont to stand certain Officers of the Militia, whom they call *Manfubdâr*, and they are almost the same with our Colonels: their Command extends not to above a Thousand Horse; nor are they all equal, but from a thousand downwards, some have more, some less, under them. Within this inclosure of the *Manfubdary*, under the King's Balconies, stand two carv'd Elephants of emboss'd work, but not large, painted with their natural colours; and in the front of the Royal Lodgings, are other such Ornaments after their mode, of little consideration. Some said, that a while ago in one of the Balconies stood expos'd to publick view an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, plac'd there by *Sciâh Selim*, (who, they say, was devoted to her) and to whom, perhaps, it was given by one of our Priests, who frequent his Court out of a desire to draw him to the Christian Faith; but the Image was not there now, and possibly, was taken away by *Sultan Chorrom* his Son, (reported an Enemy of the Christians and their affairs) since his coming to the Government of those parts of *Guzarat*. The station of the greater Captains, and of higher dignity then the *Manfubdary*, as the *Chans* and others of that rank, is in the King's Balconies; or near hand above there within the Rooms: The inferior Souldiers, that is, such as have onely two or three Horses, stand upon the ground in the Court without the above mention'd inclosure. In the front of the Court is another building, with an inclosure also before it, but less adorned; 'tis the place where the King's Guard stands with all its Captains: And the same order, I believe, is always observ'd in the *Moghòl's* Court, in whatsoever place or City he happens to be. Within this Court is another on the left hand, surrounded with other buildings for necessary Offices, but not so well built nor polish'd. Having seen what we could of the Royal Palace, we return'd by the same way we came to the street of the great Market. From whence we went to see a famous Temple of *Mahaden*, to which there is hourly a great

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concourse of people, and the street which leads to it is always full, not onely of goers and commers to the Temple, but also of beggars who stand here and there asking Alms of those that pass by. The building of this Temple is small, the entrance narrow and very low, almost under ground; for you descend by many steps, and you would think you were rather going into a *Grotto* then into a Temple; and hence there is always a great crowd there. On high hung a great number of Bells, which are rung every moment with great noise by all those who come to worship. Within the Temple continually stand many naked *Gioghi*, having onely their privities (not very well) cover'd with a cloth; they wear long Hair dishevel'd, dying their Fore-heads with spots of Sanders, Saffron, and other colours suitable to their superstitious Ceremonies. The rest of their bodies is clean and smooth, without any tincture or impurity; which I mention as a difference from some other *Gioghi*, whose Bodie are all smear'd with colours and ashes, as I shall relate hereafter. There is, no doubt, but these are the ancient Gymnosophists so famous in the world; and, in short, those very Sophists who then went naked, and exercis'd great patience in sufferings, to whom *Alexander* the Great sent *Onesicritus* to consult with them, as *Strabo* reports from the testimony of the same *Onesicritus*. Many of them stood in the Temple near the Idols, which were plac'd in the innermost Penetral or Chancel of it, with many Candles and lamps burning before them. The Idols were two stones, somewhat long, like two small *Termini*, or Land-marks, painted with their wonted colours; on the right side whereof was a stone cut into a figure, and on the left another of that ordinary form of a small pillar, according to which, as I said before, that they use to shape *Mahadeu*: And before all these, another like figure of *Mahadeu*, made of Crystal, upon which the Offerings were lay'd, as Milk, Oyle, Rice, and divers such things. The assistant *Gioghi* give every one that comes to worship some of the Flowers, which are strew'd upon, and round about the Idols; receiving in lieu thereof good summs of Alms. Coming out of this Temple, and ascending up the wall of the City, which is hard by, we beheld from that height the little River call'd *Sabermeti*, which runs on that side under the walls without the City. Upon the bank thereof, stood expos'd to the Sun many *Gioghi* of more austere lives, namely such, as not onely are naked, like those above describ'd, but go all sprinkled with ashes, and paint their bodies and faces with a whitish colour upon black, which they do with a certain stone that is reduc'd into powder like Lime: Their Beards and Hair they wear long, untrim'd, rudely involv'd, and sometimes erected like horns. Painted they are often, or rather dawb'd with sundry colours and hideous figures; so that they seem so many Devils, like those represented in our Comedies. The ashes wherewith they sprinkle their bodies are

are the ashes of burnt Carcasses; and this, to the end they may be continually mindful of death. A great crew of these with their Chief or Leader, (who conducts them with an extravagant banner in his Hand, made of many shreds of several colours, and to whom they all religiously obey) sat by the Rivers side in a round form, as their custom is; and in the field there were many people, who came, some to walk, and others, to wash themselves; the Pagan Indians holding their Rivers in great Veneration, and being not a little superstitious in bathing themselves therein. From the same place, I beheld a little Chappel built upon two small figures of *Mabadew*, not upright, but lying along upon the ground, and carv'd in baste relief, where also were Lamps burning, and people making their Offerings. One of the *Gioghi*, laying aside all other care, remain'd continually in this Chappel with great retiredness and abstraction of mind, scarce ever coming forth; although it was very troublesome abiding there, in regard of the heat of the lights; and inconvenient too, by reason the Chappel was so little that it could scarce contain him alone as he sat upon the pavement, (which was somewhat rais'd from the Earth) with his Leggs doubled under him, and almost crooked. Returning home by the same way of the great *Bazâr*, or Market, I saw *Caruanferai*, or Inns made with Cloysters like those of *Persia*; one greater and square of the ordinary form, and another less, narrow and long. Of divers other streets, in which I saw nothing observable, I forbear to speak.

The same day after dinner, having taken leave of certain *Armenian* and *Syrian* Christians, who live in *Abmedabad* with their Wives and Families, we put our selves upon the way to return to *Cambaia*, with the same *Casla*, with which we came; and which every week departs thence at a set day. At our setting forth we met with a little obstacle, for by reason of the new Commotions between the *Moghòl*, and his Son *Sultan Chorròm*, who was become Master of these parts of *Guznet*, there was a fresh prohibition in *Abmedabad*, that no Souldiers Wives, nor other person of quality should go out of the City by Land; and this, as I conceive, lest the rumors of the troubles should cause the people of the City to remove into other Territories, and abandon the faction of the Rebel *Sultan Chorròm*; which they could not do if their Wives were restrain'd, because Husbands are in a manner necessitated to abide where their Wives and Houses are. So that by reason of this prohibition, I could not have got away, having my *Sig^{ra} Mariuccia* with me, unless I had obtain'd exprefs leave in writing from the Governour; in order to which it was needful for me to make it appear that we were strangers and not people of the Country, and to pay some small summ of Money, besides going backward and for ward, whereby we lost much time. Having at length obtain'd permission, and being got out of the City,

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we went a little without the walls to see a great Artificial Lake which is there, made of stone with stairs at several angles about it; its Diameter was, by my conjecture, above half a mile. It hath about the middle an Island, with a little Garden, to which they go by a handsome Bridge of many Arches very well built; upon which, I believe, two Indian Coaches may go a breast. Indeed these Indian Lakes are goodly things, and may be reckon'd amongst the most remarkable structures of the world. Having seen this, we went to overtake our *Casila*, which was arriv'd at a Town seven *Cos* distant from *Ahemdabâd*, call'd *Barigia*, or *Bariza*, (for the Indians very much confound these two Letters *g* and *z* in their speaking.) We came late to the said Town, by reason of our hindrances at our departure from *Ahemdabâd*; but certain Horse-men appointed, as I conceive, to guard the way, having met us in the night, would needs accompany us thither that so we might go safely; for which service they were contented with a very small gratuity which we gave them.

XVII.

The first of *March*, being *Ash-Wednesday*, we set forth by break of day; and having travell'd fifteen *Cos*, an hour or little more before night, we came to lodge in a competently large Town call'd *Soznitrâ*, where I saw Batts as big as Crows. The next day, *March* the second, beginning our journey early, we travell'd twelve *Cos*, and a little after noon arriv'd at *Cambaia*. The Dutch Merchants there understanding by others that we were coming with this *Casila*, came to meet us a little without the Gate, and with their accustomed courtesies conducted us to lodge in their House. *March* the third, we went out of the walls to the top of the Tower of that Sepulchre, which I said we saw near the Garden of the King of *Guzarat*, to behold from thence, (being a great prospect upon the Sea) the coming in of the Tide, which indeed was a pleasant spectacle. 'Twas New-Moon this day, and so a greater Tide then usual, and we went to observe it at the punctual time of its being at the height, which those people know very well; because at that time it increases in less then a quarter of an hour, to almost the greatest height it is to have, and flows with greatest fury; contrary to what happens in other Seas. Now at the due time we saw the Sea come roaring a far off, like a most rapid River, and in a moment overflow a great space of Land, rushing with such fury that nothing could have withstood its force; and I think it would have overtaken the swiftest Race-horse in the world. A thing verily strange, since in other places both the rising and the falling of the Sea in the flux and reflux is done gently in full six hours, and with so little motion that 'tis scarce perceiv'd. After this we went to see another goodly Cistern, or Lake, without the City, formerly not seen, of a square form, and of a sumptuous marble structure, with stairs about it like the others which I had seen elsewhere. Afterwards we saw in one of the Suburbs
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or Hamlets near the City, call'd *Canfari*, a Temple of the *Gentiles*, peradventure the goodliest that I have seen, with certain *Cupola's*, and high Balconies of tolerable Architecture, but no great model. This Temple belongs to that Race of *Indians* who shave their heads (a thing unusual to all others who wear long hair, like Women) and such are call'd *Vertià*. The Idol in it sate on high over an Altar at the upper end, in a place somewhat dark, ascended by stairs, with lamps always burning before it. When I went in, there was a Man at his Devotions, and burning Perfumes before the Idol. At some distance from this, stands another Temple of like structure, but more plain and of a square form; within it were seen abundance of Idols of several shapes, whose Names and Histories, the shortness of time, and my unskilfulness in their Language allow'd me not to learn. Without the Gate of these Temples, I beheld sitting upon the ground in a circle, another Troop of those naked *Gioghi*, having their bodies smear'd with Ashes, Earth, and Colours, like those I had seen upon the River of *Ahmedabad*; they made a ring about their *Archimaudrita*, or Leader, who was held in such Veneration: not onely by the Religious of their Sect, but also by the other secular *Indians*, for Reputation of Holiness, that I saw many grave persons go and make low Reverences to him, kiss his Hands, and stand in an humble posture before him to hear some sentence; and He with great gravity, or rather with a strange scorn of all worldly things, hypocritically made as if he scarce deign'd to speak and answer those that came to honour him. These *Gioghi*, are not such by Descent but by Choice, as our Religious Orders are. They go naked, most of them with their bodies painted and smear'd, as is above mention'd; yet some of them are onely naked, with the rest of their bodies smooth, and onely their Fore-heads dy'd with Sanders and some red, yellow, or white colour; which is also imitated by many secular persons, out of superstition and gallantry. They live upon Almes, despising clothes and all other worldly things. They marry not, but make severe profession of Chastity at least in appearance; for in secret 'tis known many of them commit as many debaucheries as they can. They live in society under the obedience of their Superiors, and wander about the world without having any settled abode. Their Habitations are the Fields, the Streets, the Porches, the Courts of Temples, and Trees, especially under those where any Idol is worshipt by them; and they undergo with incredible patience day and night no less the rigor of the Air than the excessive heat of the Sun, which in these sultry Countries is a thing sufficiently to be admir'd. They have spiritual exercises after their way, and also some exercise of Learning, but (by what I gather from a Book of theirs translated into *Persian*, and intitl'd, *Damerdbigiaska*, and, as the Translator saith, a rare piece) both their exercises of wit and their Learning, consist onely in Arts of Divination, Secrets of Herbs, and other natural

natural things, and also in Magick and Inchantments, whereunto they are much addicted, and boast of doing great wonders. I include their spiritual exercises herein, because according to the aforesaid Book, they think that by the means of those exercises, Prayers, Fastings, and the like superstitious things, they come to Revelations; which indeed are nothing else but correspondences with the Devil, who appears to, and deludes them in sundry shapes, forewarning them sometimes of things to come: Yea sometimes they have carnal commerce with him, not believing, or, at least, not professing that 'tis the Devil; but that there are certain Immortal, Spiritual, Invisible Women, to the number of forty, known to them and distinguished by various forms, names, and operations, whom they reverence as Deities, and adore in many places with strange worship; so that some Moorisco Princes in *India*, as one of these three petty Kings who reign'd in *Decan*, *Telengane*, and *Meslepaton*, (*Cutbsciach*, as I remember) though a Moor; yet retaining some reliques of ancient Gentilism, makes great Feasts and Sacrifices to one of these Women in certain Grottoes under high Mountains which are in his Country; where 'tis reported, that this Woman hath a particular and beloved habitation; and He of the *Giogbi*, that by long spiritual exercises can come to have an apparition of any of these Women, who foretells him future things, and favours him with the power of doing other wonders, is accounted in the degree of perfection; and far more if he happen to be adopted by the Immortal Woman for her Son, Brother, or other Kinsman; but above all, if he be receiv'd for a Husband, and the Woman have carnal commerce with him; the *Giogko* thenceforward remaining excluded from the commerce of all other Women in the world, which is the highest degree that can be attain'd to; and then he is call'd a spiritual Man, and accounted of a nature above humane, with promise of a thousand strange things, which for brevities sake I pass over. Thus doth the Devil abuse this miserable people. As for any thing more concerning these *Giogbi*, I refer you to what I have formerly written of them, and the *Sami*, who are another sort of Religious *Indians* who wear Clothes, as I saw them in *Bender of Combrù*. And of the Sciences of the *Giogbi*, and their spiritual exercises, especially of a curious way, rather superstitious then natural, of Divining by the breathing of a Man, wherein they have indeed many curious and subtle observations, which I upon tryal have found true. If any would know more, I refer him to the Book above mention'd, which I intend to carry with me for a Rarity into *Italy*; and if I shall find convenience, I shall one day gratifie the Curious with a sight of it in a Translation.

XVIII.

On the fourth of *March*, I went out of *Cambaia* to a Town two miles off, call'd *Hagrà*, to see a famous Temple, built of old by the Race of the *Banions*, and belongs to them; but yet the *Brachmans* possess it, and have care of it, as if it were descended

ded to them. This Temple is dedicated to *Brahmà*, who, as I said before, they hold to be the same with *Pythagoras*, although of the origine of *Brahmà*, and how he was produc'd of the first Cause, or else of the first Matter, and how they take this for one of the Elements, and a thousand other extravagances; they tell long Fables, which do not agree to *Pythagoras* a meer man; but for all this they confound the two Names, and 'tis no great matter to reconcile them herein, after the same manner that our ancient Gentiles agreed in their *Jupiter*, taken sometimes for one of the Elements, and sometimes historically for an ancient King one of *Saturn's* Sons; and in divers other like names, in reference to History and Philosophy they had double, allegorical and mysterious significations. Concerning the Genealogy of *Brahmà*, and the other fabulous Indian Gods, and what belongs to their vain Theology, I refer the Reader to the Books of Father *Francesco Negrone*, or *Negraore*, as the *Portugals* call him, who writes fully thereof in his Chronicles of the things done by those of his Order in *India*, written in the *Portugal* Language; and I think he is the first, and perhaps, the onely Modern Writer who hath given account of this matter in *Europe*. The said Father having been assisted therein, for information by most fit and sufficient Interpreters, namely, the Fathers of his own Religion, good Divines, skill'd in the *Indian* Tongue, and perfectly intelligent of these matters; who also read and interpreted the very Books of the Indians to him, and were likewise his interpreters in the discourses which he had often with the learned Indians concerning their Religion, as himself frequently told me. Besides which, he wanted not other helps, because being appointed Historiographer to his Order, he was abundantly supply'd with what was needful to that Office; he convers'd long in the Kingdom of *Bisnaga*, where the Religion and Sciences of the Indians have their Principal Seat; as also in the Island of *Zeilan*, which many take to be the ancient *Tabrobana*, and in other Countries for this very purpose. He made many peregrinations expressly to see places and things conducing thereunto, and was assisted by the Vice-Roys themselves and Governours of Provinces, subject to the *Portugals*, who sent him into all places accompany'd oftentimes with whole bands of Soldiers, where the wayes were not secure; in brief, without sparing cost, pains, or diligence, he professedly intended this business for many years together, with all kind of convenience and authority. Lastly, he was some years since sent by his Order into *Europe*, in Order to print his Works; and in the year 1619, as I came through *Persia*, I saw him at *Sphabàn*; and during his short abode there by means of a Friend got a sight of his Papers, but had not time to read them, as I desir'd. He went thence directly to *Rome*, whither I gave him some Letters to certain Friends and Relations of mine to be civil to him there, as I know they were; and after some years sojourning at *Rome*, whilst I

was at *Bender of Combrù*, I heard that he was coming from *Rome* towards *Turkie*, in order to return to *India*, where I hope to see him again; and if he bring his Books printed with him, I shall read them, and what I find remarkable therein which may be serviceable to these writings of mine, I shall make mention of the same in its proper place. Father *Joam de Lucena* a Jesuit, in his History of the Life of *San Francisco Xavier*, written in the *Portugal* Tongue, makes mention likewise of the Religion and Customs of the Indian-Gentiles, and seems to speak thereof with good grounds, although in some few particulars, if I mistake not, he is capable of a little correction. Yet that which troubles me most, is, that it clearly appears by his Book that he knew much more of the Customs of the *Indians* than he hath written: which perhaps he would not write, either because they were obscene and impious, or pertain'd not to his purpose. I saw Father *Negrone* since at *Goa*, but he brought not his Book printed; either because his Fathers, as some say, would not have it printed; or --- Yet he saith, he hath sent it to be printed in *Portugal* in that Language, and expects it by the next Ship; if it comes, I shall see it. But having in *Goa* discours'd with him more largely than I did in *Persia*, I find him very little vers'd in matters of ancient History and Geography, as generally the Fryars of *Spain*, and especially *Portugal* are not, addicting themselves little to other Studies, besides what serves to Preaching; wherefore, without good skill in ancient History, Geography, and other Humane Learning, I know not how 'tis possible to write Histories well, particularly, concerning the Customs of the *Indians*; of which also he hath had no other information but by interpreters; in which way I have by experience found that many errors are frequently committed. Nevertheless we shall see what light may be had from *F. Lucena's* Book, although it be short, concerning the Religion of the *Indians*.

XIX.

In the mean time returning to my purpose, I shall tell you, that in the Temple dedicated to *Brahmà* in the Town of *Naghrà*, which is little considerable for building but in great Veneration for ancient Religion, there are many Idols of white Marble. The biggest is the Chief, and hath the worthiest place: In the middle is the Statue of *Brahma*, or *Pythagoras*, with many Arms and Faces, as they ordinarily pourtray him, namely, three Faces, for I could not see whether there were a fourth or more behind; 'tis naked with a long picked Beard, but ill cut as well as the rest of the figure, which for its bigness hath a very great Belly, I know not whether through the Artificers fault, who seems to have been little skilful; or else because the *Indians*, as I have also heard of the people of *Sumatra*, account it a great Beauty and perfection to have a great Belly. This figure of *Brahma* stands upright, and at his Feet two other less carv'd figures, which, as they say, are his two Sons, *Sunnet* and *Sunnatan*. On each side of *Brahma* stand likewise two Statues of Women, somewhat

what less then *Brahma* himself, and they call them his Wives, *Savetri*, and *Gavetri*. On the left side of this narrow Temple, stand two other figures of the same bigness, being two naked Men with long Beards, whom they pretend to have been two religious persons, I know not whether Doctors or Disciples of *Brahma* or *Pythagoras*; one is call'd *Chesnèr*, the other *Ciavan de Chesnèr*. On the same side downwards are many other Idolets, as one with an Elephants Head, and divers others formerly by me mention'd. All which Idols are serv'd, ador'd, perfum'd, offer'd to, and wash'd every day as for delight, (for the *Indians* account it delight to wash often) by the *Brachmans*, who assist at their service with much diligence. I must not forget, that the *Banians* say, this Town *Naghera* was the King's Seat and principal City, anciently the Head of the whole Kingdom of *Cambaia*, and that the City now properly call'd *Cambaia*, and rais'd to greatness by the ruine of this old, is a modern thing; whence I have sometimes suspected that the *Indian* Character call'd *Naghra*, us'd by the learned, was denominated from this City wherein it was anciently us'd; but 'tis onely a Conjecture; and I have learnt by long and much experience, that in the derivation and interpretation of Names, especially of Places, there is no trusting to the resemblance of Words; because by reason of the diversity of Languages, and the casual Conformity of Words which signifie things sufficiently different, according to the variety of Places, gross errors are easily admitted. *Nagher* in the *Indian* Language signifies a Great City. Coming from *Naghra*, I saw some naked and besmeared Men, of deportment almost like the incinerated *Gioghi*, who were of a Race of *Indians* accounted by themselves the most sordid and vile Race of all in *India*; because they eat every thing, even the uncleanest Animals, as Rats and the like; whence they are call'd in *Persian*, *Hhalal-chor*, which signifies a Man that accounts it lawful to eat any thing; the *Indians* call them *Der*, and all people in general abhor not onely to converse with, but even to touch them. Concerning Religion, I have heard nothing particular of them, but believe them *Gentiles* as the rest; or perhaps, *Atheists*, who may possibly hold every thing for lawful, as well in believing as in eating. They are all sufficiently poor, and live for the most part by begging, or exercising the most sordid Trades in the Common-wealth, which others disdain to meddle with; but they, either because their Rite teaches them so, or necessity inforces them, are not at all shie of. *March* the fifth, We visited the King's Garden again, and many other Gardens, where we tasted divers fruits, and beheld several Flowers of *India* unknown in *Europe*; amongst the rest, one very odoriferous which I kept in a Paper, which they call *Ciompia*. Without the City we saw the Saltpits, and also the Field by the Sea-side, where the *Indians* are wont to burn the bodies of their dead; which may be known by the reliques of many fires and pieces of bones not wholly burnt, which are seen

scatter'd about the same. The next Morning early, we return'd to this Field, and saw several Bodies burnt, and particularly observ'd the Funeral of one Woman from the beginning to the end. They carry the Corps wrapt in a cloth of *Cit*, of a red colour for the most part, and much in use among the *Indians* for other purposes. They carry it not upon a Biere, as we do, but ty'd to and hanging down like a sack, from a staff lay'd cross two Men's shoulders. They make the funeral pile of wood, lay'd together in form of a bed, of equal length and breadth, and sufficient to receive the Body; upon which, beginning then to lament with a loud voice, they lay the carcass naked and supine, with the Face and Feet towards the Sea; which I believe, is likewise observ'd (where the Sea is not) towards Rivers, Lakes, and Cisterns, the *Indians* having a particular devotion to the Water; nor do I know, that herein they have respect to any Region of Heaven. They cover the privities with a piece of wood, anoint the Hands and Feet, put a coal of fire in the Mouth; and then all things being prepar'd, they set fire first at the Throat, and afterwards to the whole pile round about, beginning first at the Head, but with their Faces turn'd another way, as *Virgil* saith our Ancestors did; Then sprinkle Water on the ground round about the pile, which they continually stir up with staves in their Hands, and blow with the motion of a cloth, to the end the flame may not spread, but burn more speedily. The body being consum'd by degrees, they reduce the fire into a round form, and when all is burnt, they leave the ashes, and sometimes a piece of a bone not wholly consum'd there in the same place: The cloth wherein the body was wrapt before it was committed to the pile, they give in Charity to some poor person present. Such as have wherewithall, are burnt with odoriferous and precious wood, in which the rich spend much; but they that cannot reach so high, use ordinary wood. Children under two years of age are not burnt but buried, as we saw some in the same Field. Nor let the Reader wonder, that in the same day and hour we hapned to see so many dead persons; for, besides that *Cambaia* is a large City and very populous, as all the Cities and Lands of *India* are; the *Gentiles* are wont to perform this Ceremony of the dead onely in the Morning, at a set hour, and in that place; so that all that dye in the whole City, during the twenty four hours of the day, are brought to that place at the same hour. The same day we had News of a Jesuit's coming to *Cambaia* from *Goa*, with a *Casla* of *Portugal* Frigats, which was going for *Agrà*: Whereupon in the Evening, Sig: *Alberto Scilling* and I, in company of a *Venetian* Merchant, went to visit him at the house where he lodged; and having told him that we were to go the next day for *Surât*, I desir'd him to give a letter to the Jesuits of *Daman* and *Bassim*, where I hop'd to touch upon the way to *Goa*; which he very courteously condescending to do, we went again the next Morning to see him before we departed.

March

March the seventh, In the Morning we visited the Father Jesuit, who was not a Priest, but one of those whom they call *Fratelli*, Brothers, or young Fryars. He gave me Letters to *F. Antonio Albertino*, an Italian, and Rector of their Colledge in *Daman*, and to the Father Rector of their Colledge of *Bassaim*, desiring them that since I could not imbarque at *Cambaia* in the *Casila* of the *Portugals*, because I was to return to *Surat*, where I had left my goods in the Ships, they would favour me and assist me to get convenient passage for *Goa* in the said *Casila*, either at *Daman* or *Bassaim*, where I intended to meet it as it return'd. I on the other side gave this Father a Letter to their Fathers Resident at *Agrà*, to whom I had written formerly from *Persia*, desiring them to send me some correct Copy of the *Persian* Books, written by their Fathers in that Court, in order to get the same printed at *Rome*; and by Sig: *Alberto Scilling*, I had understood that my first Letter was receiv'd there, and that the said Fathers of *Agrà* knew me by report, and the relation of divers who had seen me in *Persia*, particularly of this Sig: *Alberto*. In this other Letter from *Cambaia*, I acquainted them with my Voyage to *Goa*; and desiring them to write to me there, and remember to favour me with those Books. Having dispatch'd the Father Jesuit, we return'd to the Dutch House to have a Collation; and here we were entertain'd a good while with good Musick by an Indian, who sung tolerably well, and play'd upon a certain odd instrument us'd in *India*; which pleas'd me well enough, because it was not so obstreperous Musick as the ordinary of the vulgar *Indians*, but rather low and very sweet, and the Musician was skilful according to the mode of the Country, having liv'd at the Court of *Tisapor*, in the service of *Adilshah*. His Instrument was made of two round Gourds dy'd black and vernish'd, with a hole bor'd in one of them, to reverberate the sound. Between the one Gourd and the other, about the distance of three spans, was fastned a piece of wood, upon which they both hung, and the strings which were many, partly of brass, and partly of steel, were extended, passing over many little pieces of wood like so many bridges; and these were the frets, which he touch'd with the left Hand to diversify the sounds, and the strings with the right, not with his Fingers or Nails, but with certain iron wires fastned to his Fingers, by certain rings like thimbles, where-with he did not strike the strings strongly, but lightly touch'd them from the top downwards, so that they render'd a sound sufficiently pleasant. When he play'd, he held the Instrument at his breast by a string that went round his neck, and one of the Gourds hung over his left shoulder, and the other under his right arm, so that it was a pretty sight. Collation and Musick ended, we were conducted about two *Cos* out of the City by the Dutch Merchants, and took the same way by which we came. We pass'd over the five *Cos* of wet ground, with the four Currents of Water, of which the second was the deepest (having waited

XX,

waited a while for a fit hour) in company of a numerous *Casila* of Coaches, Carts, Horse-men and Foot-men, in the same manner and circumstances as I writ before; onely the Water was now much higher then we had found it at our coming, so that it came into all the Coaches, and we were fain to stand upright and hold fast by the roof of the Coaches, bare leg'd too, because the Water came above the bottom of the Coaches to the middle of the leg. The Oxen and Horses could scarce keep their Heads above Water, and the Coaches being tight, if Men hir'd purposely had not gone along in the Water to hold them steady, and break the course thereof by holding great stumps of wood on that side the Tide came furiously in, without doubt, the Water would have swept them away. In this place on the left hand towards the land in the moist ground, we beheld at a distance many Fowls, as big or bigger then Turkeys, go up and down, rather running then flying. They told us, they were the same which the *Portugals* call *Paxaros Flamencos*, from their bright colour; and I think, they are those of whose beaks *Mir Mahammed* in *Spahan*, makes bow-rings for the King; although he erroneously takes it for the beak of the *Cocnos*, or Phoenix, which good Authors describe, not a water Fowl, but rather an inhabitant of high Mountains. Having at length pass'd this dangerous foard, and following our way we came at night to lodge at *Gambuser*, the same Town where we had lodg'd formerly. *March* the eighth, We put our selves upon the way again, and foarded the little salt-water *Dilavel*, and at night arriv'd at *Barocci*, and were as formerly entertain'd in the House of the Dutch. But upon the way, before we enter'd the City, we saw a handsome structure standing upon a famous Sepulchre of I know not well who, but seems to be some great person's, and is worship'd by the *Moors* as a sacred thing. This Fabrick is pleasantly seated amongst Trees, something elevated upon the side of a little Lake, or Great Cistern. In the chief part of it, besides the principal Sepulchre, which stands apart in the most worthy place, are many other Sepulchres of white Marble, of an oblong form, with many carvings and works tolerable enough; 'tis likely they are the Tombs, either of the Wives and Children, or of the other kindred of the Principal, because they seem all of the same work and time. Round this greater structure stand other less, with Sepulchres of *Moors* in them, who cause themselves to be buried there out of devotion to the place; whence I gather that the principal Sepulchre is not onely of some great person or Prince as it intimates, but also of one that dy'd with some opinion among the *Moors* of Sanctity. I know not who told me that it was the Sepulchre of a famous Tartarian King, who came to have dominion in those parts; but I credit not the Relation, because I had it not from a good hand. *March* the ninth, We departed from *Barocci*, ferrying over the River, and at night lodg'd at *Periab*, where we had quarter'd before as we went.

March

March the tenth, Having gone the short way which remain'd, and pass'd the River of *Surat* by boat, we came to that City about Noon, where I repair'd to the House before assign'd me by the Dutch Commendator, and there found the Daughter of one of the *Armenian* or *Syrian* Merchants, seen by us at *Abmedabad*, who was come thither with a Brother of hers, in order to be marry'd shortly to one Sig: *Cnilielmo*, a *Hollander*, to whom she had been promis'd in Marriage at *Abmedabad*, and who also was in the same House, which was capable of him and more. I understood at *Surat*, that *Sultan Chorròm* had taken and sackt the City of *Agrà*, except the Castle, and that his Army and himself had committed very great Cruelties there in spoiling and discovering the Goods and Mony of the Citizens; particularly, that he had tortur'd, and undecently mangled many Women of quality, and done other like barbarities, whereby he render'd himself very odious to the people. Concerning *Asaf Chan*, it was said, that he was held in custody by the King, as suspected of Rebellion, although his affairs were spoken of with much uncertainty; and that the King was hastning to come against his Son, but was not yet far off, and mov'd slowly.

March the one and twentieth, Conceiving the return of the *Portugal Casila* from *Cambaia* to *Goa* to be near hand, and desiring to make a Voyage with the same; since in regard of the greatness of my luggage, and the length of the way I could not go by Land, and 'twas not safe going by Sea, by reason of the continual incursions of the *Mahabar* Pirates; I dispatch'd a Messenger to *Daman*, a City of the *Portugals*, a little way from *Surat*, to *F. Antonio Albertino*, Rector of the Colledge of Jesuits, with the Letter which their above-mention'd Father had given me in *Cambaia*; and giving him account of my self and my intention, I desir'd him to send me from *Daman* one of those Light Vessels which they call *Almadia*, and are of that swiftness that they are not at all afraid of Pirates, to carry me from *Surat* to *Daman*, where I desir'd to meet the *Casila*: For I could not go by a Boat of *Surat*, since the Mariners of *Surat* would not have taken my Goods aboard which were in the English Ships, without first carrying them into the City to make them pay Custom; whereby I might have been put to a great deal of trouble of going backward and forward, as also upon the account of the Moorish Books which I had with me, and reliques of Sig: *Maani*. Wherefore to prevent these intricacies, I pray'd the Father to send me a Boat from *Daman* to take me in not at the City, but at the Port where the Ships ride, and where I intended to be with my Goods ready upon the shore of *Sohali*. And to the end this *Portugal* Boat might come securely and not fear, I sent him two safe Conducts, one from the English, and the other from the Dutch; although there was no necessity of them, because Boats come many times secretly from *Daman*, without such safe Conduct to sell Commodities to the English Ships. *March* the
fifteenth,

X². 6.

fifteenth, Was the first day of the Feast of the *Indian-Gentiles*, which they celebrate very solemnly at the entrance of the Spring, with dancings through the street, and casting Orange Water and red Colours in jest one upon another, with other festivities of Songs and Mummeries, as I have formerly seen the same in *Sphahan*; where also reside constantly a great number of *Banians* and *Indian-Gentiles*. Yet the solemnity and concourse of people was greater then in *Persia*, as being in their own Country, and a City inhabited in a great part by *Gentiles* and wealthier persons. Otherwise, I saw nothing at *Surat* during these three Festival Days, but what I had seen already at *Sphahan*, and have mention'd in my Writings from that place. *March* the eighteenth, Being invited to the Dutch House, we there saw the Contract of Sign^a *Mariam*, the Daughter of the abovesaid *Armenian* or *Syrian* Merchant, Resident *Ahmedabad* with Sig^r *Guiglielmo* a *Dutch-man*, which was follow'd by a sumptuous Dinner, at which were all the Christian Dames of *Europe* that liv'd at *Surat* to attend upon the Bride; namely, one *Portugal* Woman taken in the last Ships, which were surpriz'd by the *Dutch*, and married likewise to a *Dutch-man*; *Mary* *Bagdadina*, Wife to another *Hollander*, and with them also my young *Mariam Tinatin*; and another born in *India*, and contracted to a *Dutch-man*; of which Nation, many upon the encouragement of certain priviledges granted them by the State, marry Wives in *India* of any Kind, either white Women or black, and go to people New *Batavia*, which they have built in *Java Major*, near a place which they call *Giacatora*; and they that cannot light upon Free-women for Marriage, buy slaves and make them their lawful Wives to transport thither. At this entertainment were present also the President of the *English*, with all those of his Nation, all the *Dutch* Merchants, the Brides Brother, Sig: *Alberto Scilling*, my self, and in short, all the European Christians that were in *Surat*.

XXI.

March the one and twentieth, A Post came to the *Dutch* Merchants from *Agra*, with fresh News, that *Sultan Chorròm*, had besides the former, given a new sack to the said City, and the Souldiers committing the like and greater Cruelties, exasperated perhaps, at their being valorously repuls'd, in assaulting the Castle with loss of many of their Companions. *March* the two and twentieth, This Morning the Messenger whom I had sent to *Daman*, return'd to *Surat* with the answer which I expected. *F. Antonio* writ me word that there was but one of those Light Vessels belonging to *Daman*, and it was now at *Surat*, being lately come thither, the Master of which was one *Sebastian Luis*; wherefore he advis'd me to agree with him for my transportation, and in case he were already gone, then I should advertise him thereof at *Daman*, and they would speedily send him back; for which purpose they kept the safe Conducts, which I had sent for security of the Vessel. But having presently found the abovesaid

said *Sebastian Luis*, I have agreed with him to bring his Boat out of the River to the Sea-side, and take me in at the Port which is some distance from the mouth of the River, where I have appointed to meet him to morrow morning. It remains onely that I take leave of the *Dutch* Commendator and the *English* President, from whom I have receiv'd infinite Obligations during all my residence here, particularly to the Sig^r Commendator; the remembrance whereof shall continue with me during Life. I hope, God willing, to write to you speedily from *Goa*, and in the mean time humbly kiss your Hands.

LETTER II.

From *Goa*, April 27. 1623.

I Now salute you (my dear Sig^r *Mario*) from *Goa*; in *India* indeed I am, but no *Indian*. Having pass'd through the *Syrian*, and afterwards the *Persian* Garb, I am again transfested into our *European*. In *Turkie* and *Persia* you would not have known me, but could not mistake me in *India*, where I have almost resum'd my first shape. This is the third transformation which my Beard hath undergone, having here met with an odd Barber, who hath advanc'd my mustachios according to the *Portugal* Mode, and in the middle of my chin shaven after the *Persian* Mode, he hath left the *European* tuft. But to continue my Diary, where I left off in my last Letter, which was about my departure from *Surat*. March the three and twentieth, Having taken leave of all Friends, a little after Dinner I set forth to depart, but met with so many obstacles in the *Dogana*, or Custom-house, that they detain'd me till almost night before I could get away. The occasion was this; In the Pass given me, (without which none can depart) the Governour three times expressly prohibited my *Persian* Servant *Cacciatur* to go with me; and this for no other cause but for that himself, (foolishly, or rather cunningly, as appear'd afterwards) out of a pretended vain fear, as he said, when we came first to *Surat*, lest he should be known what he was by some of the *Persians*, who are there in the service of the Great *Moghöl*, and not knowing that in *India* there is Liberty of Conscience, and that a Man may hold or change what Faith he pleases, not the least trouble being given to any person touching Religion in the Dominions of the *Moghöl*; not knowing these things, I say, and fearing to confess himself a Christian before any that might know him in *Persia* for a *Moor*, had declar'd in the *Dogana*, when he was examin'd thereupon, that he was a *Musliman*, which they interpret a *Moor*, although the word properly signifies *safe* or *saved*, that is, of the right Faith; and therefore by Christians (understanding it in their

their own sense) when considerable respects oblige them to conceal themselves, perhaps is not unlawful to be assum'd. Now *Cacciatur* being hereupon taken for a *Moor*, and not daring to deny it or discover himself more clearly, but, as I believe, intending to be a *Moor* really, and to do what afterwards he did; they would not suffer that he should go along with me into the jurisdiction of Christians, where they conceiv'd he would be in danger of being perverted. And although innumerable *Moors* go daily into the neighbouring Territories of the *Portugals*, nor are they wont to be forbidden; yet, my *Cacciatur*, I know not upon what account, they prohibited very strictly, I believe by his own procurement. When I had read this prohibition in my Pass, I sent him out of the City before-hand, with order to cross the River at another place a good way off, and meet me at the Sea-side, where being among the *English*, he would be out of all all danger; but through the negligence of a Man of the Country whom he took to direct him, either by his own will, as 'tis most likely, because he knew not the way; or else, not having found Boats to pass the River elsewhere, as he said, he was directed to cross it at the same place near the Custom-house, where we did; whereupon being seen by the Officers, he was seiz'd upon, and they would not suffer him to come by any means. I us'd much instance, and try'd divers wayes, alledging by a writing that he was bound to serve me longer, and was to go to *Goa* to be paid his wages there, according to agreement: But all to no purpose, they still answering, (though with great courtesie indeed) that the accord was good, and that *Cacciatur* did not break it, being for his part ready to go, but that they made him stay by force, as in zeal for Religion 'twas reasonable for them to do; that, had I been going into some Territory of *Moors* as I was of *Christians*, they should not have kept him from me; and therefore, in short, I must be contented to leave him behind, and pay him for his service done in *Surat*; otherwise they could not give a Pass to my self. Perceiving there was no remedy, I return'd to the *Dutch*-House, and having consulted with the Commendator what to do, I agreed with *Cacciatur*, (who was willing not to be left at *Surat*, after I had threatned to cause him to be slain there, in case he stay'd to turn *Moor*) that he should shew himself desirous to stay at *Surat*, and in the Governour's own House too if he pleas'd, assuring him under his Hand, that I had fully satisfi'd him, that so my journey might not be stopt; and after I was gone without him, the *Dutch* Commendator, who took this care upon him, should procure his escape, and send him by another way to the Sea-side where I took Boat; or if he could not be sent timely enough to find me there, then he should come to *Daman* by Land, where he should certainly find me. Upon this agreement we went before the Governour, with the discharges of his Arrears in writing, and the Governour was contented to let me go, after he

he had narrowly examin'd, whether it was true that he was pay'd by me, and that his agreeing to stay in *Surât* was not a fiction. But we had laid all things so together, that he did not discover the truth, or perhaps did not care much to find it out. Wherefore leaving *Cacciatur* in the Governours House, where he caus'd him to stay with sundry promises, about night I departed the City, and cross'd the River with *Sebastian Luis* in my company, who having sent his Vessel down the River, went along with me by Land. On the other side of the River, we waited some hours for Coaches to carry us to the Sea-side, which we were fain to hire at a Town some distance off, and were slow in coming. But as soon as they came we got into them, and travell'd the rest of the night to the Sea-side.

March the four and twentieth, At Day-break we got to the shore side, where we found the *English* President attended with all the Merchants of his Nations, who were giving order for dispatching their Ships which were ready to set sail to *Muchà*, or *Muchâr*, in the Red Sea; namely, the two Ships, the *Whale* and *Dolphin*, wherewith I came into *India*; for of the other three which I left in *Bender* of *Kombrû*, they had sold the little Frigate which was in ill plight, to the *Persians*, who design'd to make use of her in the enterprize of *Arabia*, whither they had determin'd to pass alone, now the *English* plainly refus'd to joyn with them in the War; and the other two great Ships having put in likewise at *Surât*, were soon after sent out again with Master *Thompson*, who came with them from *Persia*, it not being known in *Surât* whither. I was receiv'd by the President in his Tent, together with my *Mary Tinatim*; and soon after came *Cacciatur* my Servant, and two *Moors* of *Surât*, by the favour of the Commendator of the *Dutch*; but I know not whether it were with his own good liking, though to us he pretended that it was. After my departure the Commendator went to visit the Governour, and since I was gone, and, as he said, could not carry *Cacciatur* out of *Surât*, he desir'd that he would give him to him, to the end he might live in his House with other Friends; which the Governour readily granting, the same night, by the help of certain persons purposely disguis'd in *Indian* Habit, he sent him by a secure way to the Sea-side, where he found me in the Tent of the *English* President. The same Morning I went aboard the Ship call the *Whale*, (wherein I came) to visit the Captain and take leave of my Friends, with whom also I din'd; afterwards I went aboard the *Dolphin*, to visit not onely the Captain who was my Friend, but especially my good Companion Sig: *Alberto Schilling*, who was aboard there in order to go to the Red Sea, intending to pass from thence into *Æthiopia* to the Court of the *Abissins*, in case he could get Transportation, and were not hindered in the Turkish Ports where he was to pass, upon account of being a *Christian*; the *Turks* not willingly granting passage to *Christians* (especially *Europeans*) towards *Hhabese*, in regard of

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the suspicions they have of the intelligences and converse with our Compatriots may have to their prejudice with that Prince. Wherefore taking leave of Sig: *Alberto* with many embraces, of Master *Rosel*, (whom I had known in *Persia*, and who being come from thence after me, was here shipt for a Trading Voyage) and of all my other Friends in the two Ships, I came back to sup and lye on Land in the Tent of the President. *March* the twenty fifth, Early in the Morning I put my Goods into the Shallop of *Sebastian Luis*, and also going aboard my self, whilst the President went to his own Ships to dispatch them, set sail for *Daman*; at night we cast Anchor in a narrow arm of the Sea, which enters far into the Land, of which sort of inlets there are many all along the coast of *India*, which encompassing good portions of Land make many little Islands; and because the said arms of the Sea are long and narrow like Rivers, and some of them have little Rivers falling into them from the continent, (although the water is salt, and they have no current but the ebbing and flowing of the Sea) the *Portugals* term them in their Language *Rios*, Rivers; which I take notice of, that it may be understood that all the *Rios*, or Rivers, which I shall name in the coast of *India*, and not specify that they are streams of fresh water, are such arms of the Sea as this, improperly call'd Rivers. This, where we staid this night, is call'd *Rio di Colek*, or *Coleque*. I have better understood that all the aforesaid inlets are not arms of the Sea, but really Rivers of fresh water; and the Tide of the Sea at ebbing and flowing being here very strong and overcoming that of the Rivers; hence it comes to pass that 'tis hardly perceiv'd whether they have any stream or no; and the water going far into the Land comes likewise to be salt; but indeed they are Rivers, and form Islands by their entring into the Sea with many mouths. They are almost innumerable upon all the coast of *India*, and the *Portugals* very truly call them *Rios*, Rivers. Wonder not at these doubts and various informations, for I could not understand things thoroughly at first, for want of converse with intelligent persons; nor was it easie for me to judge right in the beginning, the first appearance of things oftentimes deceiving even the wisest, as the saltness of the water did me, in my judgement of these Rivers; making me take them for arms of the Sea; which mistake, was further'd by the affirmation of most of the ignorant *Portugals*, who not knowing more of this coast then the shore where the water is salt, think that the Rivers are salt water; but Time and better informations assist my diligence in discovering the truth of things. *March* the twenty sixth, About noon we arriv'd at *Daman*, but unseasonably, the *Casila* and Fleet of the *Portugals* being gone in the Morning, and we discern'd them sailing afar off, but it was not possible to overtake them, I advertis'd *F. Antonio Albertino*, Rector of the Jesuits Colledge, of my coming, and he very courteously came forthwith to the Sea-side to receive

receive me, and carry'd me to lodge in the Colledge, which in reference to that small City is large enough and well built. He sent *Mariam Tenatim*, in a *Palanchino*, or *Indian Litter*, (wherein people are carry'd lying along as 'twere in a Couch, and those of Women are cover'd) to the House of a *Portugal* Gentlewoman, and advis'd me that since the *Casila* was departed, I should go in the same Vessel to meet it at *Bassaim*, where it was to touch; and for that day rest a little in *Daman* as accordingly I did.

The City of *Daman* is small, but of good building and hath long, large, and strait streets. It hath no Bishop, as neither have the other Cities of the *Portugals* upon this coast, being subject in spirituals to the Arch-Bishop of *Goa*; but in every one of them resides a Vicar, whom they call *da Vara*, that is, of the Vierge or Mace; (which is the badg of Authority) with supreme power. Besides the Jesuits and the Church of the See, (as they call the *Duomo*, or Cathedral) here are *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and, as I remember, *Augustines* too; all, who have good Churches and Covents. The City is environ'd with strong walls of good fortification, and hath a large Territory and many Towns under it; and because they are frequently at war with *Nizamsciah*, whose State (being govern'd at this day by his famous Abissine-Slave *Melik Ambar*) borders upon it by Land; therefore the *Portugals* here are all Horse-men, and keep many good *Arabian* Horses; as they are oblig'd to do, going frequently out to war in defence of their Territory when occasion requires, though during my time here they were at peace. In *Daman* I first tasted at the Father Rector's Table many strange *Indian* Fruits, some of which are describ'd by *Carolus Clusius*, and others not, which, as I was told, were after the writing of his Books brought into *East India* from *Brasil*, or *New Spain*; namely, *Papaia*, *Casu* or *Cagu*, *Giambo*, *Manga* or *Amba*, and *Ananas*; all which seem'd to me passibly good, and, though of different tastes, not inferior to ours of *Europe*, especially *Papaia*, which is little esteem'd in *India*; and, if I mistake not, is not mention'd by the abovesaid Writer; in shape and taste, it much resembles our Melons, but is sweeter, and consequently to me seem'd better. *Ananas* is justly esteem'd, being of a laudable taste, though something uncouth, inclining more to sharpness, which, with a mixture of sweetness renders it pleasant. And because the said Books mention it not, I shall briefly add, that to the outward view it seems, when it is whole, to resemble our Pine-Apple, both in the divisions and the colour; saving that at the top it hath a kind of tuft of long strait leaves between green and white, which the Pine-Apple hath not, and which render it pretty to look upon; 'tis also different from the Pine-Apple, in that the husks are not hard, but tender like the common skin of Fruits; nor is it needful to take them off one by one, neither is any seed eaten, as the Pine-Nuts, which are within the husks,

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but the whole Fruit is all pulp, which is cut with the knife ; and within 'tis of somewhat a greenish colour. Of temperament, 'tis held to be hot, and good to promote digestion, having, in my opinion, somewhat of a winish taste and strength ; which virtue of helping digestion, is likewise ascrib'd in a higher degree to *Caju*, whence it always uses to be eaten with fish ; but of this and the rest, because I suppose others have written of them, I shall forbear further to speak. In *Daman*, I had from the Jesuits two considerable pieces of News. First, that the two *English* Ships, which, as I said, were sent from *Surat* before my departure thence, upon some unknown design, went to *Dabul*, under pretext of Peace and Friendship, as if to traffick in that Port ; and that the *Moors* of *Dabul* had spread Carpets, and prepar'd a handsome entertainment for the principals upon shore : but the *English* having fairly landed, suddenly got to certain pieces of Ordnance which were there, and nail'd them up ; then putting their hands to their Arms, began to fall upon the people of the City ; who upon this sudden unexpected onset, betook themselves to flight, and were likely to receive great damage ; but at length a *Portugal* Factor, and some few others making head against the *English*, and animating the Citizens to do the like, turn'd the scale of the victory, and in a short time beat out all the *English*, killing many of them, and constraining the rest to fly away with their Ships ; who nevertheless in their flight took two Vessels of *Dabul*, which were in the Port richly laden, but unprovided, as in a secure place ; which was no small damage to the City, and afforded a rich booty to the *English*. This action, I conceive, was done by the *English* out of some old grudge against the City of *Dabul*, or perhaps, onely to force it to permit them free Trade ; and they use deal to thus with such ports as will not admit them thereunto. The other News, was that *Prete Janni*, King of *Æthiopia* and the *Abissins*, was by means of the Jesuits reconcil'd to the Roman Church, and become a good Catholick, intending that his whole Country should do the same ; which if true, is indeed a thing of great consequence.

1V.

March the seven and twentieth, About noon we departed from *Daman* towards *Bassaim*, in the same Barque or *Almadia*, and sail'd all the day ; at night, in regard of the contrary current and danger of Pirats, who cannot easily be seen and avoided in the dark, we cast Anchor under a place call'd *Daniè*. *March* the eight and twentieth, Continuing our course, in the Morning we espy'd some Ships, which we suspected to be Pirats of *Malabar*, and therefore fetching a compass we made but little way forwards. At night, we cast Anchor in a Bay call'd *Kielme-Mabi*, from two Towns situate upon it, one call'd *Kielme*, the other *Mabi*. On the nine and twentieth of the same moneth, we sail'd forward again ; but the Tide turning contrary, we cast Anchor about noon, and stay'd a while in a little Island near the
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Continent. The sails being mended, and the current become favourable; we set forward again; and having pass'd by some Vessels, which we doubted to be Pirates of *Malabar*, about night we arriv'd at *Bassaim*. But, lest the people of the Fleet, which we found there with the *Casila*, should molest our Boat, as sometimes 'tis usual, and take away the Sea-men for the service of the Navy, we stay'd a while without the City, casting Anchor a little wide of the shore; and in the mean time I sent notice to *F. Diego Rodriguez*, Rector of the Colledge of Jesuits at *Bassaim*, for whom I had Letters from the Father Rector of their Colledge at *Daman*, and some also for others from the Brother of theirs, whom I saw in *Cambaia*. The F. Rector sent presently to the Sea-side where I was, *F. Gaspar di Govea* their Procurator, who because 'twas said the Fleet would depart that very night with the *Casila* for *Goa*, immediately without entring into the City, procur'd me passage in a Merchants Frigate, as more commodious for passengers, in regard 'twas free from the trouble of Soldiers which went in the Men of War, appointed to convoy the Merchants Ships. The Captain of the Vessel wherein I embark'd, was call'd *Diego Caruaglio*, with whom having agreed for my passage, I presently put my Goods aboard his Ship, together with *Mariam Tinatin*, in the most convenient Cabin, and *Cacciatur* to take care of them. It being now night, I went alone with *F. Govea* to their Colledge, to visit and thank the F. Rector and the other Fathers, who very courteously retain'd me at Supper; which ended, to avoid the danger of being left behind, I forthwith return'd to repose in the Ship. Of the City *Bassaim*, I cannot say any thing, because it was night both at my entrance, stay, and coming away; I can only intimate, that it is wholly surrounded with strong walls, and, if I took good notice, seems to me greater then *Daman*; but of late years many buildings were destroy'd by a horrible tempest, and are not yet re-edifi'd. I found in the Colledge of *Bassaim*, *F. Paolo Giovio* an Italian. *March* the thirtieth, In the Morning the Fleet set sail, and going off the shore we came to the Island where they take in fresh water over against a City, in view at a little distance, which they call *Salsette*; and the place where we stay'd (being a large and populous Island) is call'd in the *Portugal* Tongue *L' Aguadas*; and here we stay'd all day, because the wind was so contrary that we could not get off that point of Land; and for that divers of the Galeots and new Frigats built to be sent and arm'd in *Goa*, were not in order to depart, and we were forc'd to stay their preparation. *March* the one and thirtieth, At Sun-rise we put to Sea for *Goa*, but were slow in getting forth to the Main before we could set sail; because the Tide was still going out, and there was so little water left that our Frigate run a ground. At length the Tide turning, we row'd out of the streit between the City and the Island; and being come into the broad Sea hois'd all our sails. About mid-night following, we arriv'd at

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Ciaul, but enter'd not into the Port, because it stands much within Land upon a precipice, where the Sea entring far into the Bay between the Hills and the low Shore, (into which also is discharg'd the mouth of a River) makes an ample and secure harbour; wherefore by reason of the darkness of the night, which in this place is no seasonable time, the Fleet would not enter, but we rode at the Rivers mouth till break of day.

V.

April the first, Entring into the Port in the Morning, we cast Anchor under the City upon the shore, where nevertheless the water is so deep, and our Galeots came so near the bank, that we went ashore by a bridge. In the entrance of the City and Haven, on the right hand, almost Southwards, we saw that famous Hill which the *Portugals* call *Morro di Ciaul*, commanding the Harbour and all the adjacent City; on the top of it stands a strong Castle, which was sometimes possess'd by the *Moors* of *Dacan*; namely, by *Nizam-Schiah*, to whom also the whole Territory about it belongs; and when the said King made war with the *Portugals*, the *Moors* did great mischief to them from the top of this Mountain, and another which stands near the Harbour, but something more inwardly, discharging great Artillery from thence upon the City and the mouth of the Port, so that no Ship could enter. But at last a small number of *Portugals* having routed with a signal, and almost miraculous victory, a very great body of *Moors*, the same day they likewise took the said *Morro*; whither the routed-*Moors* flying, it happened that in the entrance of the Fortrefs, an Elephant wounded by the *Portugals*, in its flight fell down in the Gate, so that the *Moors* could not shut it; and the victorious *Portugals* in that fury of pursuing the Enemy, had occasion and convenience of entring: so that they took it, and still hold it, (having improv'd the fortifications) and consequently, deliver'd the City of *Ciaul* from the continual molestations, which it suffer'd from thence by the *Moors*; and now the Citizens live in peace, and more secure. Having landed a little way from the *Dogana*, or Custom-house, which stands without the walls; the first thing I saw was the Cathedral Church, which stands likewise without the walls upon the shore, and is the See not of a Bishop but of a Vicar, as *Daman*, *Bassaim*, *Ormuz*, and other places are; which though they enjoy the title of Cities, are nevertheless all subject to the Arch-Bishop of *Goa*. I went next into the Colledge of the *Jesuits*, whose Church here, as also in *Daman*, *Bassaim*, and almost all Cities belonging to the *Portugals* in *India*, is call'd *Saint Paul's*; whence in *India* the said Fathers are more known by the name of *Paulists* then *Jesuits*. Here I visited *F. Antonio Pereira*, who was come from *Bassaim*, where I fell acquainted with him in our Fleet, in order to go likewise to *Goa*. I likewise visited the *F. Rector* of the said Colledge, who caus'd me to stay dinner with him; and being the Fleet departed not that day, I also

also lodg'd in the said Colledge at night. *April* the second, I heard Mass early in the Jesuits Church, and taking leave of them went to embark, but found that my Galeot was remov'd to the other side of the Port under the Mountain to be mended; and having found Sig: *Mannel d' Oliveira*, one of our Companions embark'd in the same Galeot, and understanding that the fleet did not depart that day neither, I went with him to hear a Sermon in the Cathedral Church; after which, we went to dine in the House of *F. Francesco Fernandez*, Priest and Vicar, who liv'd sometimes at *Ormuuz*, and after the loss of that Island was retir'd hither. The *Portugals* call Secular Priests, Fathers, as we do the Religious or Monasticks. In the same House dwelt Signor----- a worthy and grave Souldier, who being a Friend to my said Companion, we convers'd together till it was late, and then our Galeot being come back we went to embark; but neither did the fleet depart this night, as we suppos'd it would. *April* the third, A rumor of departing being spread abroad about noon, we put out to Sea, and cast Anchor at the mouth of the Harbour, where many other Galeots were gather'd, expecting the setting forth of the whole fleet; but neither did we depart this day nor the night ensuing.

April the fourth, The fleet being at length in readiness, and the Sun a good height, we set sail and departed from the Port of *Ciaul*. In the Afternoon we sail'd by a Fort, which is the onely one possess'd near the Sea by the *Moors* of *Daman*, that is, by *Nizam Sciàh*, which Fort is call'd *Danda Ragiapori*; and at night we cast Anchor under a steep shore call'd *Kelji*. We did not sail in the night time, because the *Casila* was numerous, consisting, by my conjecture, of above 200. Vessels, and in the dark some unwary Ship might easily have been taken by the Rovers of *Malabar*. The next day we sail'd gently along, onely with the sail call'd the Trinket, making but little way, that so we might go altogether and not leave many Ships behind, which being ill provided of Tackle could not sail fast. We cast Anchor again early in the Evening, to avoid the confusion which might arise by so many Ships casting Anchor together; besides the danger of falling foul one upon another in the dark. Our course was always Southerly, and the Coast along which we pass'd on the left hand was all mountainous; till having got out of the dominion of *Nizam-Sciàh*, we began to coast along that of *Adil-Sciàh*. Now that it may be understood who these Princes are, I shall tell you that on the South of the States of the *Great Moghòl*, in the Confines whereof *India* begins to be distended into a great Tongue of Land like a Triangle, a great way Southwards into the Sea, between the Gulph of *Cambaya*, and the Gulph of *Bengala*; the first Province of *India* joyn- ing to the States of the *Moghòl*, is the Kingdom of *Daman*, whereof some part is still possess'd by the *Moghòl*. Next follows the Kingdom of *Telengone*, or *Telengà*, and many other Provinces divided under several Princes into little Kingdoms, which they say were anciently but one or two, and that the others who are now absolute Princes,

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were sometimes his Captains or Ministers, who having by degrees pull'd down the Principal (who was, if I mistake not, the King of *Bisnaga* on the South, and the King of *Sceherbeder*) are become equal, and all without superiority sovereign Princes. Amongst these, the nearest to the *Moghòl* are three *Reguli*, or petty Kings, all which yet have great dominion and strength, and are at this day of the Sect of the *Moors*; for the *Moors* having at first been brought into *India* to serve as slaves, are by degrees become Masters, and by oppressing the *Gentiles* in many places have much propagated their Religion. Of these three Princes, the nearest to the *Moghòl*, whose Territory lyes toward the Sea on the West, and Confines with the *Portugals* at *Giaul* and other places, and who is properly styl'd King of *Dacàn*, (from the greatest Province) is call'd by the name, or rather surname, hereditary to all that reign in this State, *Nizam Sciàh*, which many interpret *Rè della Lancia*, King of the Lance, alluding to the *Persian* word *Nizè*, which signifies a Lance; but I conceive they are mistaken, because his name is *Nizam Sciàh*, and not *Nizè Sciàh*, as according to this interpretation it should be: Wherefore I have heard others, perhaps, better interpret it, *Rè de' Falconi*, King of Falcons, or Hawks, from the word *Nizam*, which in the *Indian* Tongue, they say, signifies a Hawk or other Bird of Prey. And whosoever reigns here, always retains this surname; because whilest he was not an absolute Prince, but a Minister of that other great King of *India*, this was his Title and Office under that King. The *Nizam Sciàh* now reigning, is a Boy of twelve years old, who therefore doth not govern it, but an Abyssine Slave of the *Moors* Religion, call'd *Melik Amber*, administers the State in his stead, and that with such authority, that at this day this Territory is more generally known and call'd by the name of *Melick's Country*, then the Kingdom of *Nizam-Sciàh*. Nevertheless this *Melik Amber* governs not fraudulently, and with design to usurp, by keeping the King shut up, as I have sometimes heard; but according as I have better understood since from persons inform'd nearer hand, he administers with great fidelity and submission towards the young King; to whom nevertheless, they say, he hath provided, or already given to Wife a Daughter of his own, upon security that himself shall be Governour of the whole State as long as he lives. This *Melik Amber* is a Man of great parts, and fit for government, but, as they say, very impious, addicted to Sorcery; whereby 'tis thought that he keeps himself in favour with his King, and that for works of Inchantments, (as to make prodigious buildings, and with good luck, that the same may last perpetually and succeed well) he hath with certain Superstitions us'd in those Countries committed most horrid impieties and cruelties, killing hundreds of his Slave's Children, and others; and offering them as in Sacrifice to the invok'd Devils, with other abominable stories which I have heard related; but because not seen by my self

self, I affirm not for true. The Ambassador of this *Nizam-Sciàh* in *Persia*, is that *Hhabese Chan*, an Abyssine also, whom I saw at my being there. Of strange things, they relate that *Nizam-Sciàh*, hath I know not where in his Country a piece of Ordnance so vast, that they say it requires 15000. pound of Powder to charge it; that the Ball it carries, almost equals the height of a Man, that the metal of the piece is about two spans thick, and that it requires I know not how many thousand Oxen, besides Elephants to move it; which therefore is useless for war, and serves onely for vain pomp. Nevertheless this King so esteems it, that he keeps it continually cover'd with rich cloth of Gold, and once a year comes in person to do it reverence, almost adoring it; and indeed, although these Kings are *Moors*, yet they still retain much of the ancient Idolatry of the Countries, wherein Mahometism is little, or not yet universally settled. The second of the three petty Kings, whose Country joyns to that of the *Moghòl*, but borders upon the Sea Eastward in the Gulph of *Bengala*, is he who (for the same reasons mention'd concerning *Nizam-Sciàh*) is call'd by the hereditary surname of *Cutb-Sciàh*, which some erroneously expound *Polo d' i Rè*, the Pole of Kings, being deceiv'd by the Arabick word *Cutb*, which signifies the Pole, and is us'd by the *Arabians* and *Persians*, to denote supream excellency; understanding (e.g.) by *Polo de i Savii*, *ò di Sapienza*, The Pole of Wise-men, or of Wisdom, the wisest Man in the world; by *Polo di Santità o della Legge*, The Pole of Sanctity and the Law, the greatest pitch, and the highest observer of the divine Law; and so in all other like Cases; but, I say, I believe they are mistaken; and there seems to me more truth in the exposition of others, who interpret *Rè de i Cani*, King of Dogs, from *Cutb*, which in the Language of *India* signifies a Dog, because he was Master of the Dogs to that supream King. Under his jurisdiction is *Gulcondalar*, where, I think, he hath his Royal Seat, and *Misli-patan*, a famous Port in the Gulph of *Bengala*. Lastly, the third of the three *Reguli*, is he who hath his Seat in *Visapor*, and reigns in the Country of *Telengane*, bordering upon the *Portugals* Territories at *Goa*, more Southwards then the two before mention'd. Some will have *Visapor* and *Goa* belong to the Province of *Dacàn*, and that *Telenga* much more remote toward the South. The truth is, *India* and the Provinces thereof is very confus'd; forasmuch as the *Indians* themselves being illiterate cannot distinguish it aright, and the *Portugals* have all their knowledge thereof from the vulgar of the ignorant *Indians*, whose Language they understand not well, and extreemly corrupt in pronuntiations; therefore I cannot speak any thing certain concerning the same, as neither have the *Portugal* Writers been able to do, though persons very exact and sufficient. But to return to my purpose, the proper name of him that now reigns is *Ibrahim*, but his hereditary surname (as the others) is *Adil-Sciàh*, or *Idal Sciàh*, which signifies not *giusto Rè*, a Just King,

King, as some think from the *Arabick* word *Adil*, denoting *Just*; but rather, in my opinion, as some others say, *Rè delle Chiavi*, *King of the Keys*, from *Adil* or *Idal*, an *Indian* word importing *Keys*, he having been in times past'd Superintendent of the *Keys*, (of the *Treasury* perhaps, or *Archives*) under the supream King. Sometimes these Princes have been call'd *Nizam-maluk*, *Adil-Chan*, and so the others with the words, either *Melek* or *Chan*, in stead of *Sciàh*, which is all one; for *Melek* or *Maluk*, (as some corruptly read) signifies a *King* in *Arabick*, as *Chan* doth also in *Turkish*, and *Sciàh* in *Persian*: And because these three Languages are sufficiently familiar, and almost common to the *Moors*, therefore they have us'd sometimes one word, sometimes another; but in later times it seems that those who now rule, rejecting the words *Melek* and *Chan*, are better pleas'd with the *Persian* Title *Sciàh*, as being, perhaps, more modern to them; whence they are ordinarily call'd now *Nizam-Sciàh*, *Cutb-Sciàh*, and *Adil-Sciàh*; which are the three Princes of whom I undertook to give an account, as persons whom I shall have frequent occasion to mention in these Writings. And to leave nothing unsaid, I shall add, that *Nizam-Sciàh*, or rather his Governour *Melik-Ambar*, makes war frequently and bravely against the *Great Moghòl*, upon whom he borders: *Cutb-Sciàh*, I know not whether he actually makes publick war against him, but at least he fails not to assist his Neighbour *Nizam-Sciàh* with money. The same doth also *Adil-Sciàh*, but secretly and by under-hand; not daring through I know not what mean fear declare himself an enemy to the *Moghòl*; I say, mean fear, because not bordering upon him, (for the two other Princes lye between them) and being able, as they say, upon occasion to bring into the field a hundred thousand men, he seems justly chargeable with timorousness and cowardice; since, me-thinks, he that hath a hundred thousand men at his command ought not to fear the whole world; or, if he doth, he is a very Poltron: But indeed, *Adil-Sciàh* fears the *Moghòl*, yea, he fears and observes him so much that he payes him an annual Tribute; and when [the *Moghòl* sends any Letter to him, which is always brought by some very ordinary common Souldier or Slave, he goeth forth with his whole Army to meet the Letter and him that brings it, who being conducted to the Palace sits down there, whilst *Adil-Sciàh* stands all the time, and the Letter being lay'd upon a Carpet on the pavement, before he offers to put forth his hand to take it up, he bows himself three times to the earth, doing reverence to it after their manner. Moreover, I have heard that this *Ibrahim Adil-Sciàh* who now reigns, some years ago poyson'd his own eldest Son, as suspected of being likely to become one day a disturber of the Common-wealth and the publick quiet, being displeas'd with him onely because he once with too much freedom perswaded him to deny the *Moghòl* the accustomed Tribute; saying, that with the Tribute alone which he

pay'd

pay'd voluntarily he durst undertake to make a mighty war upon him and never pay him Tribute more ; which, if true, was certainly in this Prince a strange effect of fear. This *Adil-Sciab* hath marry'd one of his Daughters to *Cutb-Sciab*, and with *Nizam-Sciab* he constantly maintains, and frequently renews alliance ; so that they are all three fast friends, and firmly united together. I have also heard that *Adil-Sciab* uses to wear his Beard very long, contrary to the other two, who are shaven after the mode of *Persia* and *India*. They say the present *Ibrahim Adil-Sciab* is infirm, by reason of a great hurt receiv'd by a Wolf in his hips, so that he cannot ride on Horse-back ; and hence perhaps it is that he is so peaceable and timorous, infirmities undoubtedly much dejecting the spirits of Men. All these three Princes are *Moors*, as I said before, although their Countries abound with innumerable *Gentiles*. *Cutb-Sciab* alone, as I have heard, is *Sciani*, of the Sect of the *Persians* ; but the other two, I conceive, are *Sonni*, as the *Turks* and the *Moghòl* ; which yet I affirm not, because I have not perfect certainty thereof. The King of *Persia* cherishes all these three Princes sufficiently, and they have great correspondence by interchangeable Ambassies and Presents ; all which is onely in reference to make greater opposition to the *Moghòl*, upon whom they border, and whose greatness is equally prejudicial to them all. And so much may suffice concerning them.

April the fifth, We set sail again, and in the Afternoon pass'd by the City *Dabùl*, which belongs to the Dominions of *Adil-Sciab*, and stands hid amongst Hills in a low Plain ; so that 'tis scarcely seen. After which, we pass'd within two Leagues of a Point or Promontory which the *Portugals* call *Dabùl falso*, because it deceives such as come from far by Sea, making them take it for the Point of *Dabùl*, to which it resembles. At Night we cast Anchor near another shore which they call the Gulph or Bay, or, as the *Portugals* speak, *A Enceada dos Bramanes*, because the Country thereabouts is inhabited by many *Brachmans*. *April* the sixth, We set sail, and first pass'd by *Ragiapur*, then by *Carapetan*. About two hours before night, we cast Anchor in an *Enceada*, or Bay, which they call *Calosì*, or *Calosè*, not far from the Point of *Carapetan*. *April* the seventh, In the Morning we pass'd by *Tambona*, which was the Country of the Mariners of our Ship, and toward Evening by the Rocks which the *Portugals* call *Los Illeos quemados*, that is, *The burnt Rocks*, because they appear such by their colour and inequality ; and we continu'd sailing all Night, every Ship going as they pleas'd, without caring for the company of the Fleet ; now that by reason of the great nearness of *Goa*, we were in safety. *April* the eighth, Arriving before Day at the shore of *Goa*, we began to enter into the salt River, or *Rio*, as they speak, of salt water which the *Portugals* call *Barra di Goa* ; upon the mouth of which River, which is sufficiently broad, stand two Forts, one on each side, with good pieces

VII.

VIII.

pieces of Artillery planted upon them to defend the Entrance.

'Tis to be known that the City of *Goa*, at this day the Head of all the Dominion of the *Portugals* in *India*, is situate here in one of these Islands, of which, as I said before, there are innumerable upon all the Coast of *India*, made by the several Rivers which divide them from the main-land. The City is built in the inmost part of the Island toward the Continent; and therefore the whole Island is plentifully inhabited with Towns and places of Recreation, and particularly, upon the River; which is on either side, adorn'd with Buildings and Houses, surrounded with Groves of Palm-Trees, and delightful Gardens. The greatest part of the Island is inclos'd with a Wall, with Gates at the places for passage, continually guarded for security against the attempts of Neighbours, and also to prevent the flight of Slaves and Thefts; since onely that River being cross'd, you enter presently into the Territory of *Adil-Sciah* and the *Moors*; but 'tis otherwise toward the Sea-side, for all the Coast which is beset with other small Islands and Pen-insula's, for a good space belongs to the *Portugals*, being inhabited with Towns and divers Churches. The City which lyes on the right hand of the River, as you enter into the inmost recess is sufficiently large, built, partly, on a Plain, and, partly, upon certain pleasant Hills, from the tops whereof the whole Island and the Sea are discover'd with a very delightful prospect. The buildings of the City are good, large and convenient, contriv'd for the most part for the benefit of the wind and fresh Air, which is very necessary in regard of the great heats, and also for reception of the great Rains of the three Moneths of *Pauscal*, which are *June*, *July*, and *August*; which not upon account of the heat (although it be very great at that time, but greatest of all in *May*, when the Sun is in the *Zenith*) but of the great Rain, the *Portugals* call the Winter of the Earth. Nevertheless the buildings have not much ornament or exquisiteness of Art, but are rather plain, and almost all without beautifyings. The best are the Churches, of which many are held here by several Religions, as *Augustines*, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, discalceated *Carmelites* and *Jesuits*, with double, and very numerous Covents; and indeed, half of the Religious that are here, would suffice for a City bigger then *Goa*: But besides these, there are also many of Secular Priests, and Parishes, and Chappels; and lastly, the See or Cathedral, which nevertheless is neither the fairest, nor the greatest Church of that City, there being many others that exceed it. The See of *Goa* at the time of my being there was not finish'd, but scarce above half built, and thence seem'd to me small and less stately; but having since seen the intire design of the structure, I conceive, that when 'tis finish'd 'twill be a very goodly Church. The people is numerous, but the greatest part are slaves, a black and lewd generation, going naked for the most

most part, or else very ill clad, seeming to me rather a disparagement than an ornament to the City. *Portugals* there are not many, they us'd to be sufficiently rich; but of late, by reason of many losses, by the incursions of the *Dutch* and *English* in these Seas, they have not much wealth, but are rather poor. Nevertheless they live in outward appearance with splendor enough, which they may easily do, both in regard of the plentifulness of the Country, and because they make a shew of all that they have: however, in secret they endure many hardships; and some there are, who, to avoid submitting to such Employments as they judge unbecoming their gravity, being all desirous to be accounted Gentlemen here, lead very wretched lives, undergoing much distress, and being put to beg every Day in the Evening; a thing which in other Countries would be accounted unhappy and more indecent, not to say shameful, then to undertake any laudable profession of a Mechanick Art. They all profess Arms, and are Souldiers although marry'd; and few, except Priests and Doctors of Law and Physick, are seen without a Sword; even so the Artificers and meanest Plebeians: as also silk clothes, are the general wear almost of every body. Which I take notice of, because to see a Merchant and a Mechanick in a dress fit for an Amorato, is a very extravagant thing; yet amongst them, very ordinary; the sole dignity of being *Portugals* sufficing them (as they say) to value themselves as much as Kings and more.

But returning to my purpose, whilst we were coming to the City by the River betimes in the Morning, we met the Vice-Roy who was going to the mouth of the *Barra*, to dispatch away *Ruy Freira de Andrada*, whom with five or six Ships (a small preparation indeed) he sent to the relief of *Mascât*, and to make war against the *Persians*; having likewise appointed divers other Ships to be sent after him from *Ciaul*, *Dio*, and other Ports of the *Portugals*; which if they go, may be sufficient for some considerable exploit: but the Orders of the Vice-Roy in other places, God knows how they will be executed in his absence. The sudden departure of *Ruy Freira*, made me sorry that I had not the opportunity to see him and speak with him, as I extremely desir'd, and perhaps, it would not have been unacceptable to him. Arriving at the City, we cast Anchor under the *Dogana*, or Custom-house, where all Ships commonly ride, to wit, such as are not very great; for these stay either at the barr in the mouth of the River, or in some other place thereof where they have the deepest water. Being come thither, I presently gave notice of my arrival to F. Fra: *Leandro* of the Anuntiation, whom I had known in *Persia*, and who was here Provincial Vicar of the discalceated *Carmelites* of *India* and *Persia*. I also advertis'd the Fathers Jesuits thereof, for whom I brought sundry of their Generals Letters from *Rome*, written affectionately to recommend me to them. F. Fra: *Leandro* came forth-with to visit me in the Ship,

IX.

Ship, whereafter some discourse for a while together, he undertook to procure us a House and so departed; having also offer'd me his own Covent with that same courtesie and confidence as was formerly between us. A little after, it was very great contentment to me to see and know F. *Antonio Schipano*, your Kinsman, now a very old man, who was saluted by me upon your account; and so for this time I gave him a succinct Relation of you, putting him in mind of your Child-hood. He came to visit me with F. *Vincenzo Sorrentino* of *Ischia*, whom I had formerly seen in *Persia*, and who not living then with the Jesuits, came with the Spanish Ambassador as his Chaplain in that Voyage. These two Fathers being Italians, were sent by F. *Andrea Palmeiro*, Visitor of the Jesuits, and then their Superior in *Goa*, both to complement me in his Name, and to give him more exact information of me, whom he had never seen, nor so much as known by Fame, saving what his General's Letters signifi'd to him. Wherefore after they had visited me, and understood what was my intention to do, they went to give account thereof to the Father Visitor, saying, that they would return again, as accordingly they did a good while after, offering me in the Name of the F. Visitor their Covent of Profess'd House, where they pray'd me to go and lodge, at least till I were provided of a House; adding, that they would also provide a convenient residence for *Mariam Tinatin*, who was with me. I thank'd them, and accepted the favour as to my self, and this with the approbation also of F. *Frà: Leandro*, whom I acquainted therewith. But because it was late that day, and there was not time to dispatch my Goods at the *Dogana*, I did not land, but remain'd in the Ship with intention to do so the next day. April the ninth, Early in the Morning F. *Frà: Leandro* sent a *Palanchino*, or Sedan, to fetch *Mariam Tinatin*, that she might go to Mass at his Church, and afterwards repair to the House of a *Portugal* Gentlewoman, call'd Sig^{ta} *Lena da Cugna*, living near the discalceated *Carmelites*, and much devoted to them, whose House also stood right over against that which he intended to take for me. And this was done, because the *Portugals* who in matter of Government look with great diligence upon the least mores, without making much reckoning afterwards of great beams, held it inconvenient for the said *Mariam Tinatin* to live with me in the same House; although she had been brought up always in our House from a very little Child and as our own Daughter. For being themselves in these matters very unrestrain'd, (not sparing their nearest Kindred, nor, as I have heard their own Sisters, much less Foster-children in their Houses, they conceive that all other Nations are like themselves; wherefore in conformity to the use of the Country, and not to give offence, it was necessary for us to be separated; the rather too, because strangers who amongst the *Portugals* are not very well look'd upon, and through their ignorance held worse than

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in our Countries Hereticks are, may easily expect that all evil is thought of them, and that all evil may easily befall them in these parts; so that 'tis requisite to live with circumspection. And this may serve for advice to whoever shall travel into these Regions. F. *Fra: Leandro* sent also to invite me to Mass at his Church; and being it was a Holy Day, and the Jesuits were not yet come to fetch me, as they said they would, I determin'd to go thither, leaving *Cacciatùr* in the Ship to look to the goods. I was no sooner landed, but I met F. *Sorrentino*, who in the Name of his Jesuits was coming to fetch me, and also with a *Palanchino* to carry *Mariam Tinatin* I know not whither. She was gone already, and so I made an excuse for her, and likewise for my self to the Jesuits, onely for that day, being I was upon the way with the *Carmelites*; and although it somewhat troubled them, yet I went to F. *Leandro*, having agreed to return to the Ship; and the next day after my Goods were dispatch'd at the *Dogana*, which could not be done now because it was *Sunday*, I should then go to receive the favour of the Jesuits as they commanded me. Wherefore proceeding to the Church of the *Carmelites*, which stands at the edge of the City upon a pleasant Hill, with a very delightful prospect, I heard Mass there, and stay'd both to dine, sup, and lodg with them. *April* the tenth, Early in the Morning I went to the Ship, landed my Goods, dispatch'd them at the Custom-house, and having carry'd them to the House of Sig^{ra} *Lena da Cugna*, where *Mariam Tinatin* was, I went to quarter (till the House taken for me were emptied, clean'd, and prepar'd) in the Covent of the Profess'd House of the Jesuits, where I was receiv'd by the Visitor, the Provincial, the Provost, and the rest, with much courtesie, and with their accustomed Charity and Civility. I found there many Italian Fathers, of which Nation the Society makes frequent use, especially in the Missions of *China*, *Japan*, *India*, and many other places of the East; besides the two above-nam'd, I found of Italians F. *Christoforo Boro*, a *Milanesè*, call'd *Eròno* in *India*, (not to offend the *Portugal*'s ears with the word *Boro*, which in their Language do's not sound well) a great Mathematician; and another young Father who was afterwards my Confessor; F. *Giuliano Baldinotti* of *Pistoia*, design'd for *Japan*, whither he went afterwards. Moreover, in the Colledge which is another Church, and a distinct Covent, F. *Alessandro Leni*, an ancient Roman, and Friend of my Uncles, with whom, especially with Sig: *Alessandro*, he had studied in our *Casa Instituta*, or Academy; F. *Giacinto Franceschi* a *Florentine*; all who, with infinite others of several Nations, *Portugals*, *Castilians*, and others, were all my Friends; and particularly, F. *Pantaleon Vincissao* a German, well skill'd in Mathematicks, and a great wit, Procurator of *China*; F. *Per Moryad*, the Vice-Roy's Confessor, and F. *Francesco Vergara*, both *Castilians*; F. *Christoforo di Giovanni* a *Portugal*, learned in Greek and Arabick; F. *Flaminio Carlo* of

Otranto, Master in Divinity. Of Fryers I also found many Italians, namely, in the Colledge Fryer *Joseph Masagna*, a famous Spicerer, and a Man of much businels in the Profels'd House, a *Neapolitan*, a *Venetian*, and a *Thufcan*, call'd Fryer *Bartolomeo Pontebnoni*, a good Painter, and also a Man of much employment, who were all my great Friends. *April* the eleventh, my Birth-day, The Jesuits shew'd me all their Covent, which is indeed a large and goodly Building, and though not much adorn'd according to our custom, yet perhaps, is the best thing that is in *Goa*; as also the front of their Church. *April* the fourteenth, which was *Holy Fryday*, Being present at Holy Service in the Quire of the Jesuits, (because I was still in my Persian Habit, the *Portugal* Clothes which I had bespoken being not yet made, and therefore I appear'd not in publick) Sig: *Constantino da Sà*, (a *Portugal* Cavalier, or *Hidalgo*, design'd General for the Island of *Zeilan*, whither he was preparing to go speedily with his Fleet) coming also to hear the Office in the Quire, saw me there, and understanding who I was, was pleas'd to take notice of me, and after the Office was ended, came together with the Fathers very courteously to complement me, offering himself to serve me, (as he said) in the Island of *Zeiland*, if I pleas'd to go thither: Whereunto I also answer'd with the best and most courteous words I could. This Sig: *Constantino* had been sent with an Armado of many Ships to relieve *Ormuz* when it was besiedg'd; but not arriving there till after the place was taken, he return'd back with his Fleet to *Goa*.

X.

April the sixteenth, being *Easter-Day*, I first resum'd an European, to wit, a *Portugal* Habit, as 'tis the fashion at *Goa*, amongst the graver sort, after I had worn strange garbs for many years together, and ever since the death of my Sig^a *Sitti Maani*, cloath'd my self and my servant in mourning. *April* the seventeenth, F. *Vincissao Pantaleon*, my Friend above-nam'd, (who was skill'd in the *China* Language, having been many years in these parts, and intended to return thither) shew'd me the Geographical Description of all *China*, written very small, or rather printed in a *China* Character after their way very handsomely. On which occasion, I must not omit to note that the *Chineses*, as the said Father shew'd me in their Books, are wont in writing to draw the line or verse of their writing, not as we and the *Hebrews* do cross the paper, but (contrary to both) from the top to the bottom, beginning to write at the right side of the paper, and ending at the left; which to all other Nations seems a very strange way. Moreover, their Letters are not properly Letters, but great Characters, each of which denotes an intire word; whence the Characters are as many as there are words in the Language, and they reckon to the number of eighty thousand; a thing indeed not onely strange and superfluous, but also, in my opinion, unprofitable; yea, disadvantageous, and onely for vain pomp; for in learning these Characters they spend many years

years unprofitably, which might be employ'd in the acquisition of other better Sciences, without being always Children, (as *Hermes Trismegistus* said of the Greeks;) yea, in their whole life they cannot learn them all; so that there are none among themselves, or, if any, they are very rare and miraculous, who can write and read all the words, and know all the Characters of their own Tongue, which is certainly a great imperfection; although they say, that he who knows four thousand Characters, may speak and write well enough; and he that knows six or eight thousand, may pass for eloquent. The *Japoneses* seem to me more judicious in this point, having for ordinary, and more facile use, invented an Alphabet of few Letters, written likewise from the top downwards, wherewith they write all words, and all their own Language, and also that of *China*: But in the Sciences and more weighty matters, the learned amongst them most commonly make use of the *China*-Characters, which, as mysterious and sacred, are venerable to all these Nations; and although they have all several Languages, yet they do and can make use of the same writing; because being the said Characters are not Letters, but significative of words; and the words although different in sound, yet in all these Languages are of the same signification and number; it comes to pass that divers Nations adjacent to *China*, as these of *Japan*, *Cauchin-China*, and other, (although different in Language) yet in writing, making use of the *China*-Characters, at least in matters of greatest moment, understand one another when they read these Characters each in their own Tongue, with the different words of their proper Language; which indeed, in reference to the commerce and communication of Nations, is a great convenience. April the seven and twentieth, This Morning, being the first *Thursday* after the *Dominica in Albis*, there was a solemn Procession at *Goa* of the most Holy Sacrament, for the Annual Feast of *Corpus Christi*, as the custom is. But in *Goa* it is kept out of the right time upon such a day, because the right day of the Feast falls in the Moneths of great Rain; so that at that time the Procession cannot be perform'd, and therefore they anticipate it in this manner. The Procession was made by the whole Clergy, with a greater shew of green boughs then clothes, and with many representations of mysteries by persons disguis'd, fictitious animals, dances and malkerades; things which in our Countries would more sute with Villages then great Cities. Two Ships are now departing by the way of *Persias*, and therefore I have made use of this opportunity; favour me to kiss the hands of all my Friends in my Name, amongst which I reckon in the first place with the *Signori Spina*, *Sig: Andrea*, *Sig: Dottore*, and *Sig: Coletta*; upon whom, and your self, I pray Heaven for all felicity; recommending my self to your prayers also for my safety. From *Goa*, April 27. 1623.

LETTER III.

From *Goa*, Octob. 10. 1623.

I.

HAVING a fit opportunity, according to my desire to make an excursion from *Goa* farther into *India* more Southwards to *Canarà*, upon occasion of this Vice-Roy's dispatching Sig: *Gio Fernandez Leiton*, Ambassador to *Vanktapà Nickà*, a Gentile-Prince of that Province; and conceiving that my journey will begin within three or four days, I have therefore determin'd to write this Letter to you, that it may be convey'd by the first occasion of the Ships which are now preparing for a Voyage from *India* into *Europe*; for I know not certainly, how far I shall tarvel, nor how long I shall stay out before my return to *Goa*, whether moneths or years. As little do I know what other opportunity, or convenient place I shall meet withall to write to you; nevertheless I shall omit none that offers it self, and in the mean time present you with the continuation of my Diary. Having been here in *Goa* too much shut up in the House of the Jesuits, On the first of *May*, I parted from them after many civil treatments and favours receiv'd of them, according to their most affectionate hospitality; and went to the House prepar'd for me right over against that of Sig^{ra} *Lena da Cugna*, which stands between the Covents of the Bare-footed *Carmelites*, and the Converted Nuns of *S. Mary Magdalene*, in a remote but not inconvenient place, nor far from the commerce of the City, and the more acceptable to me, because near the residence of *Mariàm Tinatin*. May the third, The City of *Goa*, lying, as they say, in the Altitude of fifteen degrees and forty minutes, agreeably to the good Rule of Astronomy and the Tables of *Tycho*, according to which, *F. Christoforo Brono* told me, this City is in a Meridian different from that of *Francfurt*, about four hours more Eastward; yet the Sun came to be in the Zenith of *Goa*, that is, in the declination of the Zenith at eleven a clock of the night following the said day, (speaking sutablely to the *Spanish* and *Portugal* Clocks.) Yet at this time it was the height of Summer, and the greatest heat of the year, as we found by experience. For there may be said to be two Summers and Winters every year in *Goa*, and these adjacent Regions; because the Sun passes over their heads, and departs from them twice a year, once toward the North, and once towards the South. May the eleventh, A *Portugal* Gentleman coming from the Court of *Spain* by Land, to wit, by the way of *Turkie*, and, as they said, in a very short time, and with Letters from the Court dated in the end of the last *October*, brought news amongst other things of the Canonization of five Saints made together in one day, namely, of *S. Ignatio*, the Founder of the Jesuits; *S. Francesco Xaverio*, a Jesuit, and

and the Apostle of the *East-India*; *S. Philippo Neri*, Founder of the Congregation *della Vallicella*, whom I remember to have seen and spoken to in my Child-hood, and whose Image is still so impress'd in my memory, that I should know him if I saw him; *S. Teresa*, Foundress of the Bare-footed *Carmelites*; and *S. Isidoro*, a Country-man of *Madrid*. We had also news of the death of the Duke of *Parma*, *Ranuccio Farnese*, and how the Cardinal his Brother was gone to the Government of that State during the minority of the succeeding Duke. The Currier who went into *Spain* with the tidings of the loss of *Ormuz*, this *Portugal* Gentleman said he met him at *Marseilles*; and concerning the Marriage between *Spain* and *England*, he brought no intelligence of any conclusion; so that I believe, the news of *Ormuz*, lost chiefly by the fault of the *English*, will occasion much difficulty in the Treaty of that Marriage. *May* the seventeenth, Four Italian Bare-footed *Carmelites* arriv'd in *Goa*, being sent by their Fathers at *Rome* into *Persia*; but having heard at *Aleppo* how the Fathers of *Persia* were troubled by the fate of those new Christians who were discover'd and slain the year before, and especially that they had nothing to live upon; they not knowing what to do, and being terrifi'd with the Relations of divers Merchants who aggravated things sufficiently, and being so advis'd by some, who, perhaps, like not the coming of such Fathers into *Persia*, resolv'd to come into *India*, and to *Goa* to the Vicar Provincial, whither they brought no fresh News from *Rome*, having departed from thence Eleven Moneths before. They came almost all sick, having suffer'd much in the Desarts of *Arabia*, and other places of the journey, where they had felt great scarcity; and for all this they would needs observe their Lent and Fasts by the way, sustaining themselves almost solely with Dates, which is a very hot food; and withall the alteration of the Air, very hot too, and unusual to them in the hight of Summer, was the occasion of their being all sick. Two of them arriv'd this day, and the two others the day after; because they came from *Mascât* in several Ships. Of these four Bare-footed *Carmelites*, within a few days three dyed, and one alone after a long and dangerous sickness escap'd. *May* the eighteenth, The Bells of all the Churches of *Goa* rung out with a great noise; and they said, it was for the News of the King's Health then brought from *Spain*; but I said, I wish'd they had first recover'd *Ormuz*, and then rung the Bells with joy for both. A vain people!

May the twentieth, The Bare-footed *Carmelites* would needs make particular rejoycing for the Canonization of their *S. Teresa*, and not confound the same in one day with that of the *Jesuits*; they sent two *Portugal* Children on Horse-back richly clad in riding habit, as Curriers, to declare with certain Verses to the Vice-Roy of *Goa* the Canonization of the She-Saint; after which the same Boys went up and down the City with a Trumpet before them, scattering other Verses to the people with the same tidings,

tidings, the Bells of theirs, and all other Churches of the City ringing in the mean time for joy, being injoynd thereunto by the Bishop's Order. At night themselves, and divers of their Friends, made Fire-works throughout the City. And in favour of them the chief *Portugals*, went the same night up and down the streets in a great Troop, clad in several disguises, after the manner of a *Mascherade*. I also bore a part in the solemnity, out of my devotion to the new Saint; and according to the liberty which every one took of habiting himself as he pleas'd, I put my self into the garb of an Arabian Gentleman of the Desert, which was accounted very brave and gallant; I accompany'd with Sig: *Antonino*, Son of Sig: *Antonio Paraccio*, my friend, a youth of about twelve years old, who was one of those who went in the day time to the Vice-Roy, and I cloth'd him in a Persian Habit of mine which I had brought from *Persia*, or rather like a noble *Chizilbase* Souldier, very odd and brave; so that we two were a sufficiently delightful spectacle to the whole City. May the one and twentieth, In the Morning the Bare-footed Fathers sung in their Church a solemn Mass *in gratiarum actionem* for the above-said Canonization of *Santa Teresa*, upon whose praises an *Augustine* Father made an eloquent Sermon; the Vice-Roy and a multitude of people being present thereat.

- III. May the three and twentieth, The Sun entring into *Gemini*, I observ'd that the Rain begun in *Goa*, and it happens not alike in all the Coast of *India*; for it begins first in the more Southerly parts of *Capo Comorni*, and follows afterwards by degrees, according as places extend more to the North; so that in *Cambaia*, and other more northern parts, it begins later then in *Goa*; and the further any place lyes North, the later it begins there. Whence it comes to pass that in the *Persian* Ephemerides, or Almanacks, they use to set down the beginning of *Parseeal*, or the time of Rain in *India*, at the fifteenth of their third moneth, call'd *Cordad*, which falls upon the third of our *June*; because they have observ'd it in the more Northern parts of *India*, as in *Cambaia*, *Surat*, and the like, where the *Persians* have more commerce then in other more Southern places. In *Goa* likewise, for the most part the beginning of the Rain is in the first days of *June*; yet sometimes it anticipates, and sometimes falls something later with little difference. 'Tis observ'd by long experience that this Rain in *India*, after having lasted some days at first, ceases, and there return I know not how many days of fair weather; but those being pass'd, it begins again more violent then ever, and continues for a long time together. By this Rain, as I observ'd, the heat diminisheth, and the Earth which before was very dry and all naked, becomes cloth'd with new verdure, and various colours of pleasant flowers, and especially the Air becomes more healthful, sweet, and more benigne both to sound and infirm. The arm of the Sea, or River, which encompasses

encompasses the Island of *Goa*, and is ordinarily salt, notwithstanding the falling of the other little fresh Rivers into it, with the inundation of great streams which through the great Rain flow from the circumjacent Land, is made likewise wholly fresh; whence the Country-people who wait for this time, derive water out of it for their Fields of Rice in the Island of *Goa* and the neighbouring parts, which being temper'd with this sweet moisture, on a suddain become all green. *June* the first, I spoke first to the Vice-Roy of *Goa*, *Don Francesco da Gama*, Count of *Bidigucira*, Admiral of the Indian Sea, and Grand-son of that *D. Vasco de Gama* who discover'd *East-India*, in which this *Don Francesco* was sometimes Vice-Roy, and was once taken captive in *Africa* with King *Sebastian*. I delay'd seeing him so long, because I was busi'd for a Moneth after my arrival in changing my Habit and providing a House, so that I went not abroad; besides, that the Vice-Roy was likewise employ'd many days after in dispatching the Fleets which went to *China* and *Zeilan*; and after they were gone, he retir'd to a place out of *Goa*, to recreate himself for many days; so that I had no opportunity sooner. I presented to him two Letters from *Rome*, which I brought directed to his Predecessor in my recommendation, one from Sig: Cardinal *Crescentio*, and the other from the Duke of *Albuquerque* then Ambassador at *Rome* for the Catholick King; and he, without reading them, in my presence said, that without that recommendation he should have express'd all fitting Civilities to me, and that he was glad to see and know me, with many other Complements and courteous offers. He had no long discourse with me, because many other *Portugal* Gentlemen of the Council, and other persons of the Government expected to have Audience; but when I went away, he told *F. Morigad* the Jesuit his Confessor who introduc'd me, that at a more convenient opportunity he desir'd to talk with me more at length of the things of *Persia*, and that he would send for me; and in the mean time desir'd a writing in discourse which I had made a few days before concerning the Warrs of *Persia*, of which his said Confessor who had seen it, had given him notice; wherefore I gave it to him with my own hand, as I had written it in my Native *Tuscan* Tongue, and *F. Morigad* gave him the Translation of it, made by himself into the *Portugal* Tongue, being the Vice-Roy did not understand the *Italian*.

June the ninth, In the Colledge of the Jesuits was pronounc'd, as 'tis the custom every year, a Latin Oration, for the Inchoation of the Readings; which, the vacations being ended with the hot weather, begin again with the Rain and cool weather. Letters from some *Banians* were brought to *Goa*, signifying that the *Moghòl* had enounter'd with his Rebel *Sultàn Chorròm*, and routed him; and that *Sultàn Chorròm* after his defeat was retir'd to a strong hold in the top of a Mountain, which they call *Mandù*, and that his Father had besieg'd them there. *June* the four and

twentieth,

IV.

twentieth, being the Feast of Saint *John Baptist*, The Vice-Roy with many other *Portugal* persons of quality, as 'tis the yearly custom in *Goa*, rode through the City in Habits of Masquert, but without Vizards, two and two alike, or three and three; and having heard Mass in the Church of Saint *John*, he came into the street of Saint *Paul*, which they are wont to call *La Carriera de' Cavalli*, and is the best place in *Goa*. Here, after many Companies of *Canarine* Christians of the Country had march'd by with their Ensignes, Drums and Arms, leaping and playing along the streets, with their naked Swords in their Hands, for they are all Foot; at length all the Cavaliers run, two carriers on Horse-back, one downwards from the Church of Saint *Paul* towards the City, and the other upwards, running matches of two to two, or three to three, according as their attire agreed, with their Morisco Cymiters, and at last they came all down marching together in order, and so went to the Piazza of the Vice-Roys Palace, and so the solemnity ended. I stood to see this shew in the same street of Saint *Paul*, in the House of one whom they call King of the Islands of *Maldiva*, or *Maladiva*, which are an innumerable company of small Islands, almost all united together, lying in a long square form towards the West, not far from the Coast of *India*; of which Islands one of this Man's Ancestors was really King, but being driven out of his Dominion by his own people, fled to the *Portugals* and turn'd Christian, with hopes of recovering his Kingdom by their help. Yet the *Portugals* never attempted any thing in his behalf, and so he and his descendents remain depriv'd of the Kingdom enjoying onely the naked Title which the *Portugals* being now ally'd to him still give him; and because many Merchants Ships come from those Islands to trade in the Ports of the *Portugals*, they force the said Ships to pay a small matter of Tribute to him as their lawful Sovereign: of which, though the Governours of Ports, to whom upon necessity he must entrust, purloin above half from him; nevertheless he gets at this day by it about three thousand Crowns yearly, and therewith supports himself. The like Fates have befallen many other Princes in *India*, who hoping in the *Portugals*, have found themselves deluded. Wherein Reason of State is but ill observ'd by the *Portugals*, because by this proceeding, they have discourag'd all others from having confidence in them; whereas had they assisted and protected them, as they ought and might easily, and with small charge have done upon sundry fair occasions, they would by this time have got the love of all *India*; and themselves would by the strength and help of their Friends, undoubtedly, have become more potent, as also, without comparison, more fear'd by their Enemies. June the nine and twentieth, This year the *Moors* began their *Ramadhan*, according to the Rules of my Calculation. July the five and twentieth, being the Feast of Saint *James*, the Protector of *Spain*, was solemniz'd with the
same


same gallantry of Carriers and Dresses, as are above describ'd, saving that the Vice-Roy heard Mass in the Church of St. James.

V.

In the Evening, I went with Sig: *Ruy Gomez Boraccio*, a Priest and Brother of Sig: *Antonio Baroccio* to the Church of Saint James, which stands somewhat distant without the City, upon the edge of the Island towards the main Land of *Adil-Sciab*, which is on the other side of a little River, or Arm of the Sea. For which reason, the Island is in this as well as many other dangerous places fortin'd with strong walls; and here there is a Gate upon the pass, which is almost full of people, going and coming from the main Land, and is call'd by the Indians *Benastarni*, by which name some of our Historians mention it in their writings concerning these parts; as *Oforius*, *Maffau*, &c. which Gate, as likewise many others, which are upon divers places of passage about the Island, is guarded continually with Souldiers, commanded by a Captain who hath the care thereof, and for whom there is built a fine House upon the walls of the Island, which in this place are very high, forming a kind of Bastion, or rather a Cavaliero, or mount for Ordnance; not very well design'd, but sufficiently strong, wherein are kept pieces of Artillery for defence of the place. We went to visit the said Captain, who was then Sig: *Manoel Pereira de la Gerda*, and from the high Balconies of his House and the Bastion, we enjoy'd the goodly prospect of the Fields round about, both of the Island and the Continent, being discernable to a great distance. The Captain entertain'd us with the Musick of his three Daughters, who sung and play'd very well after the *Portugal* manner upon the Lute, after which we return'd home. About the Church of Saint James are some few habitations in form of a little Town, which is also call'd *Santiago*; and the way from thence to the City is a very fine walk, the Country being all green, and the way-sides beset with Indian Nut-trees, (which the *Portugals* call *Palms*, and their fruit *Cocco*) the Gardens and Houses of Pleasure on either side contributing to the delightfulness thereof, being full of sundry fruit-trees unknown to us; as also because in Winter-time the very walls of the Gardens are all green with moss, and other herbs growing there; which indeed is one of the pleasantest sights that I have seen in my days, and the rather because 'tis natural and without artifice. The same happens, I believe, not in this Island onely, but in all the Region round about. In the field adjoyning to the City, near the ruines of a deserted building, once intended for a Church, but never finish'd, is a work of the *Gentiles*, sometimes Lords of this Country, namely, one of the greatest Wells that ever I beheld, round, and about twenty of my Paces in Diametre, and very deep; it hath Parapets, or Walls breast-high round about with two Gates, at one of which is a double pair of stairs leading two ways to the bottom, to fetch water when it is very low. *July* the six and twentieth, I went out of the City to a place of pleasure in the Island, where

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was

was a Church of Saint *Anna*, to which there was a great course of people, because it was her Festival. This Church stands very low, built amongst many Country dwellings, partly, of the Islanders who live there, and partly, of the *Portugals* who have Houses of Pleasure there to spend a moneth for recreation. The place is very delightful amongst Palmetoes and Groves of other Trees, and the way leading to it is extremely pleasant, all cover'd with green. After I had heard Mass here, Sig: *Giovanni da Costa de Menecas*, a Friend of mine whom I found there, carry'd me to dine with him at the House of a Vicar or Parish-Priest of another Church not far distant, and of small Building, which they call *Santa Maria di Loreto*, where we spent the whole day in conversation with the said Vicar and other Friends. At night because it rain'd, I caus'd my self to be carry'd home in one of those Carriages which the *Portugals* call *Rete*, being nothing else but a net of cords ty'd at the head and feet, and hanging down from a great Indian Cane; in which Net (which is of the length of a Man, and so wide that opening in the middle, (for the two ends are ty'd fast to the Cane) 'tis capable of one person) a Man lyes along very conveniently with a cushion under his head, although somewhat crooked, to wit, with the feet and head advanc'd towards the Ligatures, and the middle part of the body more pendulous under the Cane, which is carry'd upon the shoulders of two men before, and two behind; if the person be light, or the way short, two Men onely bear it, one before, and the other behind. These Nets are different from the *Palanchini* and the *Andor*; for in these from the Cane hang not nets, but litters like little beds, upon which a Man sits with his legs stretch'd forth, or half lying along upon cushions, and so is carry'd very conveniently. Moreover, the *Palanchini* and the *Andor*, differ from one another; for that in the latter, the Cane upon which they carry is strait, as it is likewise in the Nets; but in the *Palanchini*, for greater ease of the person carry'd that he may have more room to carry his head upright, the said Cane is crooked upward in this form , and they bend Canes for this purpose when they are small and tender, and these are the most convenient and honourable carriages; and because there are not found many good Canes and fit to bear such a weight, therefore they are sold dear, at a hundred or six score *Pardini* a piece, which amount to about sixty of our Crowns. Besides, as well the *Palanchini* as the *Andor*, and the Nets, are cover'd for avoiding the Rain with dry Coverlets made of Palm leaves, to wit, those of the Indian Nut, and other such Trees, sufficiently handsome, which being cast over the Cane, hang down on each side, having two windows with little shutters; They keep out the water very well, and the Coverlets may be taken off when one is minded to go uncover'd, and carry'd by a servant. Yet I never saw any go uncover'd in *Goa*, either in *Andor* or Nets; but out of the City in the Country, many. I have spoken more

at length of these Carriages, because they are unknown in our Countries, although I remember to have seen in *Italy* the Effigies of a Net or *Rete*, engraven in certain Maps of the World, and, if I mistake not, amongst the ways of travelling in *Brasil*, where I believe they are us'd; and indeed this mode of Carriage is very usual in *India*, not onely in Cities, but also in journeys and those of sufficient length; wherefore to make experience of it, I was minded to have my self carry'd this day after the manner which I have describ'd; nor must I omit, that the Men who bear such Carriages are satisfi'd with a very small reward. Going in *Palanchino*, in the Territories of the *Portugals* in *India*, is prohibited to Men, because indeed 'tis a thing too effeminate; nevertheless, as the *Portugals* are very little observers of their own Laws, they began at first to be tolerated upon occasion of the Rain, and for favours or presents; and afterwards become so common, that they are us'd almost by every body throughout the whole year.

On the tenth of *August*, I believe, the Sun was in the Zenith of *Goa*, returning from the Northern signes, and passing to the Southern; yet for the day and precise hour, I refer my self to a better Calculation, according to the good Books which I have not here with me. On the eleventh of the same Moneth, I saw at *Goa* a *Carnero*, or Weather without horns, which they told me was of the Race of *Balagat*, not great but of strong limbs, harness'd with a velvet saddle, crupper, head-stall, bridle, stirrups, and all the accoutrements of a Horse; and it was ridden upon by a *Portugal* Youth of about twelve years old, as he went and came from his own House to the School of *Giesu*, which low School of Reading and Writing, the said Fathers keep for more convenience of Children, not at the Colledge which stands in the edge of the City where the higher Schools are, but at the Church of *Giesu*, which is the Profess'd House, and stands in the middle of the City, whither the abovesaid Youth rode daily upon his Martin; and I observ'd, that the beast being us'd to the place, knew the way so well that he went alone at night from the House to the School to fetch the Youth, without any body holding or guiding him before the servant which drove him, as they do many Horses. I took the more notice of this trifle, because it seem'd a new thing to ride upon such creatures; for although in our Countries, Dogs and Goats are sometimes seen with saddles and Horse furniture, running, leaping, and capring, yet 'tis onely for sport, and with puppets upon the saddle; but this Martin was ridden upon by such a boy as I have mention'd, although the beast was but of a very ordinary bigness. On the seventeenth of *August*, the Gentile-Indians kept a kind of Festival, to which a great number of them came to a place in *Goa*, which they call *Narvè*, or as the vulgar corruptly speak *Narvâ*, as it were for pardon or absolution, and many came in pilgrimage from far Countries to wash their bodies here, plunging them-

VI.

selves into the Arm of the Sea, Men and Women together all naked, without any respect at all, even persons of quality, and casting Fruits, Perfumes, and other things into the water, as it were in Oblation to the Deity of the water of this place, with other Ceremonies, Devotions, and the like; which I relate not more particularly, because I was not present at them, because the great Rain kept me from going to see them, as it also was the cause that the concourse of the Gentiles was not very great. Nevertheless I could not but speak thus much in general of it, as being a considerable thing amongst them. This Feast, and their Devotion, lasts two days, but the first is most remarkable.

VII.

August the one and thirtieth, A Galeon coming from *Mascât*, (being the first Ship that came to *Goa* this year since the Rain, and the shutting up of the mouth of the Port) brought News how *Ruy Freyra* having been a few Moneths before at *Mascât* with the little Fleet which he had of sixteen Ships, was gone to attempt *Sohâr*, which place being formerly abandon'd by the *Portugals*, was now fortifi'd by the *Persians* with a strong Garrison; and that after he had landed, he assaulted the Fort, but could not take it, though many *Moors* were slain in the encounter and about twenty five *Portugals*; amongst which, were three or four Captains, Men of Valor and Esteem: in which action, some conceiv'd, that *Ruy Freyra* had not done well in hazarding and losing so many people upon a place of small importance; but he continuing to besiege it, it was deliver'd to him upon Articles, the Garrison which was within marching away with their Arms and Baggage; after which he raz'd the Fortifications, and attempted another place of that Coast of *Arabia*, which they call *Galfarcan*; and having taken it, out of indignation, as I believe, for the many good Souldiers which they had kill'd of his at *Sohâr*, and to cast a terror, left no person alive, sparing neither sex nor age. Which cruel manner of proceeding I cannot approve; because on the one side, it will alienate the minds of the people of that Country; and on the other, it will incite Enemies to fight against more obstinately and valorously, as knowing they are to expect no quarter. This is as much as hath been done hitherto in those parts about *Ormûz*, the doing of greater matters requiring new and greater supplies from the Vice-Roy; but they say likewise, that *Ormûz* and *Kesciome* are extreemly well fortifi'd by the *Moors*. September the six and twentieth, Sig: *Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa*, Ambassador in *Persia* from the Catholick King in my time, who by reason of sundry accidents, and the oppositions of the *Portugals* to him as to a *Castilian*, (as himself saith) or, (as other say) because it was his own mind to do so; since the year before being sent away in a Petache or Shallop according to his own desire, he return'd back for fear of a tempest, (though without reason) had never return'd home into *Spain* to his Kings; but when I arriv'd in *India*, I found

I found him at *Goa*, where we became acquainted together; and coming to visit me one day, amongst other things whereof we discours'd, he told me that he had heard a while since that the Prior of *Savoy*, to wit, the Duke of *Savoy's* Son who is a Prior, was made Vice-Roy of *Sicily*, and *Generalissimo* of that Sea for his Catholick Majesty: Which was News to me, and, as a rare and unaccustom'd thing for the Spaniards to place Italians in governments of States in *Italy*, I was not unwilling to take notice of. September the thirtieth, At evening the Dominicans with the Fryers of the Society *del Rosario*, made a goodly Procession in *Goa*, with abundance of Coaches, and Images cloth'd after their manner, and richly adorn'd with many Jewels; all the streets where it pass'd being strew'd with green herbs and flowers, and the windows hung with Tapistry and rich Carpets; to which shew, which is yearly made for the Feast of the Rosary, which is upon the first Sunday of *October*, the whole City was gather'd together. This great Procession they make the Eve before the Feast after Vespers, and in the morning of the Feast they make another less one, onely about the Gate of the Church, but with the same pomp, and besides with the most Holy Sacrament. *October* the tenth, The Vice-Roy of *Goa* dispatch'd Sig: *Giaz Fernandez Leiton* my Friend, Ambassador to the Gentile-Prince, whose Dominion in the Kingdom of *Province of Canara*, more Southernly then *Goa*, borders upon *Onor*, and the other Territories of the *Portugals* in those maritime parts. This Prince *Venk-tapà Naieka*, was sometimes Vassal, and one of the Ministers of the great King of *Vidià-Nagàr*, which the *Portugals* corruptly call *Bijnagà*; but after the down-fall of the King of *Vidià-Nagàr*, who a few years ago by the Warrs rais'd against him by his Neighbours, lost together with his life a great part of his Dominion, and became in a manner extinct; *Venk-tapà Naieka*, as also many other *Naieki*, who where formerly his Vassals and Ministers, remain'd absolute Prince that part of the State whereof he was Governour; which also, being a good Souldier, he hath much enlarg'd, having seiz'd by force many Territories of divers other *Naieki*, and pety Princes his Neighbours; and in brief, is grown to that reputation, that having had Warr with the *Portugals* too, and given them a notable defeat, he is now held for their Friend, and for the establishment of this Friendship they send this Embassage to him in the Name of the King of *Portugal*, the Ambassador being styl'd, Ambassador of the State of *India*; and though he is sent by the Vice-Roy, nevertheless, as their custom is, he carries Letters written in the name of the King himself, to do the more honour to *Venk-tapà Naieka* to whom he is sent. This is the first Ambassador sent to this Prince in the King of *Portugal's* Name; for before in Occurrences which fell out, an Ambassador was sent only in the name of some one of those Captains, and Governours of the *Portugal* Territories, which had business with him; and this was sent in answer to an Ambassador of his

his who hath been long at *Goa*, negotiating with the Vice-Roy the establishment of the said Friendship. The Ambassador of *Venk-tapà Naieka* is a Brachman, call'd *Vitulà Sinai*, and having taken his leave of the Vice-Roy, the two Ambassadors departed together at this time. I having been some dayes before inform'd of this intended Embassie, and being desirous to see some Country of the Gentiles, where themselves bore sway, and observ'd their Rites without any subjection to Christians or Moors, or Princes of different Religion, as in those Lands which I had hitherto seen; I offer'd my self to accompany my Friend Sig: *Gio: Fernandez Leiton* in this Embassie, and he hath been pleas'd to testifie very great liking of my company. So that I am to take Ship with him within three days, which will be the thirteenth or fourteenth of this present moneth of *October*. I hope I shall find matter wherewith to feed our Curiosity, and to give you an entertainment. In the mean time I heartily salute all our Friends at *Naples*, and most affectionately kiss your Hands. From *Goa*, *October* 10. 1623.

LETTER IV.

From *Onòr*, *October*. 30. 1623.

I.

BEing departed from *Goa*, and arriv'd at this Port of *Onòr*, I shall give you some account of what hath hapned in my observation during the few days since the last that I writ to you, *October* the tenth; which because I understood lay still at *Goa*, with the two Ships which were to go thence for *Persia*, I have thought fit to send this to accompany it, and, I hope, you will receive both of them together; and that not without some small delectation with my News, inasmuch as I am pleas'd in writing to you from several places, and (when I can get opportunity) from those very places which afford the novelties and matters whereof I write, which therefore may possibly be more grateful in the reception, as being native of the Country. I took Ship with our *Portugal* Ambassador, and Sig: *Gio: Fernandez Leiton*, about Evening *October* the fourteenth; and departing from *Goa*, we remov'd to a Town call'd *Pangi* in the same Island, but lower near the place where the River enters into the Sea, and whither the Vice-Roy's use to retire themselves frequently to a House of Pleasure which they have there, besides many other like Houses of private persons upon the River likewise; and where also at the mouth of the Sea, or Bar, as they speak, which is a little lower, almost all Fleets that depart from *Goa* are wont to set sail. We might have perform'd this journey by Land along the Sea-coast, passing along the other Lands of

Adil-

Adil-Sciàh, till we came to those of *Venk-tapà Naieka*: But to avoid expences, and occasions of disgust with many Governours of those Territories subject to *Adil-Sciàh*, who sometimes are little courteous, and impertinent, the Vice-Roy would have us go by Sea; and for more security, sent five of those light Frigats or Galeots, which the *Portugals* call *Sangessis*, to accompany us as far as *Onòr*, where we were to land. So that we were in all ten Ships or Galeots, to wit, one which carry'd the *Portugal* Ambassador and us; an other in which the *Venk-tapà Naieka*'s Ambassador the Brachman went; three others laden with the baggage of the two Ambassadors; (and particularly, with Horses and other things which the Vice-Roy sent for a Present to *Venk-tapà Naieka*, and other Horses which I know not who carry'd thither to sell;) and the five Ships of War, whereof *Sig: Hettor Fernandez* was Chief Captain or General. Nevertheless we departed from *Goa* the afore said Evening onely without our own Ship, the rest being already fallen down lower toward the Sea, and the Ambassador *Vitulà* was above a day at *Pangi* expecting us, where we arriving the above said night, did not land because it was late, but slept in the Vessel.

October the fourteenth, We went a shore in the Morning at *Pangi*, and the two Ambassadors saw one another upon the Seaside, where I being present with them, *Sig: Gio: Fernandez* told the Brachman Ambassador who I was, and that I went with them out of curiosity to see his King: wherewith he testified great contentment, but was much more pleas'd with the Pendant which I wore at my left ear, as I have us'd to do for many years past for remedy of my weak sight; because wearing Pendants at the ears is a particular custom of the *Indians*, especially of the *Gentiles*, who all wear them in both ears: And because this is among the *Portugals* a thing not onely unusual, but ignorantly by some of the ruder sort of them held for unlawful, onely because 'tis us'd by *Gentiles*, therefore the Ambassador marvelled that I being of the *Portugals* Religion nevertheless us'd it; but being told that it was not forbidden us by our Law, but onely customarily disus'd, and that in *Europe* it was us'd by many, he commended the custom, and bid the *Portugals* see how well I shew'd with that Pendant, and better then they who wore none; so powerful is use to endear things to the eye, and make that fancy'd and esteem'd by some, which others through want of custom, dislike, or value not. This day we departed not, because one of the Frigats of the Armado which was to accompany us, was unprovided with Sea-men, for which we were fain to stay till the day following, and then were not very well provided. The cause whereof was, for that there was at this time a great scarcity of Mariners in *Goa*, because the Governours of the maritime parts of the Continent subject to *Idal-Sciàh*, would not permit their Ships to come, as they were wont, to supply Mariners for the *Portugal* Armado; which seem'd an argument

ment of some ill will of that King against the *Portugals*, of which, were there nothing else, theirs being weaker, and more confus'd in their Government then ever, and all things in bad order, was a sufficient ground; for remedy of which, they took no other course, but daily loaded then selves with new, unusual, and most heavy Impositions, to the manifest ruine of the State, taking no care to prevent the hourly exorbitant defraudations of the publick Incomes, which otherwise would be sufficient to maintain the charge without new Gabels: but if such thefts continue, both the publick Incomes and the new Gabels, and as many as they can invent, will be all swallow'd up. Nevertheless, the *Portugals* are heedless according to their custom, and out of a fatal blindness making no reckoning of these signs, which shew the evil mind of their Neighbour *Adil-Sciàh*, think he knows nothing of these disorders, and that this with-holding of his Subjects is onely an impertinence of his Officers. What the event will be, Time will shew.

III.

But to return to my purpose, Not being to depart this day, we went to dine and pass the time, with intencion also to lodg the following night in the house of Sig: *Baldassar d' Azevedo*, who liv'd constantly in a fair House there by the Sea-side, a little distant from the *Villa*, or Fort, where the Vice-Roy's lodg in *Pangi*. Whilst we were recreating our selves, Sig: *Fernandez* be-thinking himself of what, perhaps, he had not thought of before, ask'd me whether I had the Vice-Roy's Licence to go with him this Voyage; and I telling him that I had not, because I did not think it needful, he reply'd, that it was needful to be had by any means if I intended to go; otherwise, he could not venture to carry me, for fear of giving malevolous persons occasion to criminate him, by saying, that he had carry'd me a stranger, and without the Vice-Roy's Licence, into suspected places, where matters of State were to be handled; in brief, knowing the matter blameable, and the wonted Cavils of many of his own Nation, and being admonish'd by many and great troubles befallen others, and particularly, a Kinsman of his very innocently for very slight causes, and much inferior to this; he told me resolutely, that without the Vice-Roy's Licence it was no-wise good, either for him or me, that I should go. Wherefore being we were not to depart that day, he advis'd me to return to the City, and procured the said Licence, if I intended to go, and he would stay for me till the next Morning; but without the Licence I must not return to take Ship, nor would he by any means venture to carry me. I, who well understood the procedures of the *Portugals*, and what rigor they use in their Government, and to what suspitions and malevolences they are prone, which cause a thousand ill usages and injustices, was sensible that Sig: *Fernandez* had reason, and that the not having gotten this Licence was an inadvertency, because I accounted it not necessary; but to obtain it of the Vice-Roy, who knew

me well, and had shewn himself courteous to me, I look'd upon as not difficult. Wherefore being loath to lose my intended Voyage, as soon as I had din'd with these Gentlemen, I went by boat to the City, and having first given account of my business to Sig: *Antonio*, and Sig: *Ruy Gomez* his Brother, (to whose House I repair'd, having left that which I had hir'd, and remov'd my goods to that of the said Sig^a *Barocci*) I went with the same Sig: *Ruy Gomez* to speak to F. *Marejao* a Jesuit, and the Vice-Roy's Confessor and my Friend, whom I desir'd (as the fittest person to do it, in the short time left me) to get me a Licence from the Vice-Roy. He went immediately to speak to the Vice-Roy about it, and had the fortune to find him before he enter'd into a Congregation or Council which was to sit till night; and the Vice-Roy presently writ a Licence for him with his own hand, directed to the Ambassador *Gio: Fernandez*, wherein he told him, that whereas I desir'd to go along with him, he might carry me, and shew me all kind of Civility and Honour as a deserving person, with other like courteous and high expressions. Having gotten my Licence, I went with F. *Ruy Gomez Baraccio*, to visit the Bishop of *Cocni*, who in the vacancy of the See administred the Arch-bishoprick of *Goa*, and whom I had not yet visited; and understanding that he was desirous to know me, and was a Prelate of great merit, not onely as to Ecclesiastick matters, but also in point of Government and Warr, (for he took divers strong places, and perform'd other exploits in *India* for the service of his King, with great valour) I would not depart without first visiting him, and making my self known to him. This Prelate is call'd *Frà Don Sebastiano di San Pietro*, and is an *Augustine* Fryer. We discours'd above an hour together concerning things of *India*, *Persia*, and other matters, and I recommended to him with the F. Confessor the *Augustine* Fathers of his Religion in *Persia*, giving him an account of their necessities, and how he might help them.

Night being come, I went to make a Collation in the House of Sig^a *Barocci*, and when it was grown dark, I return'd to imbarke in the Ship which expected me, and went to the Town of *Pangi* to find Sig: *Gio: Fernandez* and my other Companions, who were very glad at my return with the Vice-Roy's Licence, so favourable and courteous to me, because they were loath to have gone without me; and so I slept with them that night in the same House. My charge, *Mariam Tinatin*, went not with me this journey because it was not expedient, being I was to return to *Goa*, but stay'd still in the House of Sig^a *Lena da Cugna*; onely *Cacciatur* went with me to serve me. October the fifteenth, A little before night we were ready to set sail, had not we been necessitated to stay for certain Mariners till the next Morning, when we went to hear Mass in a Church of Saint *Agnes* belonging to the *Augustine* Fryers, and standing in the Island of *Goa*; after which, being imbark'd, we stay'd a while longer waiting for the

Brachman Ambassador, for what reason I know not, unless, perhaps, he was minded to make us stay for him, as we had made him stay for us. At length being got out of the mouth of the River, we continu'd sailing all night, but with a small wind. Our course was always Southward almost directly, and we coasted along the land at a little distance. *October* the sixteenth, In the Morning we discern'd four Ships of *Malabar* Rovers, near the shore (they call them *Paroes*, and they go with Oars, like Galeots or Foists) we gave them chase for above an hour, intending to fight them, but we could not overtake them; onely we lost much time and much of our way. Night came upon us near certain Rocks, or uninhabited little Islands, which they call *Angediva*, which signifies, in the Language of the Country, *Five Islands*, they being so many in number. We found fresh water in one of them, they are all green and have some Trees. We set sail from thence the same night, but had little or no wind and violent rain. *October* the seventeenth, Continuing our course the next day with a very small gale, we saw the bound of the States of *Adil-Sciàh* and *Venk-tapà Naieka*, which is onely a brackish River, such as are frequent upon the Coast of *India*. The wind was but small still, so that all this day we could not arrive at *Onòr*; but when it was night, because 'tis no good entring into the Port of *Onòr* in the dark and with ebbing water, as it was now, we cast Anchor, and remain'd all night under an uninhabited small Rock, which they call the Rock of *Onòr*. After mid-night the Tide began to flow, but yet we stirr'd not. *October* the eighteenth, About break of day we mov'd along, and by the help of Oars finish'd the remainder of the way, arriving at *Onòr* in good time. This whole Voyage from *Goa* to *Onòr*, is not above eighteen Leagues, but it took us up so much time, because we had onely a very small wind.

V.

Onòr is a small place by the Sea-side, but a good Port of indifferent capacity, which is form'd by two arms of Rivers, which (I know not whether both from one or several heads) running one Southward, and the other Northward, meet at the Fortres, and are discharg'd with one mouth into the Sea. The habitations are rather Cottages then Houses, built under a thick Grove of Palms, to wit, those which produce the Indian Nuts, call'd by the *Portugals*, *Coco*; and by the *Arabians*, *Narghil*. But the Fortres is of a competent circuit, though the walls are not very well design'd, being just as the *Portugals* found them made by the people of the Country. It stands upon a high Hill of free stone, and being very capacious, not onely the Captain lives there, but most of the married and principal *Portugals* have Houses in it, very well accommodated with Wells, Gardens, and other conveniencies. The streets within the Fortres are large and fair, besides a great Piazza sufficient to contain all the people of the place in time of a siege. There are likewise two Churches, one dedicated to Saint *Catherine*, and the other to Saint *Anthony*; but

but ordinarily there is but one Priest in *Ondr*, who is the Vicar of the Arch-Bishop of *Goa*; and therefore in *Lent* other religious persons always go thither. Out of the Fort, in the Country, is the *Bazar* or Market, but a small one and of little consideration; nothing being found therein but what is barely necessary for sustenance of the inhabitants. Our Ambassador *Sig: Gio: Fernandez* lodg'd with us, not in the Fort, but without in the House of a private man; and, I believe, it was because he had rigorous Orders from the Vice-Roy against the Captain; and Commission to redress many Disorders which he had committed in his Government, especially to compose matters between him and the people of the Country; as also between him and the Vicar, betwixt whom there were great Disorders, the fault of which was charg'd upon the Captain. When we were settled in our House, first the Vicar call'd *F. Henrico Rabelo*, and afterwards the Captain call'd *Sig: Don Christoforo Fernandez Francisco*, with almost all the principal persons of the place, visited *Sig: Gio: Fernandez*, who presently beginning to treat of business, and presenting to the Captain the Vice-Roy's Letters and Orders, the Captain being terrifi'd therewith on the one side, and on the other, oblig'd by the civil terms of *Sig: Fernandez*, forthwith offer'd himself ready to give the Vice-Roy satisfaction in whatever he commanded, and began immediately to put the same offer in effect; releasing one whom he held Prisoner, and performing other things which *Sig: Fernandez* appointed him. *October* the nineteenth, The Captain inviting the Ambassador and all the company to dine in the Fort, we went first to visit him, and afterwards to hear Mass in *Saint Catharine's Church*, which is the Vicar's See; which being over, the Ambassador visited a Gentlewoman who was a Kinswoman of the Vicar's, and then retir'd in private with the Captain, not without manifest signes that his re-pacification was rather upon necessity than out of good-will. *Causa mali tanti, femina sola fuit.* The original of most of the Disorders between the Captain and the Vicar, they say, was occasion'd by the Captain's Wife, who had banish'd out of *Ondr* a servant of his whom he had employ'd as his Instrument to other Women, and who had been formerly punish'd for the same fault. In the mean time we walk'd up and down, but saw nothing worth mentioning; and at dinner-time we went to the Captain's House where we all din'd, namely, *Sig: Gio: Fernandez* the Ambassador, the Chief Commander of the Fleet, call'd *Hettor Fernandez*, *F. Bartolomeo Barroso* the Ambassadors Chaplain, *Sig: Consalvo Carvaglio* and I, who came in the Ambassador's Company. The Entertainment was sumptuous and very well serv'd; dinner ended, we return'd to our House.

October the twentieth, In the Evening the Chaplain and I went in a *Palanchino* a mile out of *Ondr* to see a fine running water, which issuing out of the Earth in a low, or rather hollow place, as it were the bottom of a Gulph, falls into a *Tanke*, or

Cistern built round with stone; and this being fill'd, it runs out with a stream watering the neighbouring-fields. The water is hot, to wit, not cold; and therefore the Country-people come frequently to bathe themselves in it for pleasure. The Cistern is square, every side being five or six yards, and the water would reach to a man's neck; but by reason of the ruinousness of the walls in some places, it is not very clean. Within it are small fishes, which use to bite such as come to swim there, yet without doing hurt, because they are small; and the place being low, is consequently, shady, and so affords a pleasant station at all times. The *Gentiles* have this Cistern in Devotion, and call it *Rami-tirt*, that is, Holy Water, Water of Expiation, &c. The *Portugals* call it *O Tanque da Pedre*, that is, the Cistern of the Father, or Religious person, from the Gentile-Monastick who uses to remain there. We stript our selves, and spent a good while in swimming here. The fields about *Onôr* through which we pass'd were very pleasant Hills and Vallees, all green, partly with very high herbage, partly with wood, and partly with Corn. *October* the one and twentieth, I took the Altitude of the Sun, and found it distant from the Zenith 24. degrees 20. minutes, upon which day the Sun, according to my manuscripts, was in the 27th degree of *Libra*, and declin'd from the *Æquinoctial* to the South 10. degrees 24', 56'', which deducted from 24. degrees 20', in which I found the Sun, there remain 13. degrees 55', 4''; and precisely so much is *Onôr* distant from the *Æquinoctial* towards the North. In the Evening the Ambassador *Vitulà Sinay*, who was lodg'd beyond the River more South of *Onôr*, came to the City to visit the Captain in the Fort. The Captain with all the Citizens, and Sig: *Gio: Fernandez*, with us of his Company, went to meet and receive him at the place where he landed; three pieces of Ordnance being discharg'd when he enter'd into the Fort. *October* the four and twentieth, was the *Davali*, or Feast of the Indian-Gentiles, and, I believe, was the same that I had seen the last year celebrated in *Bender di Combrù* in *Persia*: The same day, if I mistake not in my reckoning, the *Moors* began their new year 1033. In the Evening, I went to see another great Town of *Gentiles*, separate from that stands upon the Sea near *Onôr*, and they call it the *Villa de' Brabmani*, because most of the inhabitants are Brachmans, whereas they that live by the Sea-side are Fishermen, and of other like profession. This Town of the Brachmans stands about a Canons-shot within land, remote from the Fortres of *Onôr* towards *Hordete* or *Greco*. The inhabitants keep Cows or Buffalls, and live upon other Trades. In the entrance of the City is built for publick use a handsome square Cistern, or Receptacle for Water, each side of which contain'd about a hundred of my paces in length; 'tis fill'd with rain water, which lasts for the whole year.

VII.

October the five and twentieth, came News to *Onôr* how on *Thursday* night last, *October* the nine and twentieth, *Venk-tapà Naieka*

Naieka lost his chief Wife, an aged Woman, and well belov'd by him; her name was *Badra-Amà*, Daughter of a noble-man of the same Race of *Lingavant*, which *Venk-tapà* himself is of. *Badrà* was her proper name, *Amà*, her Title, denoting Princess or Queen. We stay'd all this while at *Onòr*, because as soon as we arriv'd there, *Vitulà Sinay* writ to *Venk-tapà Naieka* his Master, giving him an account of our arrival; and so it was necessary to stay for his Answer and Orders from the Court: we also waited for men to carry us upon the way, (the whole journey being to be made in Litters or *Palanchinoes*) together with our Goods and Baggage, which were likewise to be carry'd by men upon their shoulders. And the *Davàli*, or Feast of the Gentiles, falling out in the mean time, we were fain to stay till it was pass'd; and I know not whether the Queens Death and Funerals may not cause us to stay some time longer. I will not suppress one story which is reported of this Lady. They say, that twelve or thirteen years since, when she was about five and thirty years old, it came to her ears that *Venk-tapà Naieka* her Husband, being become fond of a Moorish Woman, kept her secretly in a Fort not far from the Court, where he frequently solac'd himself with her for two or three dayes together; whereupon *Badra-Amà*, (first complaining to him not onely of the wrong which he did thereby to her, but also more of that which he did to himself, defiling himself with a strange Woman of impure Race, (according to their superstition) and of a Nation which drank Wine, and eat Flesh, and all sort of uncleannesses in their account) told him that if he had a mind to other Women, he need not have wanted Gentile-Women of their clean Race, without contaminating himself with this Moor, and she should have suffer'd it with patience; but since he had thus defil'd himself with her, she for the future would have no more to do with him; and thereupon she took an Oath that she would be to him as his Daughter, and he should be to her as her Father: After which she shew'd no further resentment, but liv'd with him as formerly, keeping him company in the Palace, tending upon him in his sickness, and other things with the same love as at first, helping and advising him in matters of Government, wherein she had alwayes great authority with him; and, in short, excepting the Matrimonial Act, perfectly fulfilling all other Offices of a good Wife. *Venk-tapà Naieka*, who had much affection for her, notwithstanding the wrong he did her with his Moor, endeavor'd by all means possible to divert her from this her purpose, and to perswade her to live a Matrimonial Life still with him, offering many times to compound for that Oath by the alms of above 20000. Pagods, (Pagod is a gold coin, near equivalent to a Venetian Zecchine, or English Angel) but all in vain, and she persever'd constant in this Resolution till death; which being undoubtedly an act of much Constancy and Virtue, was the cause that *Venk-tapà Naieka* lov'd her always so much the more.

October

VIII.

October the eight and twentieth, *Vitulà Sinay* sent to tell our Ambassador, that having sent word of our arrival to the Court, the great Ministers had acquainted *Venk-tapà Naieka* therewith, who being still so afflicted for the death of his Wife, that he went not forth in publick, nor suffer'd himself to be seen; when they told him of this matter, he stood a while without answering, and at length said onely, that they might come when they please: Whereupon his Courtiers seeing him in this mood, would not reply further to him concerning provisions of the journey to be sent to the Ambassador, persons to convey his Goods, and other such things; wherefore *Vitulà Sinay* said, that *Sig: Gio: Fernandez* might consider what to do, whether to put himself upon the way towards the Court without further waiting, or to have him write again, and stay for an Answer; for he would do which he pleas'd. *Sig: Gio: Fernandez*, as well for the credit of his Embassie as to avoid charges, was desirous to have provisions for the journey, Men to carry his Goods, and other greater conveniences, although in publick, and with us of his company, he did not testifie so much, being willing to have it thought that *Vitulà Sinay* did this Office for him at the Court upon his own motion, and not at his request; yet, I know, that in secret he us'd great instance with *Vitulà Sinay*, both by Writing and by Speech by the mediation of an Interpreter, that he would write again to the Court, and set forth to *Venk-tapà* how that he was the Ambassador of so great a King, the first Monarch of Christians, (for so I heard him tell the Interpreter, though he spoke with a low voice) and that it was not seemly for him to go in that manner, but that people should be sent to him for his journey, and persons to receive him, and commands given to *Venk-tapà's* Ministers that he might pass through his Territories with that conveniency and decency which was requisite; that since he was now within two or three days journey of the Court, he would stay another week at *Ondr*, and longer if need were, till a better Answer came; and, that if he thought it expedient, *Vitulà Sinay* himself might go before to do this Office, as he that might do it best, and who ought to arrive at the Court before him the Ambassador, who afterwards might come thither alone by easie journeys after he had sent him an Answer. The same night the Interpreter return'd with this message to *Vitulà Sinay*, who was lodg'd on the other side of the River in his own King's jurisdiction. *October* the nine and twentieth, After we had heard Mass in Saint *Antonie's Egypt*, *Sig: Gio: Fernandez* was minded to go in person to visit *Vitulà Sinay*, and speak to him about the above-mention'd matter; wherefore entring with us into one of those boats, which they call *Mancive*, going with twenty or four and twenty Oars, onely differing from the *Almadies*, in that the *Mancive* have a large cover'd room in the poop, sever'd from the banks of rowers, and are greater then the *Almadies* which have no such room; we pass'd out of the Port, and thence from

from the mouth of the River Southward, went to land upon the continent, where *Vitulà Sinay* having been advertis'd of our coming, expected us under the shade of certain little Hills and Trees, of which all this Country is full. This was the first time that I set foot in any place of the *Gentiles*, where they bear sway themselves. Sig: *Gio: Fernandez* spoke a long while and alone with *Vitulà Sinay*, both of them sitting upon a Carpet spread upon the grass; and at length, the discourse being ended, the Ambassador took boat again and return'd to *Ondr*. Upon the way he told us, that *Vitulà Sinay* said, that in either case, of his writing again, or going in person to the Court, and waiting for a new Answer, many dayes would be lost; therefore it seem'd best to him that we should all put our selves upon the way without further waiting; and that to carry his (the Ambassador's) Goods, they had appointed ten Men according to his King's Order; wherefore Sig: *Fernandez* told us, he was resolv'd to go by all means, and seeing the ten men allow'd him to carry his Goods were not sufficient, they alone requiring twenty five, besides those of the rest of his company, he would hire the rest at his own charge, and rid himself of this perplexity. By this change of opinion after this interview, I understood that *Vitulà Sinay* had spoken in such sort that Sig: *Fernandez* perceiv'd that this coldness of sending him greater accommodations for his journey, was not so much through the King's melancholy for his Wife's death, and the present confusion of the Court, as for some other cause; and the alledging loss of time in waiting for a new Answer, was but an excuse of *Vitulà*; but, in fine, the truth could be no other, then that they would not give him any greater Provisions, or because *Venk-tapà* was not well pleas'd with this Embassie, &c. And to confirm this, I know that before Sig: *Fernandez* departed from *Goa*, *Venk-tapà Naieka* writ thither to his Ambassador *Vitulà Sinay*, that if they sent this Embassie to urge the restitution of the State and Fortres of *Banghel*, which he had lately taken from a certain small Indian-Prince, neighbour to *Mangalor*, who liv'd under the *Portugal's* protection, (for whose defence, two or three years before, the *Portugals* had made warr with *Venk-tapà Naieka*, and receiv'd a notable defeat by him) it was in vain, and that Sig: *Gio: Fernandez*, (now first known to him) might forbear to undertake this journey, for that he was fully resolv'd not to restore it, nor yet to give seven thousand Pagods yearly to that Prince, as he had promis'd upon agreement, if he went not to live out of those Territories taken from him either in *Goa* or in *Magalor*, or elsewhere, he pretending at least a purpose to return to live with that annuity in the lands, once his own, privately, in hopes, perhaps, to raise some new commotion one day. So that *Venk-tapà Naieka*, knowing that one of the principal busineses of this Embassie was that of the Prince of *Banghel*, which little pleas'd him; and seeing also that this year the Ships from *Portugal* were not yet arriv'd, which every year fetch Pepper out of

of his Dominions, and bring him in a great sum of mony, by agreement made by the *Portugals*, who every year were either to take it or pay for it; and neither the Ships nor the money coming this year, they could not easily pay him for the Pepper this year, nor yet for a great part of that of the last; for which, by reason of the loss of their Ships they still ow'd him: And lastly, observing the *Portugals* weakned and low, so that they not onely stood in need of him, but now, in some sort, began to submit themselves to him with this Embassie which they sent to him, and the disgrace of their past defeat; 'twas no strange thing, that being become insolent thereupon, as 'tis the manner of the *Barbarians*, and designing to carry it high over them, he not only shew'd no great liking of the Embassie, but made little account of it; and, in a manner, despis'd it; that so he might keep himself and his affairs in greater reputation.

IX.

October the thirtieth, Sig: *Gio: Fernandez* being resolv'd to depart the next day, sent some Horses before, upon this, with some of his Family. The same Evening, one from *Goa* brought News of the arrival there of some *Portugals* of the Fleet which came this year from *Portugal*, consisting of four great trading Ships, two Shallops, and four Galeons of Warr; which last come in order to be consign'd to *Ruy Freira* for the War of *Ormuz*; the loss of which place, and the deliverance of *Ruy Freira* out of prison being already known at the Court of *Spain*, but not the loss of the Ships of the Fleet the last year. The *Portugals* arriv'd in *Goa*, according to the abovesaid intelligence, came in one of the Galeons of the Fleet which is coming, which being separated from the rest, toucht at *Mozambique*, and there being old and shatter'd was lost, onely all the People and Goods were sav'd, and came in other Ships to *Goa*; and being the rest of the Fleet delays so long, 'tis conceiv'd to have held a course without the Island of Saint *Lorenzo*, which uses to take up more time. They relate also, that the Marriage between *Spain* and *England* is concluded, and that the Prince of *England* is now in *Spain*, being come thither *incognito* before the conclusion of the Marriage which was shortly expected. It being already very late, I shall not longer deferr concluding this Letter, because it is requisite for me to go and take a little rest, that I be may fit for my journey to morrow Morning, if it please God; to whom I heartily commend you, and with my accustomed affection kiss your Hands. From *Onor*, *October* 30. 1623.

LETTER

LETTER V.

From *Ikkeri*, Novemb. 22. 1623.

I Write to you from *Ikkeri*, the Royal City and Seat of *Venk-
tapà Naieka*, whither I am come, and where I am at present;
I shall give you an account of the Audience which our Am-
bassador hath had of this King, who, in my judgment, should
rather be call'd a *Regulus* or *Koyolet*, although the *Portugals* and
Indians give him the honor of a Royal Title; being he hath in
effect neither State, Court, nor appearance befitting a true King.
I shall describe to you every particular that is not unworthy
your Curiosity, and adjoyn some other of my Relations and
Descriptions of the Idolatrous *Gentiles*, their vain Superstitions
and Ceremonies about their Idols, Temples, Pagods. What I
shall now set down, mine own Eyes have witness'd to; and I shall
not fear being too tedious in describing things, perhaps, over
minutely in these Letters; since I know you are delighted there-
with, and out of your great erudition can make reflections upon
the Rites us'd in these parts of the world, which in many things
are not unlike the ancient *Ægyptian* Idolatry. For I am per-
swaded to believe, not without the authority of ancient Authors,
that the worship of *Isis* and *Osiris* was common to *Ægypt* and this
Region, as in *Philostratus* I find *Apollonius* affirming, that in *In-
dia* he saw the Statues not onely of the *Ægyptians*, but also of
the Grecian gods, as of *Apollo*, *Bacchus*, and *Minerva*. But to
return to the particulars of my journey; *October* the one and
thirtieth, After one a clock in the Afternoon, we departed from
Onòr with Sig: *Gio: Fernandez* in a *Mancion* or Barge, and the
rest of the Family in a less Boat. *Vitulà Sinay* who was to go
with us, we left in a readiness to set forth after us, I know not,
whether by water or by Land. We row'd up the River which
runs Southward to *Onòr*, against the stream, making use both
of Sail and Oars; and a little before night having gone about
three Leagues, we came to *Garfopà* and there lodg'd. This
place was sometimes a famous City, Metropolis of the Province
and Seat of a Queen: in which State, as likewise in many others
upon the Coast of *India*, to this day, a Woman frequently hath
the sovereignty; Daughters or other nearest Kinswomen be-
gotten by what ever Father succeeding the Mothers; these *Gen-
tiles* having an opinion, (as 'tis indeed) that the Issue by the
Woman-side is much more sure of the blood and lineage of the
Ancestors, then that by the Man-side. The last Queen of *Garfopà*
fell in Love with a mean Man and a stranger, into whose power
she resign'd her self, together with her whole Kingdom. In
which act, (setting aside her choosing a Lover of base blood,
upon which account she was blam'd and hated by the *Indians*

who are most rigorous observers of Nobility, and maintainers of the dignity of their ancestors in all points) as to giving her self up as a prey to her lover, she committed no fault against her honors; for in these Countries 'tis lawful for such Queens to choose to themselves Lovers or Husbands, one or more, according as they please. But this Man who was so favour'd by the Queen of *Garfopà*, having thoughts as ignoble as his blood, in stead of corresponding with gratitude to the Queens courtesie, design'd to rebell against her, and take the Kingdom from her; which for a while he executed, having in process of time gain'd the affection of most of her most eminent Vassals. The Queen seeing her self oppress'd by the Traytor, had recourse to the *Portugals*, offering them her whole State, on condition they would free her from imminent ruine. But the *Portugals*, according as they had alwayes in *India* done by their friends, (whereby they have been many times the ruine of others and themselves too) did not succour her till it was too late, and then very coldly. On the other side the Traytor, (as his ill Fate, or rather God's just anger, would have it) call'd to his assistance against the Queen and the *Portugals*, his Neighbour *Venk-tapà Naicka*, now Master of those Countries. *Venk-tapà Naicka* taking advantage of the occasion, enter'd suddenly into the Kingdom of *Garfopà* with great diligence and force, so that shortly becoming Master of the whole Country and the City Royal, having driven out the *Portugals* who came to defend it, he took the Queen Prisoner, and carry'd her to his own Court; where being kept, although honourably, she ended her days afterwards in an honourable prison. But the Traytor under-went the punishment of his crime, for *Venk-tapà Naicka* caus'd him to be slain; and for more secure keeping that State in his power, caus'd the City and Royal Palace of *Garfopà* to be destroy'd, so that at this day, that lately flourishing City is become nothing but a Wood; Trees being already grown above the ruines of the Houses, and the place scarcely inhabited by four Cottages of Peasants.

- II. But returning to my Travel, I must not omit, that the three Leagues of this journey was one of the most delightful passages that ever I made in my life; for the Country on either side is very beautiful, not consisting of Plains that afford onely an ordinary prospect, nor oftowring mountains, but of an unequal surface, Hills and Valleys, all green and delightful to the eyes, cloth'd with thick and high Groves, and many times with fruit Trees, as Indian Nuts, *Foufel*, *Ambe*, and such like, all water'd with innumerable Rivolets and Springs of fresh water; the sides of the River all shady, beset with Flowers, Herbs, and sundry Plants, which like Ivy creeping about the Trees and Indian reeds of excessive height, (call'd by the Country-people *Bambù*, and very thick along the banks) make the wood more verdant; through the middle whereof the River strays with sundry windings. In short, the River of *Garfopà*, for a natural thing, without

out any artificial ornament of buildings or the like, is the goodliest River that ever I beheld. Our boats being large, could not go to the ordinary landing place at *Garfopà*, because the River, which is discharg'd into the Sea with one stream, is there divided into many, which fall from several Springs upon some neighbouring Hills, so that the water is but little. Wherefore we landed at some distance from *Garfopà*, which stands on the South-bank of the River, and walkt the rest of the way on foot, and our goods were carry'd upon the Men's shoulders, whom we had hir'd for that purpose. Before we got to our lodging, it was night, and we were fain to wade over one of the arms of the River which took me up to the middle of the thigh; the bottom was stony, and not so dangerous to us, (who were free) in reference to falling, as to the poor men who carry'd burthens upon their heads; so that I wonder'd not he who carry'd the hamper of my clothes fell down with it, and wetted it in the water. At length we lodg'd not within the compass of *Garfopà*, which was somewhat within land, but near it upon the River, in a place cover'd with a roof amongst certain Trees, where many are wont to lodge, and where the Pepper is weigh'd and contracted for, when the *Portugals* come to fetch it: for this is the Country wherein greatest plenty of Pepper grows; for which reason the Queen of *Garfopà* was wont to be call'd by the *Portugals*, *Reyna da Pimenta*, that is, *Queen of Pepper*. The River is call'd by the *Portugals* the River of *Garfopà*, but by the *Indians* in their own Language, one branch is term'd, *Ambùnidi*, and the other, *Sarà nidi*. From the River's mouth, where it falls into the Sea, to *Garfopà*, the way, if I mistake not, is directly East.

November the first, After dinner we departed from our station, and passing by the Cottages, and the places where the City of *Garfopà* sometimes stood, we walk'd a good way Southwards, or rather South South-west, always through an uneven, woody Country, irrigated with water and delightful, like the banks of the River which I describ'd. Then we began to climb up a Mountain, which the Country-people call *Gat*, and divides the whole length of this part of *India*, being wash'd on the East with the Gulph of *Bengala*, and on the West with the Ocean or Sea of *Goa*. The ascent of this Mountain is not very rough, but rather easie and pleasant like the other soil, being thick set with Groves of Trees of excessive greatness; some of them so strait, that one alone might serve for the Mast of a Ship. With all, the Mountain is so water'd with Rivulets and Fountains, and so cloth'd with Grass and Flowers, that, me-thought, I saw the most delightful place of the *Appennine* in *Italy*. If there be any difference, the *Gat* of *India* hath the advantage in this place, because the height is much less then that of our *Appennine*, the ascent more easie, the wood more beautiful and thick, the waters not less plentiful and clear; If *Gat* yields to it in any thing,

III.

'tis in the frequency of inhabited places, the sumptuousness of buildings; and lastly, in the beauty which the industrious art of the inhabitants adds to the *Appennine*; the Indian *Gat* having no other, besides what liberal, yet unpolish'd, Nature gives it. About three hours after noon we came to the top of *Gat*, where a little beneath the highest cliff is found a kind of barr'd Gate, with a wall in a narrow pass, which renders the place sufficiently strong; a little further than which, in the top of all, are found earthen Bulwarks, and lines, which guard the passage; and in this place is a sufficient Fortress, being a mile and half in circuit. It was sometimes call'd *Garicota*, but now *Gavarada Naghar*; we lodg'd about a Musket-shot without the Fort, in a plane and somewhat low place, where are some Houses like a Village, and amongst them a Temple of *Hamant*, who is one of those two *Scimions* who were employ'd by *Ramo* for recovering his Wife *Sita*, as their Fables relate; for which good work, and their other miracles, the *Indians* adore them. Here I saw his Statue in the Temple with burning lights before it, and a consecrated Silver Hand hung up by some devout person, perhaps, cur'd of some evil of his Hands. Below this place where we lodg'd, amongst the little Valleys of the Hill, is a fair and large Cistern, or Receptacle of water, which falls thereinto from a River descending from the Mountain, and the over-plus running into the lower Valleys. At night we heard Musick at the Gate of the above-mention'd Temple, divers barbarous Instruments sounding, and amongst the rest certain great Horns of metal, fashion'd almost into a semicircle; I ask'd the reason of this Festival, and they told me, The Idol was to go presently, accompany'd with a great number of Men and Women, in pilgrimage to a place of their devotion near *San Tome*, a moneths journey and more; and that it was to be carry'd in a *Palanchino*, as the custom is, and in procession with sundry sounds and songs, almost in the same manner, as amongst us Christians, the Bodies or Images of Saints are carry'd in procession when any Community or Fraternity go in pilgrimage to *Loreto*, or *Rome*, in the Holy year. At this time assisted at the service of the Idol, amongst others, a Woman, who, they said, was so abstinent that she did not so much as eat Rice; they held her for a kind of Saint, upon a fame that the Idol delighted to sleep with her, which these silly souls accounted a great spiritual favour; and haply, it may be true, that some Incubus-Devil ha's to do with her, and deceives her with false illusions, telling her that he is her God; of which kind of Women, there are many among the *Moors*. Divers come to ask her about future things, and she consulting, the Idol gives them their answer; one of these interrogations was made to her whilst we were present. Others came to offer Fruits and other edibles to the Idol, which one of the Priests presented to it, murmuring his Orisons; and taking half of the things offer'd, (which after presentation to the Idol, remains

to

to the servants of the Temple), he restores the other half to him that offer'd them; and were it but one Indian Nut, he splits it in two before the Idol, and gives half to him that brought it; who takes the same with reverence, and is afterwards to eat it with devotion as sacred food, and tasted of by the Idol.

In the Evening, by the Captain of the Fort (who was a Moor of *Dacàn*, and sometimes an Officer under one *Melik* a Captain of *Adil-Sciàh*, in the Frontiers of *Goa*, but being taken Prisoner in a War between *Adil-Sciàh* and *Venk-tapà Naieka*, and afterwards set at liberty, remain'd in the service of *Venk-tapà*; and hath been about five and twenty years Governour of this Fortress, and is call'd *Mir-Bai*) was sent a Present of Sugar Canes and other refreshments to eat, to Sig: *Gio: Fernandez*; whom also the same night *Vitulà Sinay*, who travell'd with us, but apart by himself, came to visit, and entertain'd with the sight of two young men, who fenc'd very well a good while together, onely with Swords made of Indian Canes. On which occasion, I shall not omit that amongst the *Indians*, 'tis the custom for every one to manage and make use onely of one sort of Arms, whereunto he accustoms himself, and never uses any other, even in time of War. So that some Souldiers fight onely with Swords, others with Sword and Buckler, others with Lances, others with Bows and Arrows, and others with Muskets; and so every one with his own Arms, never changing the same, but thereby becoming very expert and well practis'd in that which he takes to. The way from *Garfopà* to *Govarada Naghar* was about five or six miles, and no more.

November the second, Early in the Morning *Vitulà Sinay* first visited Sig: *Gio: Fernandez*, and afterwards the Captain of the Fort, accompanied with a great number of his Souldiers with several Arms, but most had Pikes, Lances in the form of half Pikes, and Swords; onely two had Swords and Bucklers: one of them had a short and very broad Sword like a *Cortelax*, but the edge-part bowed inwards after a strange fashion. Those two with Swords and Bucklers came before the Captain, dancing and skirmishing after their manner, as if they fought together. The visit was receiv'd in the Porch of the little Temple above mention'd, and lasted a good while. *Vitulà Sinay*, who spoke the *Portugal-Tongue* well, serv'd for interpreter between our Ambassador and the Captain, and handsomely intimated to the Ambassador, that when he return'd back it was fit to give a Present to this Captain, and visit him in the Fort; that the custom was so; and he had already done the like to the Ambassador; that since he did it not now, he had already made an excuse for it, by telling him that the baggage was gone before, and that he did not go to visit him, because he had no Present to carry him; but he would do it at his return. In the end of this visit, *Vitulà Sinay* caus'd a little Silver basket to be brought full
of

of the leaves of *Betle*, (an herb which the *Indians* are always eating, and to the sight not unlike the leaves of our Cedars) and giving it to the Ambassador, he told him that he should present it to the Captain, the custom being so in *India*, for the person visited to give *Betle*-leaves to the visitant, where-with the visit ends. The Ambassador did so, and the Captain without taking any of these leaves, whether it were the custom, or that being a Moor he did not use it, (which yet I believe not) gave it to certain persons of qualitie, who stood beside him, and had accompany'd him; neither did any of them touch the leaves, but the basket went from hand to hand till it was carry'd away as full as it was presented; which being done, the Captain first, and then *Vitula Sinay*, took leave and departed.

V.

After we had din'd, about noon or soon after, our Ambassador went away alone with his Chaplain, out of impatience to stay longer in that place; the rest of us remain'd, expecting the removing of all our baggage, which was very slow in departing, because the Men who carry'd the same upon their heads, were not sufficient, and the burthens were too heavy; so that it was needful to hire more, and increase the number of Porters to thirty six, besides mine, which I hir'd for my self apart; and because neither were these enough, it was needful to lade two Oxen, who carry'd Goods for four other Men; and this took up much time, because neither the Men nor the beasts which were hir'd were ready, but were to be sought for here and there. In the mean time, while the burthens were getting in order, I entertain'd my self in the Porch of the Temple, beholding little boys learning Arithmetick after a strange manner, which I will here relate. They were four, and having all taken the same lesson from the Master, to get that same by heart, and repeat likewise their former lessons and not forget them; one of them singing musically with a certain continu'd tone, (which hath the force of making deep impresson in the memory) recited part of the lesson; as, for example, One by it self makes one; and whilst he was thus speaking, he writ down the same number, not with any kind of Pen, nor in Paper, but (not to spend Paper in vain) with his finger on the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strew'd all over with very fine sand; after the first had writ what he sung, all the rest sung and writ down the same thing together. Then the first boy sung and writ down another part of the lesson; as, for example, Two by it self two make two; which all the rest repeated in the same manner, and so forward in order. When the pavement was full of figures, they put them out with the hand, and if need were, strew'd it with new sand from a little heap which they had before them where-with to write further: And thus they did as long as the exercise continu'd; in which manner, likewise they told me, they learnt to read and write without spoiling Paper, Pens, or Ink, which certainly is a pretty way. I ask'd them, if they happen'd to forget

get or be mistaken in any part of the lesson, who corrected and taught them, they being all Scholars without the assistance of any Master; they answer'd me, and said true, that it was not possible for all four of them to forget or mistake in the same part, and that they thus exercis'd together, to the end, that if one happen'd to be out, the others might correct him. Indeed a pretty, easie, and secure way of learning.

Having seen this Curiosity, and our baggage being laden, we all set forth after the Ambassador, and *Vitula Sinay* set out together with us. We travell'd first East-ward, then South-ward, but many times I could not observe which way our course tended; we went upon the ridge of a Hill, and through uneven wayes, sometimes ascending, and sometimes descending, but always in the middle of great thick Groves full of Grass and running water, no less delightful then the former Fields. A little more then half a League from the Fort, we found a *Meschita* of the *Moors*, built upon the way with a Lake or Receptacle of water, but not very well contriv'd by the Captain of the said Fort, which his King had allow'd him to make as a great favour; for the *Gentiles* are not wont to suffer in their Countries Temples of other Religions. Here we found our Ambassador, who stay'd for us; and we tarry'd likewise here above an hour in expectation of our baggage, much of which was still behind. At length continuing our journey, and having rested a good while in another place, night came upon us in the midst of a Wood, so shady, that although we had very clear Moon-light, yet we were fain to light Torches, otherwise we could not see our way. The Torches us'd in *India* are not like ours, but made of metal in form of those wherewith the Infernal Furies are painted, the fire of which is fed with Bitumen, and other dry materials which are put into the mouth or hollow at the top, into which also they frequently powre a combustible liquor, which the Man that holds the Torch carries in his other hand in a metalline bottle, with a long slender neck very fit for that purpose; for when he is minded to recruit the flame, he distills a little liquor into it, the length of the neck securing his hand from hurt. By the light of these Torches we travell'd a great part of the night. At length being unable to overtake the Horses which were led before, and the baggage being behind, for fear of losing our way, we stay'd under a great Tree, where some in *Palanchinoes*, and others upon the ground, spent this night inconveniently and supper-less, having nothing else to eat but a little Bread, which we toasted at the fire, that we might eat it hot; and with the same fire which we kindled, we allay'd the coldness of the night, which in the top of these Indian Mountains is very cold in regard of their height; yet it was not sharper to us this night, then it uses to be at *Rome* in the beginning of *September*, even in temperate years.

November the third, As soon as it was day we follow'd our way

VI.

way, and in a short time came to a Village of four Cottages, call'd *Tumbrè*, where the Horses were lodg'd, and we also stay'd till the baggage came up, which was much later then we; and we stay'd the longer to rest the people that travell'd on foot: for all the servants, and I know not how many Musketers, which our Ambassador carried with him, were on foot. *Vitulà Sinay* lay there likewise this night, but was gone before we came thither. From *Garicota* to *Tumbrè*, is about a League and half; for in this Country they measure the way by *Gau's*, and every *Gau* is about two Leagues; and they said that from *Garicota* to *Tumbrè*, was not one *Gau*.

VII.

When we arriv'd at this Town, we found the pavements of the Cottages were vernish'd over with Cow-dung mix'd with water. A custom of the *Gentiles* in the places where they are wont to eat, as I have formerly observ'd. I took it for a superstitious Rite of Religion; but I since better understand that it is us'd onely for elegancy and ornament, because not using, or not knowing how to make such strong and lasting pavements as ours, theirs being made sleightly of Earth and so easily spoyl'd, therefore when they are minded to have them plain, smooth, and firm, they smear the same over with Cow-dung temper'd with water, in case it be not liquid, (for if it be, there needs no water) and plaining it either with their hands or some other instrument, and so make it smooth, bright, strong, and of a fine green colour, the Cows whose dung they use, never eating any thing but Grass; and it hath one convenience, that this polishing is presently made, soon dry, endures walking, or any thing else to be done upon it; and the Houses wherein we lodg'd, we found were preparing thus at our coming, and were presently dry enough for our use. Indeed it is a pretty Curiosity, and I intend to cause tryal to be made of it in *Italy*, and the rather because they say for certain, that the Houses whose pavements are thus stercorated, are good against the Plague; which is no despicable advantage. Onely it hath this evil, that its handsomeness and politeness lasteth not, but requires frequent renovation, and he that would have it handsome, must renew it every eight or ten days; yet being a thing so easie to be done, and of so little charge, it matters not for a little trouble which every poor person knows hows to dispatch. The *Portugals* use it in their Houses at *Goa*, and other places of *India*; and, in brief, 'tis certain that it is no superstitious custom, but onely for neatness and ornament; and therefore 'tis no wonder that the *Gentiles* use it often, and perhaps, every day in places where they eat, which above all the rest are to be very neat. 'Tis true, they make a Religious Rite of not eating in any place where people of another Sect or Race, (in their opinion, unclean) hath eaten, unless they first repolish the same with Cow-dung, which is a kind of Purification; as we do by washing it with water, and whitening the wall, (not as a Religious Rite, but through Custom) in
Chambers

Chambers where any one ha's dy'd. I said, where people not onely of different Religion, but also of impure Race have eaten; because the *Gentiles* are very rigorous and superstitious among themselves, for a noble Race not to hold Commerce of eating with others more base; yea, in one and the same Race, (as in that of the *Brachmans* which is the noblest) some *Brachmans*, (as the *Panditi*, or *Boti*, who are held in great esteem amongst them) will not eat in the Company, or so much as in the House of a *Brachmans*, *Sinay*, or *Naieke*, and other Nobles, who eat Fish, and are call'd by the general name *Mazari*, and much less esteem'd then those who eat none; yet the *Brachmans*, *Sinay*, or *Naieke*, or other species of *Mazari*, who are inferior, eat in the House of a *Pandito*, or *Boto*, without being contaminated, but rather account it an honor.

After dinner, we departed from *Tumbre*, travelling through unequal wayes and lands like the former, but rather descending then otherwise; we rested once, a while under a Tree, to stay for the baggage, and then proceeding again at almost six a clock after noon, we came to the side of a River called *Barengbi*, which in that place runs from West to East, and is not fordable, although narrow, but requires a boat to pass it. On the Southern bank, on which we came, were four Cottages, where we took up our station that Night, enjoying the cool, the shadow, and the sight of a very goodly Wood which cloaths the River sides with green; but above all where we lodg'd, on either side the way, were such large and goodly Trees, such spacious places underneath for shade, and the place so opacous by the thickness of the boughs on high, that indeed, I never saw in my dayes a fairer natural Grove; amongst other Trees there was abundance of *Bambu*, or very large Indian Canes, twin'd about to the top with pretty Herbs. The journey of this day was three *Cos*, or a League and half. This River, they say, is one of those which goes to *Garjopà*. *Vitulà Sinay* we found not here, because he was gone before.

November the fourth, We began in the Morning to pass our Goods over the River; but because there was but one, and that a small boat, it was ten hours after noon before we had got all of them over; then following our journey through somewhat oblique and uneven wayes like the former, we found many Trees of *Myrobalanes*, such as are brought into *Italy* preserv'd in Sugar. It hath leaves much like that which produces Gum Arabick, by me formerly describ'd; different onely in this, that in that of Gum Arabick, the branch consisting of many leaves, is much less, round or oval, and seems one leaf made up of many other long and narrow ones: But in this *Myrobalane* Tree, the branch is sufficiently long, and the small leaves composing it in two rows on either side, are somewhat larger; nor is the *Myrobalane* Tree prickly like that of Gum Arabick. The fruit is round, hard, of a yellowish green, smooth, shining, of little pulp, but a great stone,

stone, almost round and furrow'd with six circular lines. Being raw it hath an acid and astringent, but, in my judgment, no pleasant taste; but preserv'd, becomes good. They say it is refrigerative and purges Choler.

IX.

Having rested many times upon the way, and in all travell'd two Leagues, we ended this day's journey in the onely considerable and populous Town we had hitherto met, which is call'd *Abineli*. We lodg'd in the Porches of a Temple of Idols, which had two Porches, one within, the other without, both low after their manner, with very large Pent-houses strengthened with great Posts; the Pavement rais'd high and dung'd, but not lately; the walls white, sprinkled in the corners and ends, with a sort of Rose-Oyle, ill colour'd; for so is their custom always in their Religious Structures. The Idol was call'd *Virena Denru*, the latter of which words signifies *God*, or rather *Lord*, being attributed also to Men of quality; he stood at the upper end in a dark place with Candles before him; of what figure he was I could not see well, by reason of the darkness, but they told me 'twas a Man: In the body of the Temple, were many other wooden Statues of less Idols, plac'd about in several places, as 'twere for ornament; some of which were figures of their Gods, others not of Gods, but for ornament, of several shapes. Many of these figures represented dishonest actions. One was of a Woman, lifting up her cloths before, and shewing that which Modesty oblig'd her to cover: Another was of a Man and a Woman kissing, the Man holding his Hand on the Womans Breasts: Another had a Man and a Woman naked, with their Hands at one another's shameful parts, those of the Man being of excessive greatness, and sundry such representations fit indeed for such a Temple. But these were not figures of Gods. Of Gods there was a *Brahma* with five Heads, and three Arms on a side, sitting astride a Peacock, which in their Language they call *Nau Brahma*, that is, *the Peacock of Brahma*; another God was call'd *Naraina*, with four Arms on a side: Another with an Elephant's Head, and two Hands to an Arm, whom they call *Ganesu*, and others *Bacra-tundo*, that is, *Round-mouth*; for one and the same God hath divers names: Another call'd *Fuenà*, had the shape of a Man, holding a naked Sword in his right Hand, and a Buckler in his left: Another had a Man under his Feet, upon whose Head he trampled; and so, many others of various sorts. I observ'd that all these Idols had the same cover of the Head, high, with many picks or peaks, all ending in one long peak, a strange and majestic Diadem not us'd now in *India*; it might have been of wreath'd Linnen, or Gold, or other solid matter; wherefore I imagine that it is a very ancient covering, at this day dis-us'd; unless haply it be some ensign of Divinity, which I rather think, because I remember to have seen at *Rome* almost the same Diadems upon the Heads of some *Ægyptian* Statues, and, if I forget not, they were call'd *Tutuli*,
and

and the Idols of *Tutulati*, as amongst us the Diadems of the Saints, or, as some make it, three Crowns one upon another, like the *Regno*, or Pontifical Crown of our Pope. In the middle of the Temple was another darker inclosure, wherein stood fastned in the ground certain slender staves, with others cross them in two rows, making a little Steccato or Palisado of a long form; and these were to hang Lamps and Tapers upon, at more solemn dayes and hours. A Barber whom we had with us, an Indian-Gentile, but a Native of the Country of *Adil-Sciab*, who was nam'd *Dengi*, and understood something of the *Portugal*-Tongue, could not well tell me the names of those figures and Idols of the Temple, when I ask'd him; because, he said, they were not things of his Country, where they had other things and Gods, and that every Country had particular ones of their own. Within the circuit of this Temple, but on one side of the Court as you go in, were three other little Cells separate from the body of the great Temple, two of which were empty, perhaps not yet well accommodated, but in the other was an Idol of an Ox, which our Barber knew, and said was also of his Country, and that they call it *Basuanà*; it was half lying, or rather sitting upon the floor with the Head erect; like which Ox, or *Basuanà*, stood another in the upper part of the Temple before the Tribunal of the Idol *Virenà*, as if it stood there for his guard. In the Evening the Ministers of the Temple ring a kind of Bell or Shell which was within the Temple, striking it with a staff; and it made a tolerable sound, as if it had been a good Bell: at which sound, some from without assembling together, they begin to sound within the Temple very loud two Drums, and two Pipes or Flutes of metal; after which many Tapers being lighted, particularly, at the Steccato above-mention'd, and put in order a little quilt, with a Canopy of rich Stuff, which is alwayes ready in the Temple for carrying the Idol, they put the principal Idol *Virenà* into it, not that of ordinary wood in the middle of the Temple, but the other at the upper end, which was of the same bigness, about two spans round between the figure and ornaments about it, but all painted with various colours, gilded and deck'd with white Flowers. Then one of the Ministers march'd first sounding a Bell continually as he went, and after him others, and at length two with lighted Tapers, after which followed the Idol in his Canopy, with a Minister before him carrying a Vessel of Perfumes, which he burnt; and thus they carry'd him in Procession: First, into the Court without the Temple, going out of it on the left Hand, as you enter, which to them as they came forth was the right, and returning by the other opposite. After which going out of the Gate of the Court into the street, they went in the same manner in Procession, (still sounding their Bells) I know not whither, but 'tis likely they went to some other Temple to perform some kind of Ceremony; for in the Town there was more then one. Being at

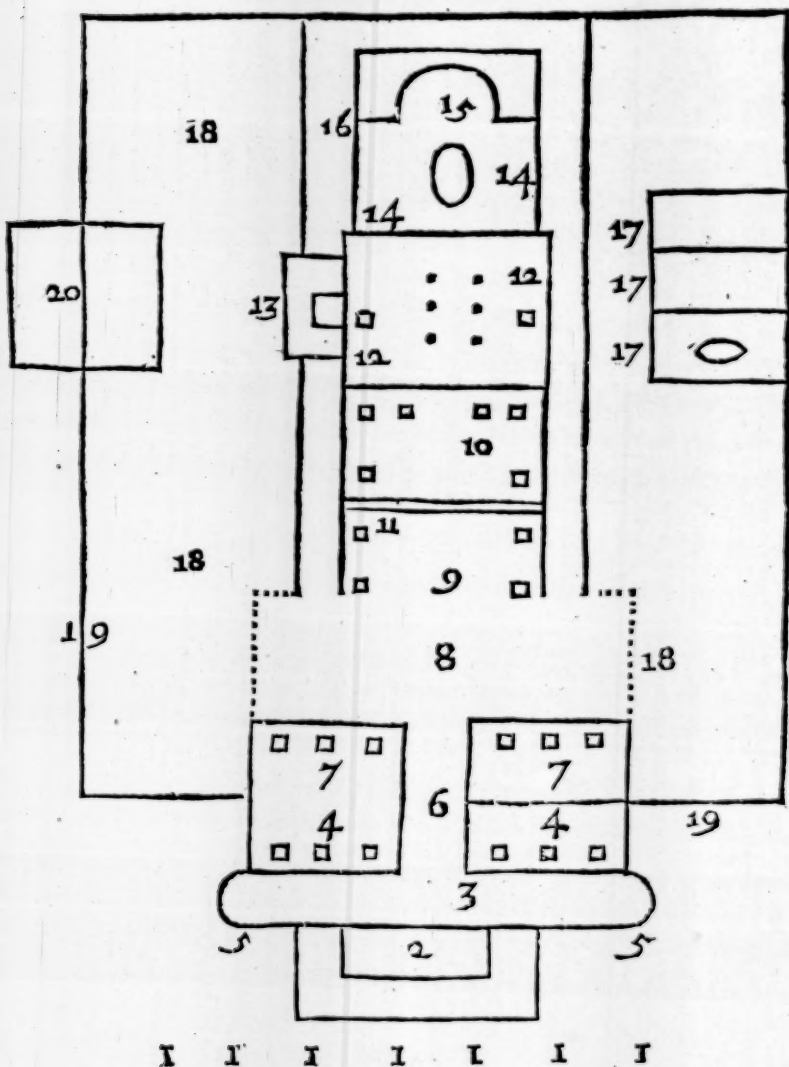
length return'd, and the Procession re-entering the Court with a great train of Men and Women of the Town, they went thrice about the inside of the Court, as they had done once before they went out: But in these three Circumgyrations they observ'd this Order, that the first time they walk'd as they had done in the street; the second, more leisurely, and those that sounded the Flutes, left off, and sounded another kind of shriller and sweeter Pipe; the third time, they walk'd more slowly then before, and leaving off the second Pipes, sounded others of a far lower note. Which being done, those that carry'd and accompany'd the Canopy of the Idol, stood still in the entrance of the Temple right against the Upper End, and one of the Priests or Ministers standing at the Upper End directly opposite to the Idol, (who was held standing on his Feet by help of one of the Minister's Hands, who for that purpose went alwayes on one side near him;) began to salute the Idol a far off with a dim Taper in his Hand, making a great circle with the same from on high downwards, and from below upwards, directly over against the Idol, which he repeated several times; and in the end of the circles, which were always terminated in the lower part, he describ'd a strait line from one side to the opposite, and that where the circle began; nor did he seem to me always to begin the circles on the same part, but sometimes on the right, and sometimes on the left, with what Order I know not. This being done within, the same Priest came to the Entrance where the Idol stood, passing directly through the midst of the Palisado of Lights, (through which, I believe, that for others, and another time, it is not lawful to pass; because out of these Ceremonies when any one enter'd to perform other Services, I saw him always go without the Palisado on the sides) coming along, I say, founding a Bell, and being follow'd by a Boy who carry'd a Basin of water with *Santalus*, or *Sanders* after him, (the same wherewith, I conceive, they are wont to paint their fore-heads) and also with Drums and Flutes sounding all the while; he went in this manner three times round the Idol, beginning his circuits from the left side. When he had thus done, standing on the same side of the Idol where he began, and laying aside his Bell, he offer'd the Basin of water to the Idol, and dipping one Finger in it, lay'd the same upon the Idol's Fore-head, or thereabouts; and if I was not mistaken, taking a little in his Hand, he also dy'd himself and the other Minister who upheld the Idol on the Fore-head therewith, after which he went to powre the remainder of the water in the Basin upon the ground without the Temple, but within the inclosure or Court. Then he took a wax-Candle, and therewith describ'd within the *Palanchino* or Carriage before the Idol many circles with lines at the end; and putting out the Candle, took the Idol out of the *Palanchino*, and carrying it through the rail'd Steccado in the middle of the Torches, plac'd it on its Tribunal at the Upper End where it

usually

usually stands. In the mean time one of the Ministers distributed to all the by-standers a little quantity of certain Fitches mingled with small slices of Indian Nut, which, I conceive, had been offer'd to the Idol; and they took and eat the same with signes of Devotion and Reverence. He offer'd some likewise to our people, and there wanted not such as took them; the Drums and Fifes sounding in the mean time: which at length ceasing, and the Candles being put out, the Ceremonies ended, and the people return'd to their Houses. Such Men as were not Officers of the Temple, assisted at these Ceremonies in the first entrance, where we also stood: but the Women stood more within in the body of the Temple, where the rows of lights were. For the better understanding of all which description, I shall here delineate the Plat-form of the Temple with its inclosure and Porches, as well as I could do it by the Eye without measuring it.

The

The Plat-form of an Indian Temple.



1. The Street. 2. The Stairs of the Entrance. 3. An high Wall of Earth before the Outer Porch. 4. The Outward Porch with an high Earthen Floor. 5. Two small Idols in two *Niches* on the out side of the ends of the Porch. 6. The Gate, level with the Earthen Wall. 7. The Inner Porch with an Earthen Floor higher then that of the Gate, the Wall, and the Outer Porch. 8. A Void Space between the Porch and the Temple. 9. Part of the First Entrance of the Temple, lower then the plane of the Gate and the said Void Space. 10. Part of

of the same, but one Step higher. 11. The said Step, dividing the first Entrance in the middle. 12. The body of the Temple, situate between the first Entrance and the Penetrable or Chancel, the pricks denoting the rows of Torches. 13. A little door to go out at. 14. The Penetrable or Chancel, where the Oval denotes the Statue of *Bone* or *Basuanà* upon the ground. 15. The Inmost part of the Chancel, where the Idol *Virenà* stands. 16. A high Earthen Wall encompassing the Temple, 17. Three little Cells; in the first of which, the Oval represents the Statue of *Bone* or *Basuanà*. 18. An open square-Court or Inclosure surrounding the Temple which stands in the middle of it. 19. The Walls thereof. 20. The Houses of such Men and Women as keep the Temple.

The same Evening was brought to our Ambassador a Letter from *Vitulà Sinay*, who writ, that arriving at the Cour on *Fryday* before, he had spoken with his King, who being well pleas'd with the Ambassador's coming, had prepar'd the same house for him, wherein the King of *Belighi* was wont to lodge when he was at his Court; and that he would make him a very honorable Reception; that therefore as soon as we arriv'd at the Town *Ahinalà*, (where we now were) the Ambassador should send him notice; which was accordingly done, by dispatching the Messenger presently back again; and we waited for his return.

X.

November the fifth, At day-break the Ministers of the Temple where we lodg'd, founded Pipes and Drums for a good while in the Temple, without other Ceremony. The like they did again about Noon, and at Evening; but at night they made the same Procession with the Idol, and the same Ceremonies which are above describ'd. This day came to the Town a Captain from the King with many attendants, and having visited the Ambassador, took divers of those Idols which stood in the first Entrance, and carry'd them away with him to be new made, because some were old and broken. Late in the night came another Letter from *Vitulà Sinay*, which signifi'd to us that we should move forwards to a Town very near the Court call'd *Badrappòr*, where some persons from the King were to meet us, and accompany us to the Court; although the Ambassador had writ to him before, that he car'd not for being accompany'd at his Entrance, but onely when he should go to see the King. I style him King, because the *Portugals* themselves and the *Indians* do so; although in truth *Venk-tapà Naieka*, not onely because his Predecessors were a few years ago Vassals and simple *Naieka's* (that is, feudatory Princes, or rather Provincial Governours) under the King of *Vidiannugher*; and though at this day he reigns absolutely by Usurpation, is in effect no other than a Rebel; and God knows how long his House will abide in greatness; but also much more by reason of the smallness of his Territory, (though it be great, in respect of other Indian Gentile-Princes) deserves not the

the Appellation of King; and the less, because he pays Tribute to *Idal-Sciäh*, who although a greater Prince, is but small neither for a King, and payes Tribute to the *Moghol*. In short, *Venk-tapà Naieka*, although now absolute, should, in my opinion, be called a Royolet rather than a King: But the *Portugals*, to magnifie their affairs in *India*, or else to honor the persons that rule there, (which is not displeasing in *Spain*, and the Court of the Catholick King, who is of the same humor) give the Title of King to all these petty Indian Princes, many of whom have smaller Dominions then a small feudatory Marquis in our Countries; and (which is worse) that of Emperor to some, as to him of *Japan*, of *Æthiopia*, and of *Calicut*, who is very considerable; the quondam-Prince of *Vidianagher*, or *Bisnaga*, (as they speak) having in a strange and unusual manner multiply'd the number of Emperors, beyond what the fabulous books of Knights Errant have done: Albeit, in truth, there was never found but one Emperor in the world, the Roman *Cæsar*, who, at this day, retains rather the name then the substance, in *Germany*.

XI.

November the sixth, Two hours before noon we went from *Abinalä*, and having travell'd through a Country like the former, but plain, about noon we came to the Town *Badra*; where, according as *Vitulä Sinay* had writ to us, we thought to lodge that night, and accordingly had lay'd down our baggage, and withdrawn to a place to rest; but after two hours being there, we found our selves surrounded by abundance of people, (for 'tis a large Town, and they go almost all arm'd) who out of curiosity came to see us; whereupon the Ambassador, either having receiv'd an Answer from *Vitulä Sinay*, or not caring for a pompous entrance, rais'd us all again; and after a small journey further we arriv'd at *Ikkeri*, which is the Royal City of *Venk-tapà Naieka* where he holds his Court; having travell'd since morning from *Abinalä* to *Ikkeri* but two Leagues. This City is seated in a goodly Plain, and, as we enter'd, we pass'd through three Gates with Forts and Ditches, but small, and consequently, three Inclosures; the two first of which were not Walls, but made of very high Indian Canes, very thick and close planted in stead of a Wall, and are strong against Foot and Horse in any, hard to cut, and not in danger of fire; besides, that the Herbs which creep upon them, together with themselves, make a fair and great verdure, and much shadow. The other Inclosure is a Wall, but weak and inconsiderable: But having pass'd these three, we pass'd all. Some say, there are others within, belonging to the Citadel or Fort where the Palace is; for *Ikkeri* is of good largeness, but the Houses stand thin and are ill built, especially without the third Inclosure; and most of the situation is taken up in great and long streets, some of them shadow'd with high and very goodly Trees growing in Lakes of Water, of which there are many large ones, besides Fields set full of Trees, like

like Groves, so that it seems to consist of a City, Lakes, Fields; and Woods mingled together, and makes a very delightful sight. We were lodg'd in the House, as they said, wherein the King of *Belighi* lodg'd; I know not whether Kinsman, Friend, or Vassal to *Venk-tapà Naieka*, but probably one of the above-mention'd Royolets; and to go to this House we went out of the third Inclosure, passing through the inmost part of the City by another Gate opposite to that by which we enter'd. The House indeed was such as in our Countries an ordinary Artisan would scarce have dwelt in, having very few, and those small and dark Rooms, which scarce afforded light enough to read a Letter; they build them so dark, as a remedy for the great heat of Summer. However, this must needs have been one of the best, since it was assign'd to the said King first, and now to our Ambassador; although as we pass'd through the midst of the City I observ'd some that made a much better shew.

At night they brought the Ambassador a couple of bed-steads to sleep upon, and some stools for our use, some of them made of Canes interwoven, instead of coverings of Leather or Cloth, being much us'd in *Goa* and other places of *India*; but some others were cover'd with Leather.

XII.

November the seventh, *Vitulà Sinay* came in the morning to visit our Ambassador, and in his King's Name brought him a Present of Sugar-Canes, Fruits, Sugar, and other things to eat, but not any Animal; and, if I was not misinform'd, (for I was not present) he excus'd his Kings not sending him Sheep or other Animals to eat, by saying, that he was of a *Lingavant* or Noble Race, who neither eat nor kill any Creatures; as if he should have sin'd and defil'd himself, by sending any to the Ambassador who would have eaten them. With this Present he sent a piece of Tapisstry, not as a Gift, but onely for the Ambassador to make use of in his House, and it was us'd in such sort that at length it had a hole in it: The Ambassador, as not prizing it, having given it to his Interpreter to sleep upon; as indeed, he seem'd not very well pleas'd with it or his Donatives; for, speaking of the Reception which *Venk-tapà Naieka* made him, he would often say, (according to the natural and general custom of his Nation) ; Let him do me less honour, and give me something more, and it will be better. However, I believe *Venk-tapà Naieka*, who is not liberal, will abound more in Courtesie to the Ambassador then in Gifts. *Vitulà Sinay* said, that the next day the Ambassador should be call'd to Audience three hours after noon; wherefore Himself and all his Attendants continued undress'd till dinner-time. I knowing the custom of Courts, and that Princes will not wait but be waited for, and that the hours of Audience depend upon their pleasure, not upon his who is to have it, dress'd my self in the morning leisurely, that I might not afterwards confound my self with haste; and though in such solemnities others cloth'd themselves in colours, and with orna-

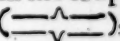
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ments of Gold, yet I put on onely plain black Silk as mourning for my Wife. Before we had din'd, and whilst we were at Table, they came to call us in haste to Audience, saying, that *Vitulà Sinay* and other great Persons were come to conduct us to the King. The Ambassador finding himself unready and surpris'd, was forc'd to desire them not to come yet, making an excuse that we were still at dinner; and, the Table being taken away, he and all the rest retir'd to dress themselves in great confusion; and greater there was in getting the Horses saddled, preparing the Presents which were to be carry'd, and providing other necessary things in haste, for nothing was ready; but the Ambassador and all his Servants were in a great hurry and confusion, calling for this and the other thing, which seem'd to me not to have too much of the Courtier. The persons who came to fetch us, stay'd a good while without, but at length were brought into the Porch of the House, that is, into the first Entrance within the Court, where Visits are receiv'd; without seeing the Ambassador or any of his Attendants, who were all employ'd in the above-said confusion, at a good part of which these persons were present.

XIII.

At length the Ambassador being dress'd came forth with the rest, and receiv'd the Visit of *Vitulà Sinay*, and another great Person sent by the King to accompany him; he was a *Moor* by Sect, but of Indian Race, very black, and Captain General in these parts of *Banghel*, from which charge he was lately return'd, and his Name was *Musè Bai*. With these came also a Son of his, a Youth of the same colour, but of a handsome Face, and cloth'd oddly after the Indian Fashion, that is, naked from the girdle upwards, having onely a very thin and variously painted cloth cast cross one Shoulder, and another of the same sort girt about him, and hanging down loose; he had a little Bonnet upon his Head, like those of our Gally-slaves, but wrought with divers colours; his Hands, Arms, Neck, and Nose, were adorn'd with many ornaments of Gold, and he had a guilt Ponyard at his girdle, which shew'd very well. His Father was cloth'd all in white, after the manner of *India*, to wit, of such as wear Clothes, and go not naked from the Waste upwards; upon his white vestment he had a shorter sur-coat of Velvet, guarded with Gold at the bottom, loose and open before, which is the custom onely in solemnities. He had no Sword, but onely a Ponyard on the right side, the hilt and cheap guilded, and, as I believe, of Silver; upon his Head he had a little Cap of the same form, made of Cloth of Gold; for in these Countries 'tis the fashion for Men to cover their Heads either with such Caps, or with white Turbants, little and almost square. *Vitulà Sinay* and some other personages who came with them to accompany the Ambassador, were all cloth'd with white garments of very fine Silk, and other rich Silken sur-coats upon the same, to honor the solemnity; and upon these they had such

such colour'd clothes as in *Persia* they call *Scial*, and use for girdles, but the Indians wear them cross the shoulders cover'd with a piece of very fine white Silk, so that the colour underneath appears; or else wear white Silk alone. As soon as we came forth of doors, *Musè Bai* presented to the Ambassador one of these colour'd Skarfs inclos'd in white Silk to wear about his Neck; and the Ambassador gave him a piece of I know not what Cloth, and in the mean time a publick Dancing-Woman whom they had hir'd, danc'd in the presence of us all. Then we all took Horse, the Ambassador riding upon a good Horse of his own which he had brought from *Goa*, with a saddle embroider'd and adorn'd with Silver Fringe; and another Horse with trappings being lead before him, both which he had brought from home, with intention, perhaps, to sell them here at his departure; for Horses here yield a good price, and he had been formerly at *Ikkeri* purposely to sell Horses, and so became known to *Venk-tapà Naieka*. There was also another good led-Horse, which the Vice-Roy sent as a Present to *Venk-tapà Naieka*; that which they had given to *Vitulà Sinay*, he had carry'd to his House, and it appear'd not here. All the rest of us rode upon Horses of the place, which are of a very small size, and were sent to us for that purpose, accoutr'd after their manner, with saddles pretty enough to look upon, but to me very inconvenient; for they have bows and cruppers very high, and are all of hard wood, without any stuffing, but with sharp wreath'd edges, cover'd with black or red Cloth, lay'd with lists of Gold or yellow, or other colour; in the cruppers are many carv'd ornaments almost of this figure () besides certain extravagant tassels hanging down to the stirrups; and, were they not so hard, they would be neither unhandsome, nor unsafe to ride upon.

The Pomp proceeded in this manner: Many Horsemen went formost, who were follow'd by divers Foot arm'd with Pikes and other weapons, some of them brandishing the same as they went along; then march'd certain Musketers with Drums, Trumpets, Pikes, and Cornets sounding; these cloth'd all in one colour after the *Portugal* manner, but with coarse stuff of small value; and amongst them rode a servant of the Ambassador's, better clad after their fashion, as Captain of the Guard. Then follow'd the Ambassador in the middle between *Vitulà Sinay* and *Musè Bai*; and after him we of his retinue, to wit, the Chaplain, Sig: *Consalvo Carvaglio*, Sig: *Francesco Montegro*, who liv'd at *Barcelor*, and whom we found at *Ikkeri* about some affairs of his own; but because he wanted a horse, he appear'd not in the Cavalcade. After us came some other Horse-men; but, in summ, there was but few people, a small shew, and little gallantry; demonstrative signes of the smallness of this Court and the Prince. In this manner we rode to the Palace which stands in a Fort or Citadel of good largeness, encompass'd with a great Ditch, and certain ill built bastions. At the entrance

XIV

we found two very long but narrow Bulwarks. Within the Citadel are many Houses, and shops also in several streets; for we pass'd through two Gates, at both which there stood Guards, and all the distance between them was an inhabited street. We went through these two Gates on Horse-back, which, I believe, was a priviledge, for few did so besides our selves, namely, such onely as entred where the King was; the rest either remaining on Horse-back at the first Gate, or alighting at the Entrance of the second. A third Gate also we enter'd, but on Foot, and came into a kind of Court, about which were sitting in Porches many prime Courtiers, and other persons of quality. Then we came to a fourth Gate guarded with Souldiers, into which onely we *Franchi* or Christians, and some few others of the Country were suffer'd to enter, and we presently found the King, who was seated in a kind of Porch on the opposite side of a small Court, upon a Pavement somewhat rais'd from the Earth, cover'd with a Canopy like a square Tent, but made of boords and gilded. The Floor was cover'd with a piece of Tapisstry something old, and the King sat after the manner of the East upon a little Quilt on the out-side of the Tent, leaning upon one of the pillars which up-held it on the right hand, having at his back two great Cushions of fine white Silk. Before him lay his Sword, adorn'd with Silver, and a little on one side almost in the middle of the Tent, was a small eight-corner'd Stand, painted and gilded, either to write upon, or else to hold something or other of his. On the right hand, and behind the King, stood divers Courtiers, one of which continually wav'd a white fan made of fine linnen, as if to drive away the flies from the King. Besides the King, there was but one person sitting, and he the principal Favorite of the Court, call'd *Putapaià*, and he sat at a good distance from him on the right hand near the wall.

XV.

As soon as we saw the King afar off, the Ambassador and we pull'd off our Hats, and saluted him after our manner; he seem'd not to stir at all; but when we approach'd nearer, the Ambassador was made to sit down within the Tent at a good distance from the King near the wall, as *Putapaià* sat, but on the left side, at which we enter'd. The rest of us stood a good while before the Tent, on the left side also. *Vitulà Sinay* approach'd to a Pillar opposite to that on which the King lean'd, and there serv'd as Interpreter, sometimes speaking with the King, and sometimes with the Ambassador. *Musè Bai* stood also on our side, but distant from the King, and near one of the Pillars of the Porch. The King's first words were concerning the Health of the King of *Spain* and the Vice-Roy; and then the Ambassador subjoyn'd the causes of his coming, namely, to visit him, and continue the Amity which his Highness held with that State of the *Portugals*, (who use that style to these Indian Kings, as they did also to their King of *Portugal* when they had one, whence; this custom first arose, and is still continu'd; although now when they name their

their King of *Spain*, so much a greater Lord then the King of *Portugal*, they use not the term *Highness*, but *Majesty*, after the manner of *Europe*.) The Ambassador added that in token of this Amity, the Vice-Roy sent him that Present, not as any great matter, but as a small acknowledgment; That their King had sent him a considerable Present from *Spain*, which his Highness knew was lost at Sea; That yet by the Ships which were coming this year he should receive another, as he might see in the Vice-Roy's Letter which he presented to him. And hereupon the Ambassador arising from his Seat, went to present the same to him almost kneeling upon one knee; and he without moving a whit, took it and gave it to *Vitula Sinay*, who gave it to another, probably, the principal Secretary, without reading or opening it. The Ambassador had brought a Letter to him likewise written in the King of *Spain*'s Name, but did not present it now; because the *Portugals* say, that the first time of going to Audience, they are onely to make a Visit, and not to treat of business. Then they drew forth the Present before the King, which was some pieces of cloth, within one of those wooden gilt boxes which are us'd in *India*; a Lance of the Moorish shape, to wit, long and smooth like a Pike, the point of Iron gilt, and the foot embellish'd with Silver, a gallant Target, and the Horse above-mention'd cover'd with a silken Horse-cloth; which Horse was brought into the Court where the King sat. After he had receiv'd and view'd the Present, and taken the Iron of the Lance in his hand, which the Ambassador said was of *Portugal*; they caus'd the rest of us to sit down near the outer wall of the Porch on the left side, upon a rough Carpet strip'd with white and blew, (of that sort which the *Turks* and *Persians* call *Kielim*) spread upon the pavement of the Porch. The Ambassador, although he sat, yet never put on his Hat before the King, (for so the *Portugal* Nobles are wont to do before the Vice-Roy, namely, to sit, but not to be cover'd) nor did the King speak to him to cover himself, but let him continue uncover'd; wherein, to my thinking, he committed an error; for going as he did in the name of the State, which amongst them is as much as to go in the King of *Spain*'s Name; why should he not be cover'd before so small a Prince? And the error seem'd the greater, because he was the first that went Ambassador to *Venk-tapà Naieka* in the name of the State; and consequently, hath made an ill president to such as shall come after him. And in introducing such prejudicial customs, a publick Minister should have his eyes well open: but the truth is, the *Portugals* of *India* understand little, are little Courtiers, and less Politicians, how exquisite soever they be accounted here, as this Sig: *Gio: Fernandez* is esteem'd one of the most accomplish'd, and, I believe, not undeservedly. At night, I could not forbear to advertise some of his Country-men hercof in a handsome way, it not seeming fit for me, a stranger and the younger man, to offer to give him a Lesson. However,
he

he never put on his Hat, and Civility oblig'd us to the same forbearance ; but indeed, it was too much obsequiousness for such a Prince ; as also for the Ambassador to tell him of the other times that he had been privately at that Court, and kiss'd his Highness's Feet ; with other like words little becoming an Ambassador. Nevertheless he spoke them, professing himself much the servant of *Ven-tapà Naieka*, out of hope that he, as *Vitulà Sinay* had promis'd him at *Goa*, would write to the King of *Spain* in his favor, by which means he should have some remuneration. Indeed, the *Portugals* have nothing else in their Heads but Interest, and therefore their Government goes as it does.

XVI.

As we sat down, (being four of us that did so, besides the Ambassador, to wit, the Chaplain, *Caravaglio*, *Montegro*, and myself) I handsomely took the last place ; because knowing the nature of the *Portugals*, I would not have them think that I a stranger went about to take place and preheminance of them in their solemnities ; and they conformably to their own humor, not only us'd no Courtesie to me, as well-bred Italians would have done, by saying to me, *Amice, ascende superius* ; but I saw they were greatly pleas'd with my putting my self in the last place, *Caravaglio* taking the first, the Chaplain the second, and *Montegro* the third. I, little caring for this, or for shewing and making my self known in the Court of *Venk-tapà Naieka*, laugh'd within my self at their manners, and with the observation recreated my Curiosity, which alone had brought me into these parts. The King's discourse to the Ambassador was distended to divers things, and, as he was speaking, he frequently chew'd leavs of *Betle*, which a Courtier reach'd to him now and then, and, when he was minded out a lump of the masticated leaves, another held a kind of great Cup to his Mouth, for him to spit into. The King ask'd concerning the slowness of the Ships this year, as that which disgusted him, in regard of the Money they were to bring him for Pepper. He inquir'd of several things of *India*, and desir'd to know some kind of News. The Ambassador told him all the News we had at *Ondr*, which were uncertain, being only the Relations of some vulgar persons, and therefore, in my judgement, too immaturely utter'd ; affirming, for certain, the coming of the Fleet with a great Army, the Alliance between *Spain* and *England*, the passage of the Prince of *England* into *Spain* ; and moreover, (Good God !) the reduction of all *England* to the Catholick Faith by the publick command of that King, with other such levities usual to the *Portugals*, who are very ignorant of the affairs of the world and of State. The King further spoke long concerning things transacted with him in the War of *Banghel*, particularly, of the Peace that concluded it ; for which, probably, being disadvantageous to the *Portugals*, he said, he heard that many blam'd him the Ambassador, who negotiated it with his Ministers ; and that they not onely blam'd him

him for it, but said, he would be punish'd by the King of *Spain*, who was offended with it; whereat being sorry, as his Friend, he had sent several times to *Goa* to inquire tidings concerning him. The Ambassador answer'd, that 'twas true, there had been such accusations against him and greater, some alledging that his Highness had brib'd him; but that they were the words of malevolent persons, which he had always laugh'd at, knowing he had done his duty, and onely what the Vice-Roy had appointed him; and that in *Spain* they give credit to the informations of the Vice-Roy, and not to the talk of others, as well appear'd by the event. *Venk-tapà* proceeded to say, that that Peace was very well made for the *Portugals*, and that much good had follow'd upon it; intimating that they would have made it with disadvantage, if it had not been concluded in that manner as he concluded it: As if he would have said, It had been ill for the *Portugals*, with manifest signes of a mind insulting over them, and that the business of *Banghel* was no more to be treated of. Then he ask'd the Ambassador, How old he was? How many Children he had? Putting him in mind of his using to come, when a very Youth, to *Ikkeri* with his Father to bring Horses, and shewing himself very friendly to him. Nor did the Ambassador lose the occasion of desiring him that he would favor him with his Letters to the King of *Spain*, pretending to hope for much upon account of them; a thing which I should not commend in an Ambassador, because he may thereby come to be thought by his natural Prince too partial to, and too intimate with, the Prince with whom he treats; and also by this means disparages himself, as if he need to beg the mediation of foreign Princes to his natural Lord, and of such Princes too with whom he negotiates in behalf of his own; which by no means seems handsome. Then *Venk-tapà Naieka* inquir'd concerning the rest of us, and *Vitulà Sinay* answer'd his Questions; telling him of me, that I was a Roman, and that I travell'd over so great a part of the World out of Curiosity, and that I writ down what I saw; with other things of the same nature. *Venk-tapà Naieka* ask'd me, Whether I understood the Language of the *Moors*? I answer'd that I did, together with the *Turkish* and *Persian*; but I mention'd not the *Arabick*, because I have it not so ready as the other two, to be able to make use of it before every body. He seem'd sufficiently pleas'd in seeing me, and understanding that I was born at *Rome*, and came thither so great a Traveller; highly esteeming the ancient fame of *Rome* and the Empire, and its new Grandeur and Pontificate of the Christians. These and other Discourses, which I omit for brevity, lasting for some time, he caus'd to be brought to him a piece of Silk embroider'd with Gold, such as the *Indians* wear cross their shoulders, but with us may serve to cover a Table or such like use; and calling the Ambassador before him, whither we accompany'd him, gave it to him, and caus'd it to be put upon his shoulders; where-

whereupon we were dismiss'd, and so going out to Horse again, we were reconducted home with the same solemnity and company.

XVII. After this, as we were walking through the City late in the Evening without the Ambassador, we saw going along the streets several companies of young girls well cloth'd after their manner, namely, with some of the above-mention'd wrought and figur'd Silk from the girdle downwards; and from thence upward either naked, or else with very pure linnen, either of one colour, or strip'd and wrought with several, besides a scarf of the same work cast over the shoulder. Their heads were deck'd with yellow and white flowers form'd into a high and large Diadem, with some sticking out like Sun-beams, and others twisted together and hangingd own in several fashions; which made a pretty sight. All of them carry'd in each hand a little round painted Stick, about a span long or little more, which striking together after a musical measure, besides the sounds of Drums and other instruments, one of the skilfullest of the company sung one verse of a song at once, at the end of which they all reply'd seven or eight times in number of their meter this word, *Colè, Colè, Colè*, which I know not what it signifies, but, I believe, 'tis a word of joy. Singing in this manner, they went along the street eight or ten together, being either friends or neighbours, follow'd by many other women, not dress'd in the same fashion, but who were either their Mothers or their Kinswomen. I imagin'd it was for some extraordinary Festival, and I was willing to have follow'd them to see whither they went, and what they did; but being in the company of others, I could not handsomely do it, nor had my Companions the same Curiosity, as indeed the *Portugals* are not at all curious. I understood afterwards that they went to the Piazza of the great Temple, which is moderately large, and there danc'd in circles, singing their songs till it was late; and that this was a Festival, which they keep three dayes together at the end of a certain Fast in Honor of *Gauri*, one of their Goddesses, Wife of *Mohedaca*; and therefore 'tis celebrated by girls.

XVIII. November the ninth, Walking about the City, I saw a beam rais'd a good height, where, in certain of their Holy-dayes some devout people are wont to hang themselves by the flesh upon hooks fastned to the top of it, and remain a good while so hanging, the blood running down in the mean time, and they flourishing their Sword and Buckler in the Air, and singing verses in Honor of their Gods. Moreover, in a close place opposite to the Temple, I saw one of those very great Carrs, or Charriots, wherein upon certain Feasts they carry their Idols in Procession, with many people besides, and Dancing-women, who play on musical instruments, sing, and dance. The four wheels of this Carr were fourteen of my spans in diameter, and the wood of the sides was one span thick. At the end of it were two great wooden

wooden Statues, painted with natural colours; one of a Man; the other of a Woman naked, in dishonest postures; and upon the Carr, which was very high, was room for abundance of people to stand; and, in brief, it was so large that scarce any but the widest streets in *Rome*, as *Strada*, *Giulia*, or *Babvino*, would be capable for it to pass in. I saw also certain Indian Fryers, whom in their Language they call *Giangama*, and perhaps, are the same with the Sages seen by me elsewhere; but they have Wives, and go with their faces smear'd with albes, yet not naked, but clad in certain extravagant habits, and a kind of picked hood or cowl upon their heads of dy'd linnen, of that colour which is generally us'd amongst them, namely, a reddish brick-colour, with many bracelets upon their arms and legs, fill'd with something within, that makes a jangling as they walk. But the pretiest and oddest thing was, to see certain Souldiers on Horse-back, and considerable Captains too, as I was inform'd, who for ornament of their Horses wore hanging behind the saddle-bow two very large tassels of certain white, long, and fine skins, (they told me they were the tails of certain wild Oxen found in *India*, and highly esteem'd) which tassels were about two yards in compass, and so long as to reach from the saddle-bow to the ground; two, I say, hung behind the saddle-bow, and two before of equal height, and two others higher at the head stall; so that there were six in all: between which the Horse-man was seen upon the saddle half naked, and riding upon a Horse which leap'd and curvetted all the way; by which motion those six great tassels of skin, being very light and not at all troublesome, but flying up and down, seem'd so many great wings; which indeed was a pretty odd spectacle, and made me think I saw so many *Bellerophons* upon severall *Pegasus's*. The same Evening I saw the companies of girls again, and following them I found that they did not go into the Piazza of the Temple, as they had done the two nights before, but into one of the King's Gardens, which for this purpose stood open for every body, and is nothing but a great field planted confusedly with shady and fruit-Trees, Sugar Canes, and other Garden plants. Hither almost the whole City flock'd, Men and Women, and all the companies of the flower'd Virgins, who putting themselves into circles, here and there danc'd and sung; yet their dancing was nothing else but an easie walking round, their snappers alwayes sounding; onely sometimes they would stretch forth their legs, and now and then cower down as if they were going to sit, one constantly singing, and the rest repeating the word *Colè, Colè*. There wanted not other *Donne ballatrici*, Dancing-women, who exceeded the former in skill and dexterity: But in conclusion, they gather'd into several companies to supper, with the other Women that accompany'd them; so did the Men also, some with their Wives, and some alone, of which there wanted not who invited us, not to eat with them (for they communicate

not with strangers at the Table) but to take some of their fare; which we thank'd them for, but accepted not, being delighted onely to see them feast so together, dispers'd in several places of the Garden; this being the night that the Fast ended.

XIX.

The same night a Post from *Goa* brought the Ambassador a Letter from the Vice-Roy, with another for *Vitulà Sinay*, and a third from the Captain of *Onôr*. The Ambassador imparted his intelligence to none, but forbade the Post to let it be known that he had brought Letters; whence I conceiv'd, that the News was not good, otherwise it would have been presently publish'd; onely I heard some obscure talk of the *Malabarians*, but I would not inquire further into the matter, as that which did not belong to me; especially amongst the *Portugals* who are very close and reserv'd towards strangers.

November the tenth, I saw passing along the street a Nephew of *Venk-tapà Naieka*, his Sisters Son, a handsome youth, and fair for that Country; he was one of those that aspire to the succession of this State, and was now returning from the fields without the Town, whither he uses to go every Morning. He is call'd *Sedà-Siva Naieka*, and was attended with a great number of Souldiers both Horse and Foot marching before him, and behind with many Cavaliers and Captains of quality, himself riding alone with great gravity; He had before him Drums, Cornets, and every sort of their barbarous instruments: Moreover, both in the Front and in the Rear of the Cavalcade, were, (I know not whether for magnificence or for guard) several Elephants carrying their guides upon their backs; and amongst them was also carried his *Palanchino* or Litter.

November the eleventh, The Ambassador went again to Audience, to present to *Venk-tapà Naieka* the Letter writ to him in the King of *Spain's* Name, and declare what that King requir'd of him. He went alone without any of us, or of the *Portugals* his Companions, either not willing that we should be present at the debating of business, or because he went in a *Palanchino*, and had his two Horses led before him, but there were neither *Palanchino's* nor Horses enow in the House for the rest of us. With those that came to fetch him, came also a publick Dancing-woman, who perform'd a pretty piece of Agility in his presence; for standing upon one foot, when the Drums and other instruments sounded, with the other she swiftly turn'd round in the Air a large Iron Ring, about a span in Diametre, without letting it fall off her great Toe, and at the same time with one hand toss'd two Cymbals or brass balls, catching one in her Hand whilst the other was aloft, and so alternately, and very nimbly without ever letting them fall; which indeed was great dexterity, to be employ'd at the same time with the foot and the hand, standing firm all the while on the other foot without support, and yet attending to the Musick, and this for a good

good space together: during which an old Man with a white beard and bald head, who brought her, stood behind her, crying all the while *Abùd, Abùd, Abùd*, which in their Language signifies as much as *Good, Good, Good*. The Ambassador return'd quickly from Audience, but made not a word of any thing. The King frequently sent him things to eat; particularly, fruits out of season, to wit, brought to him from far distant places, amongst which we had *Ziacche*, (which I take to be the same with *Zátte*, which is a kind of Gourd) a fruit very rare at this time; and also Indian Melons, which how good soever, are worth nothing at any time, the Climate not being for such fruits.

November the twelfth, I took the height of the Sun at *Ikkeri*, and found the Meridian Altitude 31. degrees. He was now in the 19th degree of *Scorpio*, and consequently, declin'd from the Æquinoctial towards the South 17. gr. 29'. 23". which subtracted from the 31. degrees in which I found the Sun, there remain 13. gr. 30'. 37". and such is the Elevation of the Pole at *Ikkeri*; which must be also as many degrees, to wit, 13. gr. 30'. 37". distant from the Æquinoctial towards the North. At dinner the Ambassador told us, that the King of Spain's Letter which he had presented the day before to *Venk-tapà Naieka* concern'd not any business, but was onely of complement, and particularly, to give him much thanks for having of late years refus'd to sell Pepper to the English and Dutch, who had been at his Court to buy it; and also for the good Amity he held with the *Portugals*, which he desir'd might encrease every day: That of the affairs of *Banghel*, or any others, he said nothing, referring all to the Vice-Roy, and the Ambassador whom the Vice-Roy had sent to him: Wherewith *Venk-tapà Naieka* was very well pleas'd, and he had reason; for during the present State of the *Portugals* affairs, I certainly think they will not speak a word to him of *Banghel*, nor of any thing else that may be disagreeable to him.

The same day the Ambassador had been at Court; being invited to see solemn Wrestling at the Palace. We did not accompany him, for want of Horses and *Palanchinoes*; but at night he told us, *Vitulà Sinay* ask'd much for me, wishing I had been present at this Wrestling, which was exercis'd by Persons very stout and expert therein; because he had heard that I writ down what I saw remarkable. However, *Caravaglio, Montegro*, and my self not going thither, went out of *Ikkeri* half a League Northwards, to see another new City which *Venk-tapà* hath begun to build there. 'Tis call'd *Sagbèr*, and is already pretty well inhabited, with Houses all made of Earth after their manner. The Palace is finish'd, and *Venk-tapà* frequently goes to it; as also a Temple built upon a great Artificial Lake, a House for his Nephews and other Grandees, with all conveniencies thereunto, particularly, great Stalls for Elephants, of which he keeps here above eighty; we saw many of them here, some for War, large

and handsome. A Market was kept this day in *Sagbèr*, as 'tis the custom every *Sunday*, and at *Ikkeri* every *Fryday*. There was a great concourse of people, but nothing to sell besides necessities for food and clothing, after their manner. The way between *Ikkeri* and *Sagbèr* is very handsome, plain, broad, almost totally direct, here and there beset with great and thick Trees which make a shadow and a delightful verdure. As we return'd home at night, we met a Woman in the City of *Ikkeri*, who, her Husband being dead, was resolv'd to burn her self, as 'tis the custom with many Indian Women. She rode on Horse-back about the City with open face, holding a Looking-glasse in one hand, and a Lemon in the other, I know not for what purpose; and beholding her self in the Glass, with a lamentable tone sufficiently piteous to hear, went along I know not whither speaking or singing certain words, which I understood not; but they told me, they were a kind of Farewell to the World and her self; and indeed, being utter'd with that passionateness which the Case requir'd and might produce, they mov'd pity in all that heard them, even in us who understood not the Language. She was follow'd by many other Women and Men on foot, who, perhaps, were her Relations; they carry'd a great Umbrella over her, as all Persons of quality in *India* are wont to have, thereby to keep off the Sun, whose heat is hurtful and troublesome. Before her, certain Drums were sounded, whose noise she never ceas'd to accompany with her sad Ditties or Songs; yet with a calm and constant Countenance, without tears, evidencing more grief for her Husband's death than her own, and more desire to go to him in the other world than regret for her own departure out of this: A Custom, indeed, cruel and barbarous, but withall, of great generosity and virtue in such Women, and therefore worthy of no small praise. They said, she was to pass in this manner about the City, I know not how many dayes, at the end of which she was to go out of the City and be burnt, with more company and solemnity. If I can know when it will be, I will not fail to go to see her, and by my presence honor her Funeral, with that compassionate affection which so great Conjugal Fidelity and Love seems to me to deserve.

XXI.

November the thirteenth, I took the Altitude of the Sun at *Ikkeri*, and found it 31. gr. 40'. The Sun was now in the 20th degree of *Scorpio*, and declin'd Southwards 17. gr. 45', 40'. which taken from 31. gr. 40'. leave 13. gr. 54', 20''. The former time, I found *Ikkeri* to be in 13. gr. 30', 31''; but now I found it to be in 13. gr. 54', 20''. between which there is onely the difference of 23', 43'', which is a small matter: And therefore I account my observation right; for the small variation between the two times is no great matter, in regard the declination of the Sun not being punctually known, may cause the difference. At night, walking in the City, I saw in the Piazza of the great Temple (which I under-

I understood was dedicated to an Idol call'd *Agora Scurà*, who, they say, is the same with *Mahadeu*, although they represent him not in the same shape with that I saw of *Mahadeu* in *Cambaia*, but in the shape of a Man, with but one Head and Face, and sixteen Arms on each side (in all thirty two); which is not strange, since our Antients call'd many of their Idols by names sufficiently different, and pourtray'd them in several shapes; and wherein also I understood there was an Idol of *Parveti*, who is the Wife of *Mahadeu*, though the Temple be not dedicated to her): I saw, I say, in the Piazza one of their Fryers or *Giangami*, clad all in white, sitting in an handsome *Palanchino*, with two great white Umbrellaes, held over him, one on each side, (which two were for the more gravity) and a Horse led behind, being follow'd by a great train of other *Giangami*, clad in their ordinary habits. Before the *Palanchino*, march'd a numerous company of Souldiers, and other people, many Drums and Fifes, two strait long Trumpets, and such brass Timbrels as are us'd in *Persia*, Bells and divers other Instruments, which sounded as loud as possible, and amongst them was a troop of Dancing-women adorn'd with Girdles, Rings upon their Legs, Neck-laces, and other ornaments of Gold, and with certain Pectorals or Breast-plates, almost round, in the fashion of a Shield, and butting out with a sharp ridge before, embroyder'd with Gold, and stuck either with Jewels or some such things which reflected the Sun-beams with marvellous splendor; as to the rest of their bodies, they were uncover'd, without any Veil or Head-tire. When they came to the Piazza, the *Palanchino* stood still, and the multitude having made a ring, the Dancing-women fell to dance after their manner, which was much like the Moridance of *Italy*, onely the Dancers sung as they danc'd, which seem'd much better: One of them, who, perhaps, was the Mistress of the rest, danc'd alone by her self, with extravagant and high jumpings, but alwayes looking towards the *Palanchino*: Sometimes she cower'd down with her hanches almost to the ground, sometimes leaping up she struck them with her Feet backwards, (as *Celins Rhodiginus* relates of the ancient dance call'd *Bibasi*) continually singing and making several gestures with her Hands; but after a barbarous manner, and such as amongst us would not be thought handsome. The Dance being ended, the *Palanchino* with all the train went forward, the Instruments continually playing before them. I follow'd to see the end, and found that they went into the chief street, and so out of the City by the Gate which leads to *Saghèr*, stopping in divers places of the street to act the same, or the like dances over again; and particularly, in the Entrance of the said Gate, where, amongst many Trees and Indian Canes which make the City-Wall, there is a small Piazza, very even, and shaded about, like a Pastoral Scene, and very handsome. At last the *Giangamo* with his *Palanchino* and train, enter'd into certain Gardens without the Gate, where
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his House stood ; and after the last Dance he remain'd there, and the rest went away. They told me, this Honor was done him, because they had then cast water upon his Head, and perform'd some other Ceremony, equivalent to our ordaining one in *Sacris*, or creating a Doctor. As I was going along the streets to behold this Pomp, I saw many persons come with much devotion to kiss the Feet of all those *Giangamoes*, who on Foot follow'd the principal *Giangamo* who was in the *Palanchino* ; and because they were many, and it took up much time to kiss the Feet of them all, therefore when any one came to do it, they stood still all in a rank to give him time ; and whilst such persons were kissing them, and for more reverence touching their Feet with their Fore-heads, these *Giangamoes* stood firm with a seeming severity, and without taking notice of it, as if they had been abstracted from the things of the World ; just as our Fryers use to do when any devout persons come out of reverence to kiss their Habit ; but with Hypocrisie, conformable to their superstitious Religion.

XXII.

Returning home, I met a Corps going to be burn'd without the City, with Drums sounding before it ; it was carryed sitting in a Chair, whereunto it was ty'd that it might not fall, cloth'd in its ordinary attire, exactly as if it had been alive. The seat was cover'd behind, and on the sides with red and other colours, I know not whether Silk or no. It was open onely before, and there the dead person was to be seen. By the company, which was small, I conjectur'd him to be one of mean quality. But they told me, All dead people are carry'd thus, as well such as are buried, (as the *Lingavani*, whom they also put into the Earth sitting) as those that are burn'd ; and that he, whom I saw, was to be burn'd, we gather'd from the Fire and Oyle which they carry'd after him in vessels. The night following there was a great solemnity in all the Temples, by lighting of Candles, singing, Musick, dancing, about twenty Dancing-women, who went in Procession with the Idol into the Piazza, dancing before the great Temple ; but, as I was told, they began very late, namely, at the rising of the Moon, which was about an hour before mid-night ; so that I was gone to bed before I knew of it, although in the Evening I saw the lights in the Temple. But though I saw nothing, yet I heard of it as I was in bed, being awaken'd by the noise ; and hearing the same was to be acted over again the next night, I purpos'd with my self to see it.

November the fourteenth, I went at night to the Temple to see whether there was any extraordinary solemnity ; but there was nothing more then usual, nor did the Idol come forth : onely in the great Temple and its Inclosure or Court, into which they suffer not strangers to enter, they made their accustom'd Processions with musical instruments, singing, and other Ceremonies, which, I conceive, were the same with those I saw in *Ahinelli* : onely they are celebrated here every night, because as 'tis
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a more eminent Church, so consequently the service is more pompous; besides that, they told me *Venk-tapà Naieka* had a great and particular devotion to the Idol *Agorefuàr*, who is here worship'd.

On the fifteenth of the same moneth, came first in the day-time and afterwards at night to our House twelve or fifteen publick Dancing-women, who by consequence, are also publick Strumpets, although very young; being conducted by certain of their men. In the day time they did nothing, but talkt a little; and some of them made themselves drunk with a certain Wine made of dry'd Raisins, or a sort of *Aqua Vitæ* and other mixtures, call'd in *India*, *Nippa*; I say some of them, because certain others of less ignoble Race, as they are more abstinent in eating, so they drink not any thing that inebriates. At night, they entertain'd us a good while with Balls, or Dancing, after their mode, accompany'd with singing, not unpleasant to behold; for they consist of a numerous company of Women, all well cloth'd and adorn'd with Gold, Jewels, and Tresses of several fashions, who sing and snap their wooden instruments. They begin all their Balls slowly, and by degrees growing to a heat, at last end with furious and quick motions, which appear well enough: Amongst their other Dances two pleas'd me well, one in which they continually repeated these words-----and another wherein they represented a Battel, and the actions of slaughter; in the conclusion, the Master of the Ball, who directs all, and was one of those that brought them, dancing in the midst of them with a naked Ponyard, wherewith he represented the actions of slaughter as the Women did with their short sticks. But the end of this shew was more ridiculous: For when they were dismiss'd, they not onely were not contented with the largess of the Ambassador, although I added as much of my own to it, but went away ill satisfi'd, testifying the same by cholerick yellings, which to me was a new Comedy.

November the sixteenth, I was told that the above-mention'd Woman who had resolv'd to burn her self for her Husband's death, was to dye this Evening. But upon further enquiry at the Womans House, I understood that it would not be till after a few dayes more, and there I saw her sitting in a Court or Yard, and other persons beating Drums about her. She was cloth'd all in white, and deck'd with many Neck-laces, Bracelets, and other ornaments of Gold; on her Head she had a Garland of Flowers spreading forth like the rayes of the Sun; in brief, she was wholly in a Nuptial Dress, and held a Lemon in her Hand, which is the usual Ceremony. She seem'd to be pleasant enough, talking and laughing in conversation, as a Bride would do in our Countries. She and those with her, took notice of my standing there to behold her, and conjecturing by my strange Habit, what the meaning of it was, some of them came towards me. I told them by an Interpreter, that I was a Person of a very remote Country,

Country, where we had heard by Fame, that some Women in *India* love their Husbands so vehemently, as when they dye to resolve to dye with them; and that now having intelligence that this Woman was such a one, I was come to see her, that so I might relate in my own Country that I had seen such a thing with my own Eyes. These people were well pleas'd with my coming, and she her self, having heard what I said, rose up from her seat, and came to speak to me. We discours'd together standing, for a good while. She told me that her Name was *Giaccamà*, of the Race *Terlengà*, that her Husband was a Drummer; whence I wonder'd the more; seeing Heroical Actions, as this undoubtedly ought to be judg'd, are very rare in people of low quality. That it was about nineteen dayes since her Husband's death, that he had left two other Wives elder then she, and whom he had married before her, (both which were present at this discourse) yet neither of them was willing to dye, but alledg'd for excuse that they had many Children. This argument gave me occasion to ask *Giaccamà*, (who shew'd me a little Son of her own, about six or seven years old, besides an other Daughter she had) how she could perswade her self to leave her own little Children? And told her, that she ought likewise to live rather then to abandon them at that Age. She answer'd me, that she left them well recommended to the care of an Uncle of hers there present, who also talk'd with us very cheerfully, as if rejoycing that his Kins-woman would do such an action; and that her Husbands other two remaining Wives would also take care of them. I insist'd much upon the tender Age of her Children, to avert her from her purpose, by moving her to compassion for them, well knowing that no argument is more prevalent with Mothers then their Love and Affection towards their Children. But all my speaking was in vain, and she still answer'd me to all my Reasons, with a Countenance not onely undismay'd and constant, but even cheerful, and spoke in a such manner as shew'd that she had not the least fear of death. She told me also, upon my asking her, that she did this of her own accord, was at her own liberty, not forc'd nor perswaded by any one. Whereupon I inquiring, Whether force were at any time us'd in this matter, they told me, that ordinarily it was not, but onely sometimes amongst Persons of quality when some Widow was left young, handsome, and so in danger of marrying again (which amongst them is very ignominious), or committing a worse fault; in such Cases the Friends of the deceas'd Husband were very strict, and would constrain her to burn her self even against her own will, for preventing the disorders possible to happen in case she should live; (a barbarous, indeed, and too cruel Law.) However, that neither force nor perswasion was us'd to *Giaccamà*, that she did it of her own free will; in which, as of a magnanimous action, (as indeed it was) and amongst them of great honor, both her Relations and her self much glory'd

glory'd. I ask'd concerning the Ornaments and Flowers she wore, and they told me, that such was the Custom, in token of the *Masti's* joy (they call the Woman, who intends to burn her self for the death of her Husband, *Masti*) in that she was very shortly to go to him, and therefore had reason to rejoyce; whereas such Widows as will not dye, remain in continual sadness and lamentations, shave their Heads, and live in perpetual mourning for the death of their Husbands. At last *Giaccamà* caus'd one to tell me, that she accounted my coming to see her a great good fortune, and held her self much honour'd, as well by my visit and presence, as the Fame which I should carry of her to my own Country; and that before she dy'd she would come to visit me at my House, and also to ask me, as their custom is, that I would favour her with some thing by way of Alms towards the buying of fewel, for the fire wherewith she was to be burnt. I answer'd her, that I should much esteem her visit, and very willingly give her some thing; not for wood and fire wherein to burn her self, (for her death much displeas'd me, and I would gladly have dissuaded her from it, if I could) but to do something else therewith, what her self most lik'd; and that I promis'd her, that so far as my weak pen could contribute, her Name should remain immortal in the World. Thus I took leave of her, more sad for her death than her self, cursing the custom of *India*, which is so unmerciful to Women. *Giaccamà* was a Woman of about thirty years of age, of a Complexion very brown for an Indian, and almost black, but of a good aspect, tall of stature, well shap'd and proportion'd. My Muse could not forbear from chanting her in a Sonnet, which I made upon her death, and reserve among my Poetical Papers.

The same Evening Lights being set up in all the Temples, and the usual Musick of Drums and Pipes sounding, I saw in one Temple, which was none of the greatest, a Minister or Priest dance before the Idol all naked, saying that he had a small piece of Linnen over his Privities, as many of them continually go; he had a drawn Sword in his Hand, which he flourish'd as if he had been fencing; but his motions were nothing but lascivious gestures. And indeed, the greatest part of their Worship of their Gods, consists in nothing but Musick, Songs, Dances, not not onely pleasant but lascivious, and in serving their Idols as if they were living Persons; namely, in presenting to them things to eat, washing them, perfuming them, giving them *Bettè-leavs*, dying them with Sanders, carrying them abroad in Procession, and such other things as the Country-people account delights and observances. In rehearsing Prayers, I think they are little employ'd, and as little in Learning. I once ask'd an old Priest, who was held more knowing then others, grey, and clad all in white, carrying a staff like a Shep-herds crook in his Hand, What Books he had read, and what he had studied? Adding that my self delighted in reading, and that if he would

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speak

XXIV.

speak to me about any thing, I would answer him. He told me, that all Books were made, onely that Men might by means thereof know God, and God being known, to what purpose were Books? as if, he knew God very well. I reply'd, that all thought they knew God, but yet few knew him aright; and therefore he should beware that himself were not one of those.

November the seventeenth, By Letters brought from *Barcelon*, with News from *Goa*, we heard that the Prince of *England* was gone *incognito* into *Spain* to accomplish his Marriage with the *Infanta*; and that his arrival being known, and the King having seen him, preparations were making for his publick Reception. That the Fleet was not yet arriv'd at *Goa*, except one Galeon; and that the News from *Ormuz* was, that *Ruy Freyra* was landed in that Island, and having entrench'd himself under the Fort, held the same besieg'd with that small Armado he had with him: Whence 'twas hop'd, that great supplies being to be sent to him from *Goa*, and the enmity of the English ceasing in consideration of the Marriage between the two Crowns, and consequently, their assistance of the *Persians*, *Ormuz* would shortly be recover'd; and indeed, in respect of the above-said circumstances, I account it no hard matter.

November the twentieth, In the Evening, either because it was the next night after *Monday*, or that 'twas their weekly custom, or perhaps, for some extraordinary solemnity, Tapers were lighted up in all the Temples of *Ikkeri*; a great noise was made with Drums and Pipes, together with the Dancings of the Ministers of some Temples before the Gates, as is above described.

XXV.

Wherefore I went to the great Temple, where, being the principal, I thought to see the greatest and most solemn Ceremonies. After the people were call'd together by the sounding of several Trumpets a good while without the Temple, they began to make the usual Procession within the Yard or Inclosure, with many noises of their barbarous instruments, as they are wont to do here every Evening: Which after they had done as often as they pleas'd, they went forth into the street, where much people expected them, carrying two Idols in Procession, both in one *Palanchino*, one at each end, small, and so deck'd with Flowers and other Ornaments, that I could scarce know what they were. Yet, I think, that in the back-end was *Agoreseuer*, to whom the Temple is dedicated; and the other *Parveti*, or some other Wife of his. First march'd the Trumpets, and other instruments of divers sorts, continually sounding; then follow'd amongst many Torches a long train of Dancing-women, two and two, bare-headed, in their dancing dress, and deck'd with many Ornaments of Gold and Jewels. After them, came the *Palanchino* of the Idols, behind which were carryed many Lances, Spears with silken Streamers, and many Umbrella's garnish'd with silken tufts and fringes round about, more stately then

then those us'd by others, even the King himself ; for these are commonly the Ensignes of Grandeur. On each side the *Palanchino* went many rows of Women, either publick Dancers or Whores ; but because these were not to dance, they went bare-fac'd indeed, (as the Pagan Women here little care for covering their Faces) but with a cloth bound about their Heads, and hanging down both behind upon their Shoulders, and before upon their Breasts. Some of them next the *Palanchino*, carryed in their Hands certain little Staves, either of Silver, or Silver'd over ; at the end of which hung thick, long, and white tufts of the hair of Horses tails, with which (as 'tis the custom of great Persons in *India* to use them) they went fanning the Air, and either drove away the Flies from the Idols in the *Palanchino*, or at least performing this Office as a piece of Grandeur, as with us the same is done to the Pope, with fans made of the tails of white Peacocks, when he goes abroad in *Pontificalibus*. Neither were there wanting about the Idols many of their Priests or Ministers of the Temple who accompany'd them ; particularly, one who seem'd the chief and *Archimandrita* of the rest ; besides, abundance of Torches whose light dispell'd the darkness of the Moon-less night. In this order they came into the Piazza, and there after they had made a large ring, the dancing began ; first, two *Ballatrici*, or Dancing-women, one from one side of the circle, and another from another, yet both with their Faces always turn'd towards the Idols, walk'd three steps forward, and then three backward ; and this they did innumerable times. I suppose, it was a way of saluting the Idols. After the said two Dancers alone had done thus, two others from the several sides joyn'd with them, and they did the same again, three and three. This Salutation, or Preamble of the Ball, being many times repeated, they began to dance, namely, two that danc'd better then the rest, one on the right side of the circle, and the other on the left, both with their Faces, never with their back towards the *Palanchino* of the Idols, though often in the Dance they retir'd backwards as well as went forwards. Their dancing was high, with frequent leapings and odd motions, sometimes inclining their posteriors as if they meant to sit down, sometimes rising very high, and displaying the Coat wherewith they are cover'd from the girdle downwards, and almost holding one Arm stretch'd out before them, wherewith they now and then made as if they were thrusting or fencing ; besides other mad gestures which were all accompany'd with words which they sung, and sometimes with cries more apt to give horror then delight. Hence, while all the other Dancing-women, (that is, those who were uncovered and loose for dancing) danced all in a company together further distant from the Idols, snapping their little sticks and singing, being guided by a Man who danced with them and was their Master. But the other Dancers who were clothed, stood about the Idols, but danced

not, nor ever moved from their place; only they accompanied the Shew, very fine with Ornaments of Gold and Jewels, and some of them having Flowers, others, leavs of *Betle*, or other Odoriferous Herbs in their Hands. This Dance being ended, the Proceffion went forwards with the same Pomp, and a numerous Train of Men and Women of all sorts. They went round about the outermost walls of the Temple, which is surrounded with very large streets, inhabited for the most part by the said Dancers, or publick Strumpets. The circuit of the Proceffion began from the right Hand as you come forth of the Temple, which comes to be the left as you enter in; and in the same manner I saw the Proceffion begin at the Temple of the Town *Abinela*, which I have described above; so that it must needs be one of their usual Ceremonies. This stop'd at the several places of the streets through which it pass'd; and at every such stopping, the above-mention'd Dancings, Preambles, and other Circumstances were again repeated; whence the Shew lasted a good while, and concluded at length with the last Dance in the Piazza before the Temple-Gate; which ended, the Proceffion with the Idols re-entered the Temple, where being replaced according to their accustomed Ceremonies, the solemnity ended, and all the people departed.

XXVI.

I was told by one of the spectators, that this Ceremony was practis'd every *Monday* at night, and every New Moon, and every Full, as also upon certain other extraordinary solemnities with more or less Pomp proportionably to the Festivals: And he added, that the night following there would be a greater solemnity then this, because the New Moon, and another of their Feasts were then co-incident, and that the King himself would be there; Wherefore I resolv'd with my self to see it.

November the one and twentieth, This night were an infinite company of Torches and Candles lighted, not onely in all the Temple, but also in all the Streets, Houses, and Shops of *Ikkeri*, which made a kind of day-light over all the City. In each of the Temples was its Idol, which in some was a Serpent; and they had adorned the outward Porches not onely with lights, but also with certain contrivances of papers, on which were painted Men on Horse-back, Elephants, people a fighting, and other odd figures; behind which papers, lights were placed in certain little Arches, like those which we make in our Sepulchres; these, with other gay Ornaments of Silk hung round about, made a sufficiently pretty Shew. In the great Temple, not onely the inside, in the middle whereof is a very high and slender Cupola, (which appears without too) but also all the outer walls, and all those round about the Piazza which lies before it, as also the Houses of the adjacent sides were all full of lights. The concourse of people of all sorts and degrees, both Men and Women was very great; and they appeared to go about visiting all the
Temples,

Temples. When it was very late, the King came to the great Temple, accompanied onely with his two Nephews, to wit, *Seda-Siva Naieka*, (whom I had formerly seen) Son of one of his Daughters, and *Vira-badrà Naieka*, a young boy his Son's Son, and is he whom he designs for his Successor, if his other kindred elder then he, to wit, the above-said *Seda-Siva*, and two other of *Venk-tapà's* Nephews by another of his Brothers whom he keeps prisoner, do not disturb him. The King came in a *Palanchino* a great pace, his two Nephews on Horse-back, and so did *Vitulà Sinay* who rode by the King's side, with appearance of a great Favourite. Likewise *Putapaia* came in a *Palanchino*, and other of his Grandees, some in *Palanchino's*, and some on Horse-back, following him at a great distance, with some number of Souldiers and Servants on Foot; but, in summ, the whole train was not very considerable. The King stay'd in the Temple about an hour, being entertain'd with Musick, Dancing, and other things which I could not see, because I was without. At length he came forth, and with the same company, and running in as much haste as he came, return'd home; the like did all the other people of whom the Piazza was full, some on one side, some on the other.

After the King was come out of the Temple, they carry'd the Idols a while in Procession about the Piazza, but with small pomp and company; so that I car'd not for staying to see them, but went to another Temple standing at the end of the *Bazar*, or Market, in the view of a large and goodly street, where, besides the shew of lights which was gallant, I stay'd a good while with my Companions, (for all the Ambassador's Family was come abroad this night to see the solemnities; the *Padre Capellano* not excepted, but disguis'd) to see two great companies of Dancing-women dance, they all being sent for thither by a great Captain, (who, perhaps, had the care of the solemnities of this Temple) after the King was gone from the great Temple, they danc'd here a good while, in numerous companies; after which, we return'd home, it being after mid-night.

November the two and twentieth, *Ven-tapà Naieka* had already given our Ambassador an answer concerning the affairs which he negotiated, and the Ambassador had prepar'd a dispatch to be sent to the King of *Banghel*; also another for the Vice-Roy of *Goa*, giving him an account of his negotiation; when a Currier arriv'd from *Banghel* with new Letters, both for *Venk-tapà Naieka* and the Ambassador: Whereupon consultation was held, what Answer to return him, which was soon concluded on the part of *Venk-tapà Naieka* to this effect, (being no other then what he had before resolv'd upon) namely, that he would pay the King of *Banghel* 7000 Paygods yearly, according to the Treaty of the Peace, provided the said King would come and live in his Court, or in some other place of his Country, (excepting such Lands as were formerly his, for fear he might make new insurrections) or
else

else in *Goa*, or any of the adjacent places, namely, in the Island of *Salfette*, or some place there without the City; but however, such wherein he may be subject to the Vice-Roy of *Goa*; so that *Venk-tapà* might be secure that the said *Banghel* would live peaceably without making new commotions. But in case (as he seem'd to intend) he would live neither in *Venk-tapà's* Country, nor in that of *Goa*, but would continue in *Cagnoroto* where he was at present, (which is a place beyond *Mangalor* Eastwards, and belongs to another small but free Prince, alli'd to *Banghel*, whither, being near to his quondam-Territories, he had betaken himself) or else would remove here and there like a Fugitive and Invader, disquieting these Countries; then *Venk-tapà* was resolv'd not to give him any thing at all. Therefore let him either accept the above-said Offer, or never speak more to him, for he would not hear him. That he hath been mov'd to make this offer of paying him the said sum, by the instance of the *Portugals*, who had interpos'd in his behalf by this Embassie: And that for *Banghel's* assurance that he would perform this, he gave the Ambassador (and accordingly he did so) a Copy of the Letter containing these promises, which he writ to the said King of *Banghel*, to the end the Ambassador might send it to the Vice-Roy, and be a witness of what he promis'd and was to observe. He ha's further told the Ambassador, that this King had formerly writ to him that he would come and live in his Dominion, and repented of what he had done heretofore through evil counsel; that yet, for the future, he would be at his devotion, receiving that Pension which he had promis'd him, and the like: Nevertheless he had now chang'd his mind, and refus'd both to come into his Dominion, and to go into that of *Goa*: That therefore seeing him so unconstant, he had much reason not to trust him, and, in short, would neither trust him, nor give him any thing saving upon the above-said terms; and that not for his own sake, but in regard of the instance which the *Portugals* made for him: That this was his last Answer, and that nothing more was to be expected or hoped from him. From *Spain*, they say, Orders are sent to the Vice-Roy to re-establish *Banghel* by all means in his State, and to make war upon *Venk-tapà*, unless he restore the same intirely. However, being that Country is remote, and in the time that is spent in the going and coming of dispatches, many things may happen which may render it necessary for the Vice-Roy in the present conjuncture to proceed in sundry particulars differently from what Orders he receives from *Spain*, and to have authority in this business of *Banghel* to deliberate of Peace or War, as shall to him seem most expedient, endeavouring to comply no less with the time and the State of things, than the advertisements from *Spain*: Therefore the King of *Spain*, in the Letter which he writ to *Venk-tapà Naicka*, making onely general complements to him, refers all matter of business to the Vice-Roy, to guid him.

himself therein as he shall think most fit. Accordingly the Vice-Roy, though he knows the King of *Spain's* intention and order to make war upon *Venk-tapà*; yet it not seeming to him a fit time, whilst the *Portugals* are engag'd in the war of *Ormuz*, and also in *Malacca*, (which is reported besieg'd either by the King of *Acem*, (which is *Sumatra*), or by him and the Dutch together) and much perplex'd in a thousand other intricacies in *India*; hath therefore given Order to the Ambassador to seem satisfi'd with what-ever Answer *Venk-tapà Naieka* gives, and to return without making further instance; it sufficing the Vice-Roy to have made this complement for the service of the King of *Banghel*, and shewn that he hath done therein what was in his power; as well-knowing that *Venk-tapà* would not be moved by the Embassie alone, and that the conditions he requires of the King of *Banghel*, upon which to give him what he had promis'd, are but excuses; being certain this King will not venture himself in his Dominions, (as neither is it reasonable) much less go and subject himself in the Territories of *Goa*, and so will not admit of the Proposals. Wherefore seeing 'tis not time now to constrain *Venk-tapà Naieka* to greater things by war, he dissembles till a better occasion, for fear of drawing this new Enemy upon him at an unseasonable conjuncture; and orders the Ambassador to depart with shew of good Friendship. The Ambassador hath accordingly done so, and seeming satisfi'd with *Venk-tapà's* Answer, hath added other Letters to those formerly written to the King of *Banghel*, certifying him of *Venk-tapà's* Resolute Mind; that he must either accept of the Agreement, or must speak no more of any; and that he onely expects at *Ikkeri* this his last Resolution before his return to *Goa*. He hath written the same to the Vice-Roy of *Goa*; and the dispatches being seal'd, he hath order'd both Curriers to depart, and also a *Brachman* call'd *Mangasa*, together with the Currier, to the King of *Banghel*, sending likewise with them a Christian of *Barselòr*, nam'd *Lorenzo Pessoa*, who was at *Ikkeri* with *Montegro*, that he might either in *Mangalòr*, *Banghel*, or other places thereabouts procure Mariners for a Ship remaining at *Barselòr* unprovided of Men; giving the said *Pessoa* a Licence to hire some, which he had obtain'd of the Ministers of *Venk-tapà Naieka*, to levy them in his Territories if need were. Being by this time sufficiently inform'd of remarkable things in *Ikkeri*, I am desirous of divers others, especially, to see the person of the Queen of *Olaxa*, whose History and many valiant exploits I read, when I was in *Persia*; for which I have a fair opportunity by accompanying these Men sent from the Ambassador, of whom when I have taken leave, I shall (God willing) depart to-morrow.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

From Mangalor, Decemb. 9. 1623.

- I. **H**AVING already seen in *Ikkeri* as much as was there remarkable and being very desirous of seeing *Barselòr*, *Mangalòr*, and also principally the Q. of *Olaza*, whose Dominion and Residence is contiguous to *Mangalòr*; as well for that she is Sovereign of those parts, (a matter in other Countries not ordinary) and a Princess famous in our dayes, even in the Indian Histories of the *Portuggals*, as because she is a *Gentile* in Religion, as likewise all her Subjects are; (whence, I conceiv'd, I might possibly see some considerable curiosity there) I lay'd hold of the occasion of going thither in company of these Men who are sent by the Ambassador, by whose favour, being provided of a good Horse, (in regard there were no *Palanchino's* to be hir'd in *Ikkeri*) and a Man to carry my baggage upon his Head, I prepar'd to set forth the next Morning.

November the three and twentieth, Before my departure from *Ikkeri*, I was presented from *Vitulà Sinay*, (of whom I had before taken leave) with a little Book written in the *Canara*-Language, which is the vulgar in *Ikkeri* and all that State. It is made after the custom of the Country, not of paper, (which they seldom use) but of Palm-leavs, to wit, of that Palm which the *Portuggals* call *Palmum brama*, i. e. *Wild-palm*, and is of that sort which produces the Indian Nut; for so do those commonly in *India*, where Palms that produce Dates are very rare. In the leavs of these Palms they write, or rather, ingrave the Letters with an Iron style made for the purpose of an uncouth form; and, that the writing may be more apparent, they streak it over with a coal, and tye the leavs together, to make a Book of them after a manner sufficiently strange. I being desirous to have one of these Books to carry, as a curiosity, to my own Country for ornament of my Library, and not finding any to be sold in the City, had entreated *Vitulà Sinay* to help me to one; but he, not finding any vendible therein, caus'd a small one to be purposely transcrib'd for me, (there being not time enough for a greater) and sent it to me as a gift just as I was ready to take Horse. What the Book contains, I know not, but I imagine 'tis Verses in their Language, and I carry it with me, as I do also (to shew to the curious) divers leavs not written, and a style or Iron Pen, such as they use, together with one leaf containing a Letter Missive after their manner, which was written by I know not who to our Ambassador; of whom taking leave with many complements, as also of Sig: *Carvaglio*, the Chaplain, *Montegro*, and all the company, I departed from *Ikkeri* a little before noon, going out at the same Gate whereat I had enter'd; and having no other

other company but a *Veturino*, or Hackney-man, and a *Pulià* who carry'd my luggage, without any other servant; for as for *Galàl* the Persian, *aliàs Cacciatùr*, I was constrain'd to dismiss him for some uncommendable actions, and send him back from *Ikkeri* to *Goa*. I will not omit to tell you, that this my brave God-son, (whom I had brought so carefully out of *Persia*, and trusted so much, and who alone of all my ancient servants remain'd with me) one day cunningly open'd a light box or basket, (*Canestri* the *Portugals* call them) wherein I kept my Clothes, and which, after the fashion of the Country, was not of wood, but of hoops lin'd with leather, and clos'd with little Pad-locks, like those which are us'd at *Rome* for Plate; and they are thus contriv'd that they may be of little weight, because in these parts, carriages and baggages for travel are more frequently transported upon Mens shoulders then upon beasts backs; and one of these baskets or *Canestri* is just a Man's load. Now the good *Cacciatùr* having open'd mine, without hurting the lock, or meddling with the linnen which he found therein, took out onely all the little money which I then had, and had put into it, to avoid carrying its weight about me; it was in one of those long leathern purses, which are made to wear round the waste like a girdle, and was full of Spanish Rials, a Cohn in these parts, and almost in all the world current enough. His intention, I conceive, was to leave me (as they say) naked in the Mountains in the center of *India*, and peradventure, to go into some Territory of the *Gentiles* or *Mahometans*, there to pass a jovial life upon my expence. But it pleas'd God, the theft being done in my Chamber, where none but he resorted, we had vehement suspicion of him; and therefore the Ambassador making use of his Authority, caus'd him to be laid hold on, and we found the theft in his breeches ty'd to his naked flesh; and thus I recover'd my money. I was unwilling any hurt should be done to him, and withall, to keep him longer; nevertheless that he might not go into the Infidel-Countries, lest thereby he should lose his Religion and turn to his native errors, I sent him away with some trusty persons to *Goa*, giving him Letters also to Signora *Maria*, but such as whereby they might know that I had dismiss'd him, and that he was not to be entertain'd there, though otherwise indemnifi'd. By this Story you may see how much a Man may be deceiv'd in his trusting; how little benefits prevail upon an unworthy nature; and withall, you may consider to what misfortunes a Stranger is subject in strange Countries; so that if I had had nothing else, being thus depriv'd of all, I should have been left to perish miserably amongst *Barbarians*.

But leaving him to his Voyage, I departed from *Ikkeri*, and having pass'd the Town *Badrapor*, I left the road of *Ahineli*, and by another way more towards the left hand, went to dine under certain Trees near a small Village of four Houses, which they

call *Bamanen coppa*. After dinner we continu'd our way, and foarded a River call'd *Irihalè*, not without being wet, by reason of the smallness of my Horse; and having travell'd near two *Gau's* (one *Gau* consists of two *Cor*, and is equivalent to two *Portugal* Leagues) we lodg'd at night in a competent Town, the name whereof is *Dermapura*. In these Towns I endeavor'd to procure me a servant, as well because I understood not the Language of the Country, (for though he that carry'd my Goods could speak *Portugal*, yet he could not well serve me for an Interpreter, because being by Race a *Pulià*, which amongst them is accounted vile and unclean, they would not suffer him to come into their Houses, nor touch their things; though they were not shie of me, albeit of a different Religion, because they look'd upon me as a Man of noble Race); as for that I found much trouble in reference to my dyet: For these Indians are extremely fastidious in edibles, there is neither flesh nor fish to be had amongst them; one must be contented onely with Rice, Butter, or Milk, and other such inanimate things, wherewith nevertheless they make no ill-tasted dishes; but, which is worse, they will cook every thing themselves, and will not let others either eat or drink in their vessels; wherefore instead of dishes they gave us our victuals in great Palm leaves, which yet are smooth enough, and the Indians themselves eat more frequently in them than in any other vessels: Besides, one must entreat them three hours for this, and account it a great favor; so that, in brief, to travel in these Countries requires a very large stock of patience. The truth is, 'tis a most crafty invention of the Devil against the Charity so much preach'd by our Lord Jesus Christ, to put it so in the heads of these people, that they are polluted and become unclean, even by touching others of a different Religion; of which superstition, they are so rigorous observers, that they will sooner see a person whom they account vile and unclean, (though a *Gentile*) dye, then go near him to relieve him.

November the four and twentieth, In the Morning before day, the Brachman *Nangasà*, and the Ambassador's other Men, being in haste, advanc'd before; but I, desirous to go more at my own ease, remain'd alone with my *Pulià* and the Hackney-master; as I might well enough do, since the High-ways of *Venk-tapa Naieka's* Country are very secure. The road lay over pleasant cliffs of Hills, and through Woods, many great streams likewise occurring. I descended the Mountain *Gat* by a long precipice, some of which I was fain to walk a foot, my Horse having fallen twice without any disaster, and by a third fall almost broke my Knee to pieces. I din'd, after I had travelled one *Gau* and a half, in a good Town called *Colur*, where there is a great Temple, the Idol whereof, if I mis-understood not, is the Image of a Woman; the place is much venerated, and many resort to it from several parts in Pilgrimage. After dinner, my Horse being tired, I travelled not above half another *Gau*; and having gone

gone in all this day but two *Gau's*, went to lodge at a certain little village, which they said was called *Nalcâl*. Certain Women who dwelt there alone in absence of their Husbands, courteously gave us lodging in the uncovered Porches of their Houses, and prepared supper for us. This Country is inhabited not onely with great Towns, but, like the *Mazandran* in *Persia*, with abundance of Houses scattered here and there in several places amongst the woods. The people live for the most part by sowing of Rice; their way of Husbandry is to overflow the soil with water, which abounds in all places; but they pay, as they told me, very large Tributes to the King, so that they have nothing but the labour for themselves, and live in great Poverty.

November the twenty fifth, I travelled over great Mountains and Woods like the former, and foarded many deep Rivers. Having gone three *Cos*, we din'd in two Houses of those people who sow Rice, whereof the whole Country is full, at a place call'd *Kelidi*. In the Evening, my *Puliâ* being very weary, and unable to carry the heavy load of my baggage further, we stay'd at some of the like Houses which they call'd *Kabnâr*, about a mile forwards; so that the journey of this whole day amounted not to a full *Gau*.

November the twenty sixth, I pass'd over cliffs of Hills and uneven and woody places. At noon I came to a great River, on the Northern bank whereof stands a little village nam'd *Gulvarî*, near which, the River makes a little Island. We went to this Island by boat and foarded over the other stream to the far side. Thence we came by a short cut to *Barfelôr*, call'd the Higher, *i.e.* within Land, belonging to the Indians, and subject to *Venk-tapâ Naieka*, to difference it from the Lower *Barfelôr*, at the Sea-coast belonging to the *Portugals*. For in almost all Territories of *India* near the Sea-coast, there happens to be two places of the same Name, one call'd the Higher, or In-land, belonging to the Natives; the other, the Lower near the Sea, to the *Portugals*, wherever they have footing. Entering the Higher *Barfelôr* on this side, I came into a fair, long, broad, and strait Street, having abundance of *Palmeto's* and Gardens on either hand. The soil is fruitful and well peopled, encompass'd with weak walls and ditches, which are pass'd over by bridges of one or two very great stones, which shew that there is good and fair Marble here, whether they were dig'd thus out of the Quarry, or are the remains of ancient Fabricks. It stands on the South side of the River, which from the Town *Gulvân* fetches a great circuit, seeming to return backwards; and many Travellers, without touching at the Upper *Barfelôr*, are wont to go to the Lower *Barfelôr* by boat, which is soon done; but I was desirous to see both places, and therefore came hither.

Having din'd and rested a good while in Higher *Barfelôr*, I took boat and row'd down the more Southern stream; for a

little below the said Town, it is divided into many branches, and forms divers little fruitful Islands. About an hour and half before night, I arriv'd at the Lower *Barfelôr* of the *Portugals*, which also stands on the Southern bank of the River, distant two good Cannon-shot from the mouth of the Sea; having travell'd this day in all, one *Gau* and a half. The Fort of the *Portugals* is very small, built almost in form of a Star, having no bad walls, but wanting ditches, in a Plain, and much expos'd to all sort of assaults. Such *Portugals* as are married, have Houses without the Fort in the Town, which is pretty large, and hath good buildings. I went directly to the House of Sig: *Antonio Borges*, a former acquaintance, who came from *Goa* to *Onôr*, together with us, and to whom the Ambassador at *Ikkeri* had recommended me. I found sitting before his House in the streets the Captain of *Barfelôr*, call'd Sig: *Luis Mendes Vas Conti*. We discours'd together for a good while, and he seem'd a gallant man, though but young. Here was an Armado, and a *Casila* of Ships, which came from *Goa*, and went to *Mangalôr* and *Cocin*, or further; they were to depart the next day, and therefore I prepar'd my self to go with them to *Mangalôr*. This night I supp'd at the House of Sig: *Antonio Borges*, with some other *Portugals* who came in the Fleet; and went to lodg by his direction in another good House, together with some Souldiers of the same.

November the seven and twentieth, That I might not go alone, without any body to serve me in the Ship, I took into my service a Christian of *Barfelôr*, recommended to me by Sig: *Antonio*, and nam'd *Manoel de Matos*, with whom alone I went aboard about noon, having first din'd with many *Portugals* of the Fleet in the House of Sig: *Rocco Gomes*, the chief *Portugal* in *Barfelôr*, who entertain'd us at his Gate in the street very well. Among others that din'd with us, there was one Sig: *Neittor Fernandez*, by me elsewhere mention'd, who came from *Goa* to *Onôr* with us; the Captain Major of the whole Armado, Sig: *Francesco de Lobo Faria*, who commanded a Galley and six other Ships, besides the *Casila* of Merchants. I imbarqu'd in the Ship of Sig: *Neittor Fernandez*, who in the street express'd much courtesie to me. Being gone a good way upon the Sea, and it being now night, the Captain Major of the Gallies sent our Ship back to fetch certain of his Men, and the other Ships which were not yet got out of the Port of *Barfelôr*; whereinto we designing to enter in the dark, and not hitting the narrow channel which was to be kept, struck upon land, and, the wind growing pretty stiff, were in great danger of being over-set and lost; and the more, for that when we perceiv'd it, and went to strike sail, we could not for a good while, because the ropes, either through moistness, or some other fault, would not slip; so that the Ship being driven forceably against the ground, not onely became very leaky, but gave two or three such violent knocks, that had she not been new, without doubt she had been split. The Sea-men were

were not onely confounded but all amaz'd, nothing was heard but disorderly cries; the voice of him that commanded could not be heard, every one was more intent upon his own then the common safety; many of the Souldiers had already strip'd themselves to leap into the Sea; some ty'd their Money at their backs, to endeavour to save the same together with their lives, making little account of their other goods; divers made vows and promises of Alms, all heartily recommended themselves to God; one embrac'd the Image of our Lady, and plac'd his hope in that alone. I could not induce my self to believe, that God had reserv'd me after so many dangers to such a wretched and ignoble end, so that I had I know not what secure confidence in my heart: nevertheless seeing the danger extream great, I fail'd not to commend my self to God, his most Holy Mother, and all the Saints. By whose favour at length, the sail being let down by the cutting of the rope, and the Sea not rough, (for, if it had, it would have done us greater mischief) the Mariners freed the Ship, having cast themselves into the Sea, and drawn her off from the ground by strength of Arm; the remainder of the night we spent in the mouth of the Haven, soliciting the other Ships out, and mending our own.

The whole Fleet being set forth before day, we return'd, where the Captain General with the Galley and the rest of the Ships stay'd at Anchor for us; and thence we set sail all together.

IV.

November the eight and twentieth, We sail'd constantly Southwards, coasting along the Land which lay on the left hand of us. Half way to *Mangalor*, to wit, six Leagues from *Barfelor*, we found certain Rocks or little desert Islands, which the Portugals call *Scogli di Santa Maria*; one of which we approach'd with our Ship, and many of our Men landed upon it to take wild Pigeons, (of whose nests there is great abundance) wherewith we made a good supper. Afterwards continuing our course, we pass'd by *Carnate*; and at night safely enter'd the Port of *Mangalor*. This Port is in the mouth of two Rivers, one more Northern runs from the Lands of *Banghel*; the other more Southern from those of *Olaza*, which stands beyond the River Southwards, or rather beyond the bay of salt-water; which is form'd round and large like a great Haven, by the two Rivers before their entrance into the Sea, whose flowing fills the same with salt water. *Mangalor* stands between *Olaza* and *Banghel*, and in the middle of the bay right against the Mouth of the Harbor, into which the Fort extends it self, being almost encompass'd with water on three sides. 'Tis but small, the worst built of any I have seen in *India*, and, as the Captain told me one day when I visited him, may rather be term'd the House of a Gentleman than a Fort. The City is but little neither, contiguous to the Fort, and encompass'd with weak walls; within which, the Houses of the inhabitants are inclos'd. There are three

three Churches; namely, the See or Cathedral within the Fort; our Lady *Del Rosario*, *La Misericordia*, and *San Francesco* without. Yet in *Mangalôr* there are but three Ecclesiastical Persons in all; two Franciscan Fryers, and one Vicar Priest, to whose charge, with very small revenews belong all the other Churches. I went not ashore because it was night, but slept in the Ship.

November the nine and twentieth, Early in the Morning I landed at *Mangalôr*, and went together with Sig: *Neitor Fernandez*, and others of our Ship to dine in the House of Sig: *Ascentio Veira*, a Notary of the City. After which, I was provided of an empty House belonging to a Kins-man of his, by Sig: *Paolo Sodrino*, who was married in *Mangalôr*, and came for *Goa*, in our Ship. The next night the Fleet departed from *Cocin*, but I remain'd in *Mangalôr* with intencion to go and see the Queen of *Olaza*.

November the thirtieth, After hearing of Mass in the Church *Del Rosario*, I visited the Captain of *Mangalôr*, not in the Fort, but in a cover'd place without the Gate, which is built to receive the cool Air of the Sea, and where he was then in conversation. He was an old Man all gray, by Name Sig: *Pero Gomes Pasagna*.

V. The first of *December*, in the Morning I went to see *Bangbel*, by the Indians more correctly call'd *Bangher*, or *Bangheruari*; 'tis a mile or little more distant from *Mangalôr*, towards the South and upon the Sea; and the King that rul'd there, and in the circum-jacent lands being at this day driven out, 'tis subject to *Venk-tapà Naicka*. A Musket-shot without *Mangalôr*, on that side, is a small River which is pass'd over by a ruinous stone bridg, and may likewise be forded; 'tis the boundary of the *Portugals* jurisdiction. The above-said mile is through cultivated fields, and then you come to *Bangbel*, which is a rich soil, and sometimes better peopled then at present; whence the Houses are poor Cottages of earth and straw. It hath been but one strait street, of good length, with Houses and Shops continu'd on both sides, and many other sheds dispers'd among the *Palme-to's*. The King's House stood upon a rais'd ground, almost like a Fort, but is now wholly destroy'd, so that there is nothing left standing but the posts of the Gate; for when *Venk-tapà Naicka* took this Territory, he demolish'd what-ever was strong in it. The *Bazâr*, or Market-place remains, although not so stor'd with goods as it was in the time of its own King; yet it affords what is necessary, and much *Areca* or *Fofel*, whereof they make Merchandize, sending the same into divers parts, that of this place being better then others; here are also in the *Bazâr*, some Gold-smiths who make knives and cizzers adorn'd with Silver very cheap, and other like toys, of which I bought some, and having seen all that was to be seen return'd on foot, as I came, though somewhat late, to *Mangalôr*.

December

December the second, This Morning I went to see *Olaza*, which is about the same distance from *Mangalôr* as *Banghel* is; but the contrary way towards the South, and stands on the other side of a great River, which was to be pass'd over by boat. The Queen was not here, and seldom is, but keeps her Court commonly in another place more within land; yet I would not omit to see *Olaza*, the rather because in the *Portugal* Histories it gives name to that Queen, as being that Land of hers which is nearest and best known to the *Portugals*, and perhaps, the richest and fruitfulest which she now enjoys. I found it to be a fat soil, the City lying between two Seas, to wit, the Main-sea and the Bay, upon an arm of Land which the Port incloses; so that the situation is not onely pleasant, but might also be made very strong if it were in the hands of people that knew how to do it. It is all open, saving on one side towards the mouth of the Haven between the one Sea and the other, where there is drawn a weak wall with a ditch and two inconsiderable bastions. The *Bazâr* is indifferent, and besides necessaries for provisions, affords abundance of white and strip'd linnen cloth, which is made in *Olaza*, but coarse, such as the people of that Country use. At the Towns end is a very pleasant Grove, and at the end thereof a great Temple, handsomely built for this Country, and much esteem'd. *Olaza* is inhabited confusedly, both by *Gentiles* who burn themselves, and also by *Malabar-Moors*. About a mile off Southwards, stands the Royal House or Palace amongst the above-said Groves, where the Queen resides when she comes hither sometimes. 'Tis large, enclos'd with a wall and trench, but of little moment. In the first entrance it hath a Gate with an open Porch, where the Guard is to stand; and within that a great void place like a very large Court, on the far side whereof stands the House, whose inside I saw not, because the Court was not there; yet for this place, it seem'd to have something of wild Majesty; behind, it joyns to a very thick wood, serving both for delight and security in time of necessity. The way from the Palace to the City is almost wholly beset with Houses. Having seen as much as I desir'd, I stay'd not to dine, but return'd to *Mangalôr*; there being always a passage-boat ready to carry people backwards and forwards.

December the third, Arriving not timely enough to hear Mass in the Church *Del Rosario*, I went to *San Francesco*, where I heard Mass, and a tolerably good Sermon, made by an old Father call'd *Francesco dos Neves*. In the Evening, I prepar'd to go to see the Queen of *Olaza* at her Court, which was the design of this little peregrination. And not finding Sig: *Paolo Sodrino* my friend at *Mangalôr*, I was help'd to a boat by Sig: *Luis Gomes* a Native of *Cananôr*, but who had liv'd long at *Mangalôr*. I went up the River which comes from the Territories of *Olaza*, but another more Northern, different from the above-mention'd little one, over which I pass'd by a bridg to *Banghel*, and falling into the Port

VI.

of

of *Mangalôr*. I took with me also a *Brachman* call'd *Narsû*, a Native of *Mangalôr*, to serve me for an Interpreter with the Queen, (although my Christian Servant spoke the Language well) partly, that I might have more persons with me to serve me, and partly, because the *Bachman* being a *Gentile*, known and vers'd in this Court, might be more serviceable to me in many things: than my own Servant; so having provided what was needful, and prepar'd victuals to dine with upon the River by the way, which is somewhat long, I determin'd to set forth the next Morning.

December the fourth, Before day-light I took boat at *Mangalôr*, in which there were three Water-men, two of which row'd at the Prow, and one at the Poop with a broad Oar, which serv'd both for an Oare and a Helm. Having pass'd by *Bronghel*, we enter'd into the great Northern River, in which on the left hand is a place where passage-boats laden with Merchandize pay a Tole to the Ministers of *Venk-tapà Naicka*, to whom the circum-jacent Region is subject. Rowing a great way against the stream, the water whereof for a good space is salt, at length we stay'd to dine at a Town call'd *Salè*, inhabited for the most part by *Moors*, and situate on the right bank as you go up the River. This Town with others round it, is subject to an Indian-Gentile Lord, call'd *Ramo Rau*, who in all hath not above 2000 Pay-gods of yearly Renew, of which he payes about 800. to *Venk-tapà Naicka*, to whom he is Tributary. Nevertheless he wears the Title of King, and they call him *Omgîn Arfû*, that is, King of *Omgîn*, which is his chief place. Having din'd and rested a while, we continu'd our Voyage, and after a good space enter'd into the State of the Queen of *Oloza*, to whom the Country on either side the River belongs. The River is here very shallow, so that though our boat was but small, yet in many places we struck against the ground; at length about Evening we arriv'd at *Manèl*, so they call the place where the Queen of *Oloza* now resides, which is onely a Street of a few Cottages or Sheds rather than Houses; but the Country is open, fair and fruitful, inhabited by abundance of little Houses and Cottages here and there of Husband-men, besides those united to the great Street call'd the *Bazâr*, or Market; all which are comprehended under the name of *Manèl*, which lies on the left side of the River as you go against the stream.

- VII. Having landed, and going towards the *Bazâr* to get a Lodging in some House, we beheld the Queen coming alone in the same way without any other Woman, on foot, accompany'd onely with four or six foot-Souldiers before her, all which were quite naked after their manner, saving that they had a cloth over their shame, and another like a sheet worn cross the shoulders like a belt; each of them had a Sword in his hand, or at most a Sword and Buckler; there were also as many behind her of the same sort, one of which carry'd over her a very ordinary Umbrella made of

of Palm-leaves. Her Complexion was as black as that of a natural *Aethiopian*; she was corpulent and gross, but not heavy, for she seem'd to walk nimbly enough; her Age may be about forty years, although the *Portugals* had describ'd her to me much elder. She was cloth'd, or rather girded at the waste with a plain piece of thick white Cotton, and bare-foot, which is the custom of the Indian-Gentile Women, both high and low, in the house and abroad; and of Men too, the most and the most ordinary go unshod; some of the more grave wear Sandals or Slippers, very few use whole Shoes covering all the Foot. From the waste upwards the Queen was naked, saving that she had a cloth ty'd round about her Head, and hanging a little down upon her Breast and Shoulders. In brief, her aspect and habit represented rather a dirty Kitchen-wench or Laundress, than a delicate and noble Queen; whereupon, I said within my self, Behold by whom are routed in *India* the Armies of the King of *Spain*, which in *Europe* is so great a matter! Yet the Queen shew'd her quality much more in speaking than by her presence; for her voice was very graceful in respect of her Person, and she spoke like a prudent and judicious Woman. They had told me that she had no teeth, and therefore was wont to go with half her Face cover'd; yet I could not discover any such defect in her, either by my Eye or by my Ear; and, I rather believe, that this covering the Mouth, or half the Face, as she sometimes doth, is agreeable to the modest custom which I know to be common to almost all Women in the East. I will not omit, that though she were so corpulent as I have mention'd, yet she seems not deform'd, but I imagine she was handsome in her Youth; and indeed, the report is, that she hath been a brave Lady, though rather of a rough than a delicate handfomeness. As soon as we saw her coming, we stood still, lay'd down our baggage upon the ground, and went on one side to leave her the way to pass. Which she taking notice of, and of my strange habit, presently ask'd, Whether there was any among us that could speak the Language? Whereupon my Brachman *Narsu* step'd forth and answer'd, Yes; and I, after I had saluted her according to our manner, went near to speak to her, she standing still in the way with all her people to give us Audience. She ask'd who I was, (being already inform'd, as one of her Souldiers told me, by a *Portugal* who was come about his businesses before me from *Mangalor* to *Manel*, that I was come thither to see her) I caus'd my Interpreter to tell her, that I was *Un Cavaliero Ponentino*, A Gentleman of the West, who came from very farr Countries; and because other *Europeans* than *Portugals* were not usually seen in her Dominions, I caus'd her to be told, that I was not a *Portugal* but a *Roman*, specifying too that I was not of the *Turks* of *Constantinople*, who in all the East are styl'd and known by the Name of *Rumi*; but a Christian of *Rome*, where is the See of the Pope who is the Head of the Christians. That it was almost ten years since my

first coming from home and wandering about the world, having seen divers Countries and Courts of great Princes; and that being mov'd by the fame of her worth, which had long ago arriv'd at my Ears, I was come into this place purposely to see her, and offer her my service. She ask'd, What Countries and Courts of Princes I had seen? I gave her a brief account of all; and she hearing the Great Turk, the Persian, the Moghol, and *Venk-tapā Naieka* nam'd, ask'd, What then I came to see in these Woods of hers? Intimating that her State was not worth seeing, after so many other great things as I said I had seen. I reply'd to her, that it was enough for me to see her Person, which I knew to be of great worth; for which purpose alone I had taken the pains to come thither, and accounted the same very well imploy'd. After some courteous words of thanks, she ask'd me, If any sickness or other disaster had hapned to me in so remote and strange Countries, How I could have done being alone, without any to take care of me? (a tender Affection, and incident to the compassionate nature of Women). I answer'd, that in every place I went into, I had God with me, and that I trusted in him. She ask'd me, Whether I left my Country upon any disgust, the death of any kindred or beloved person, and therefore wander'd so about the world, (for in *India* and all the East some are wont to do so upon discontents either of Love, or for the death of some dear persons, or for other unfortunate accidents; and if *Gentiles*, they become *Gioghies*; if *Mahometans*, *Dervises* and *Abdales*; all which are a sort of vagabonds, or despisers of the world, going almost naked, onely with a skin upon their Shoulders, and a staff in their Hands, through divers Countries, like our Pilgrims; living upon Alms, little caring what befalls them, and leading a Life suitable to the bad disposition of their hearts). I conceal'd my first misadventures, and told the Queen that I left not my Country upon any such cause, but onely out of a desire to see divers Countries and customs, and to learn many things, which are learnt by travelling the World; men who had seen and convers'd with many several Nations, being much esteem'd in our parts: That indeed for some time since, upon the death of my Wife, whom I lov'd much, though I were not in habit, yet in mind I was more then a *Gioghi*, and little car'd what could betide me in the World. She ask'd me, What my design was now, and whither I directed my way? I answer'd, that I thought of returning to my Country, if it should please God to give me life to arrive there. Many other questions she ask'd, which I do not now remember, talking with me standing a good while; to all which, I answer'd the best I could: At length she bid me go and lodg in some house, and afterwards she would talk with me again at more convenience. Whereupon I took my leave, and she proceeded on her way, and, as I was afterwards told, she went about a mile off to see a work which she had in hand of certain Trenches to convey water to

to certain places, whereby to improve them. I spoke to the Queen with my head uncover'd all the while; which courtesie, it being my custom to use to all Ladies my equals, onely upon the account of being such, I thought ought much rather to be us'd to this who was a Queen, and in her own Dominions, where I was come to visit and to do her Honour.

After she was gone her way, I with my people enter'd into a little village, and there took a lodging in an empty house belonging to a *Moor* of the Country, and near the Palace; but I caus'd my diet to be prepar'd in an other house of a neighbour *Moor*, that so I might have the convenience of eating flesh, or what I pleas'd; which in the houses of *Gentiles* would not be suffer'd. The inhabitants of *Manèl* are partly *Gentiles*, and partly *Malabar-Moors*, who have also their *Meschita's* there; which was of much convenience to me. The Name of the Queen of *Olaza* is *Abag-deni-Ciautrù*; of which words, *Abag* is her proper Name; *Deni* signifies as much as Lady, and with this word they are also wont to signifie all their gods; nor have they any other in their Language to denote God but *Den*, or *Denrù*, which are both one, and equally attributed to Princes; whereby it appears that the gods of the *Gentiles* are for the most part nothing else but such Princes as have been famous in the world, and deserv'd that Honour after their deaths; as likewise (which is my ancient opinion) that the word [God] where-with we by an introduc'd custom denote the Supream Creator, doth not properly signifie that First Cause, who alone ought to be ador'd by the World, but signifi'd at first, either Great Lord, or the like; whence it was attributed to Heroes and signal persons in the world, suitable to that of the Holy Scripture, *Filii Deorum*, *Filii Hominum*; and consequently, that the gods of the *Gentiles*, though ador'd and worship'd both in ancient and modern times, were never held by us in that degree wherein we hold God the Creator of the Universe, and wherein almost all Nations of the world always held and do hold him; (some calling him, *Causa Prima*; others, *Anima Mundi*; others, *Perabrahmi*, as the *Gentiles* at this day in *India*;) But that the other gods are and were always rather but as Saints are amongst us; of the truth whereof, I have great Arguments, at least amongst the Indian-*Gentiles*; or if more then Saints, yet at least Deifi'd by favour, and made afterwards *Divi*, as *Hercules*, *Romulus*, *Augustus*, &c. were amongst the *Romans*. But to return to our purpose, they told me the word *Ciautrù*, (the last in the Queen of *Olaza's* Name) was a Title of Honour peculiar to all the Kings and Queens of *Olaza*; and therefore possibly signifies either Prince, or King, and Queen, or the like. As for this Countries being subject to a Woman, I understood from intelligent persons of the Country, that in *Olaza* Men were and are always wont to reign, and that 'tis a custom receiv'd in *India* amongst the greatest part of the *Gentiles*, the Sons do not succeed the Fathers, but the Sons of their

VIII.

Sisters ; they accounting the Female-line more certain, as indeed it is, than the Male. Yet that the last King of *Olaza*, having neither Nephews nor other Legitimate Heirs, his Wife succeeded him ; and she also dying without other Heirs left this *Abag-Deni*, who was her Sister to succeed her. To whom, because she is a Woman and the descent is certain, is to succeed a Son of hers, of whom I shall hereafter make mention ; but to him, being a Man, not his own Sons, but the Son of one of his Sisters, hereafter likewise mention'd, is to succeed.

IX.

Not to conceal what I know of the History of this Queen, I shall add, that after her Assumption to the Throne upon the death of her Sister, she was married for many years to the King of *Banghel*, who now is a fugitive, depriv'd of his Dominions, but then reign'd in his own Country which borders upon hers. Yet, though they were Husband and Wife, (more for Honors sake than any thing else) they liv'd not together, but apart each in their own Lands : in the Confines whereof, either upon Rivers, where they caus'd Tents to be erected over boats, or in other places of delight, they came to see and converse with one another ; *Banghel* wanting not other Wives and Women, who accompany'd him where-ever he went. 'Tis reported, that this Queen had the Children, which she hath, by this *Banghel*, if they were not by some other secret and more intimate Lover ; for, they say, she wants not such. The Matrimony and good Friendship having lasted many years between *Banghel* and the Queen, I know not upon what occasion discord arose between them, and such discord that the Queen divorc'd *Banghel*, sending back to him, (as the custom is in such case) all the Jewels which he had given her as his Wife. For this, and perhaps for other causes, *Banghel* became much offended with the Queen, and the rupture proceeded to a War : during which, it so fortun'd that one day as she was going in a boat upon one of those Rivers, not very well guarded, he sending his people with other boats in better order, took her and had her in his power : Yet, with fair carriage and good words, she prevail'd so far that he let her go free and return to her Country. In revenge of this injury, she forth-with rais'd War against *Banghel*, who relying upon the aid of the neighbouring *Portugals*, because he was confederate with them, and (as they say of many Royolets of *India*) Brother in Arms to the King of *Portugal*, the Queen to counterpoize that force call'd to her assistance against *Banghel*, and the *Portugals* who favour'd him, the neighbouring King *Venk-tapà Naieka*, who was already become very potent, and fear'd by all the Neighbours, and under his protection and obedience she put her self. *Venk-tapà Naieka* sent a powerful Army in favour of the Queen, took all *Banghel's* Territories and made them his own, destroying the Fort which was there ; he also made prey of divers other petty Lords thereabouts, demolishing their strength, and rendring them his Tributaries ; one of which was the Queen of *Curnat*, who

who was also confedrate with the *Portugals*, and no friend to her of *Olaza* : he came against *Mangalor*, where in a battel rashly undertaken by the *Portugals*, he defeated a great number ; and, (in short) the flower and strength of *India*, carrying the Ensigns, Arms, and Heads of the slain to *Ikkeri* in triumph. He did not take *Mangalor*, because he would not, answering the Queen of *Olaza*, who urg'd him to it ; That they could do that at any time with much facility, and that 'twas best to let those four *Portugals* remain in that small place, (which was rather a House then a Fortrefs) in respect of the Traffick and Wares which they brought to the benefit of their Countries : After which he came to a Treaty with the *Portugals*, by which he restor'd the Colours he had taken from them, and by their means *Banghel* surrendred the Fort, which *Venk-tapà*, as I said before, demolish'd ; besides other conditions which are now under consideration, according as is above-mention'd in my Relation of the Ambassie to *Ikkeri*. This was the War of *Banghel*, in which the Queen got the better of him and the *Portugals*, of which she was very proud ; yet with-all, her Protector *Venk-tapà Naieka* who is very rapacious and little faithful, sufficiently humbled her, and she got not much benefit by him, saving quiet living ; for besides his subjecting her to his obedience in a manner, she was necessitated, whether by agreement or violence I know not, to resign to him *Eerdrete*, which is the best and richest City she had, together with much Land in those Confines of *Venk-tapà*, and of the inner part of her Country, which amounted to a good part of her Dominions ; however, at present she lives and governs her Country in Peace, being respected by all her Neighbours. This Queen had an elder Son then him that now lives ; he was call'd *Cic-Rau Cianerù*, and dy'd a while since. The *Portugals* say, that she her self caus'd poyson to be given him, because the young man being grown up, and of much spirit, aspir'd to deprive her of the Government, and make himself Master : Which is possible enough : for divers other Princes in the world have procur'd the death of their own Children upon jealousy of State ; so prevalent is that cursed enormous Ambition of ruling. Yet such an impiety not being evident to me concerning the Queen, I will not wrongfully defame her, but rather believe, that the young man dy'd a natural death, and with regret to her. So neither do I believe what the *Portugals* incens'd against her further report, namely, that she hath attempted to poyson this second Son ; but it succeeded not, he being advertis'd thereof by his Nurse who was to give him the poyson ; since I see that this Son lives with her in the same place and house peaceably, which would not be, if there were any such matter : Nor can I conceive, why she should go about to extinguish all her own Issue in this manner, having now no other Heir born of her self.

December the fifth, The Queen of *Olaza*'s Son, who though he govern

X.

govern not, (for the Mother administers all alone, and will do as long as she lives) yet for honor's sake is styl'd King, and call'd *Celunà Rairù*, (of which words, *Celunà* is his proper name, and *Rairù* his title) sent for the Brachman my Interpreter in the Morning, and discoursing long with him, took a particular information of me, telling him that he understood I was much whiter then the *Portugals* who us'd to trade in that Country, and of a very good presence, and consequently, must needs be a person of quality. In conclusion, he bid him bring me to him when my conveniency serv'd; for he was very desirous to see me and speak with me. This Message being related to me, I let pass the hour of dinner, (because, having no appetite, and finding my stomach heavy, I would not dine this day) and when it seem'd a convenient time, I went (with my Interpreter) cloth'd in black after my custom; yet not with such large Breeches down to the heels, as the *Portugals* for the most part are wont to wear in *India*, in regard of the heat, (for they are very commodious, covering all the Leg, and saving the trouble of Stockins, so that the Leg is naked and loose) but with Stockins and Garters and ordinary Breeches, without a Cloak, (though us'd by the *Portugal-Souldiers* in *India*, even of greatest quality) but with a large Coat or Cassock, open at the sides, after the Country fashion. The Palace, (which may rather be call'd *Capanna Reale*, a *Royal Lodge*) is entred into by a Gate like the grate or lattice of our Vine-yards at *Rome*, ordinary enough, seated in the midst of a field, which like them is divided by a small hedge from the neighbouring fields. Within the Gate is a broad Walk or Alley, on the right side whereof is a spacious plot sown, at the end of which, the Walk turns to the right hand, and there upon the same plot stands the Royal Mansion, having a prospect over all the said great green field. In the middle of this second Walk, you enter into the House, ascending seven or eight wooden stairs, which lead into a large Porch, the length of which is equal to the whole fore-part of the House. This Porch was pav'd with Cow-dung after their manner, the walls about shining, and painted with a bad red colour much us'd by them. The fore-part of it, which is all open, is up-held by great square posts, of no great height, (for 'tis their custom to make all buildings, especially Porches, but low in respect of the breadth and length, with very broad Pent-houses; which is, I believe, by reason of the great heat of the Country, where they have more need of shadow and coolness, than of air or light. Directly opposite to the stairs in the middle of the Porch, was another small Porch, which was all the entrance into the inner part of the building. Within the little Porch was a small room long and narrow, where the King sat near the wall on the left side; and he sat upon the ground after the Eastern manner upon one of those coarse clothes, which in *Persia* and *Turkie* are call'd *Kielim*, and serve for poor people; nor was it large, but onely

only so much as to contain the Person of the King, the rest of the room being bare, saving that it was pollish'd with Cow-dung. Beside the King, but a little farther on his left hand, sat upon a little matt, sufficient only to contain him, a Youth of about fifteen or eighteen years of age, call'd *Balè Rairù*, who was his Nephew, and is to succeed him, being the Son of his deceased Sister, who was Daughter to the present Queen. The Father of this Youth was a neighbour Gentile Prince, whom they call the King of *Cumbia*, (or perhaps more correctly, *Kunbli*) call'd by his proper name *Ramò-Nàto Ari*; of which words, *Ramò-Nàto* is the proper name, and *Ari* the title. They said he was still living, though others at *Goa* told me afterwards that he was dead. But being this young *Balè Rairù* was not to succeed his Father, but had Right of Inheritance in *Olaza*, therefore he liv'd not in his Father's Country, but here at *Manèl* with his Grand-mother and his Uncle. None other sat with the King, but three or four of his more considerable servants stood in the room talking with him; and in the great Porch, without the little one, stood in files on either side other servants of inferior degree, two of which nearest the entrance ventilated the Air with fans of green Taffeta in their Hands, as if to drive away the flies from the King or the entrance; a Ceremony us'd, as I have said elsewhere by Indian Princes for Grandeur; and they told me, the green colour was a Ceremony too, and the proper badge of the King of *Olaza*, for the King of *Banghel* uses Crimson; other Princes, white, as I saw us'd by *Venk-tapà Naieka*; and others, perhaps other colours: A small company indeed, and a poor appearance for a King; which call'd to my remembrance those ancient Kings, *Latinus*, *Turnus*, and *Evander*, who, 'tis likely, were Princes of the same sort. Such as came to speak with the King, stood without in the Porch, either on one side, or in the middle of the little Porch; either because the room was very small, and not sufficient for many people; or rather, as I believe, for more State. The King was young, not above seventeen years of age, as they told me, yet his aspect spoke him elder; for he was very fat and lusty, as I could conjecture of him sitting, and besides, he had long hairs of a beard upon his cheeks, which he suffer'd to grow without cutting, though they appeared to be but the first down. Of Complexion he was dusky, not black, as his Mother is, but rather of an earthy colour, as almost all the *Malabars* use to be. He had a lower and bigger voice than Youths of his age use to have, and in his speaking, gestures, and all other things he shew'd Judgment and manly gravity. From the girdle upwards he was all naked, saving that he had a thin cloth painted with several colours cast cross his shoulders. The hair of his head was long after their manner, and ty'd in one great knot, which hung on one side wrapt up in a little plain linnen, which looks like a night-cap fallen on one side. From the girdle downwards I saw not what he wore, because he

never

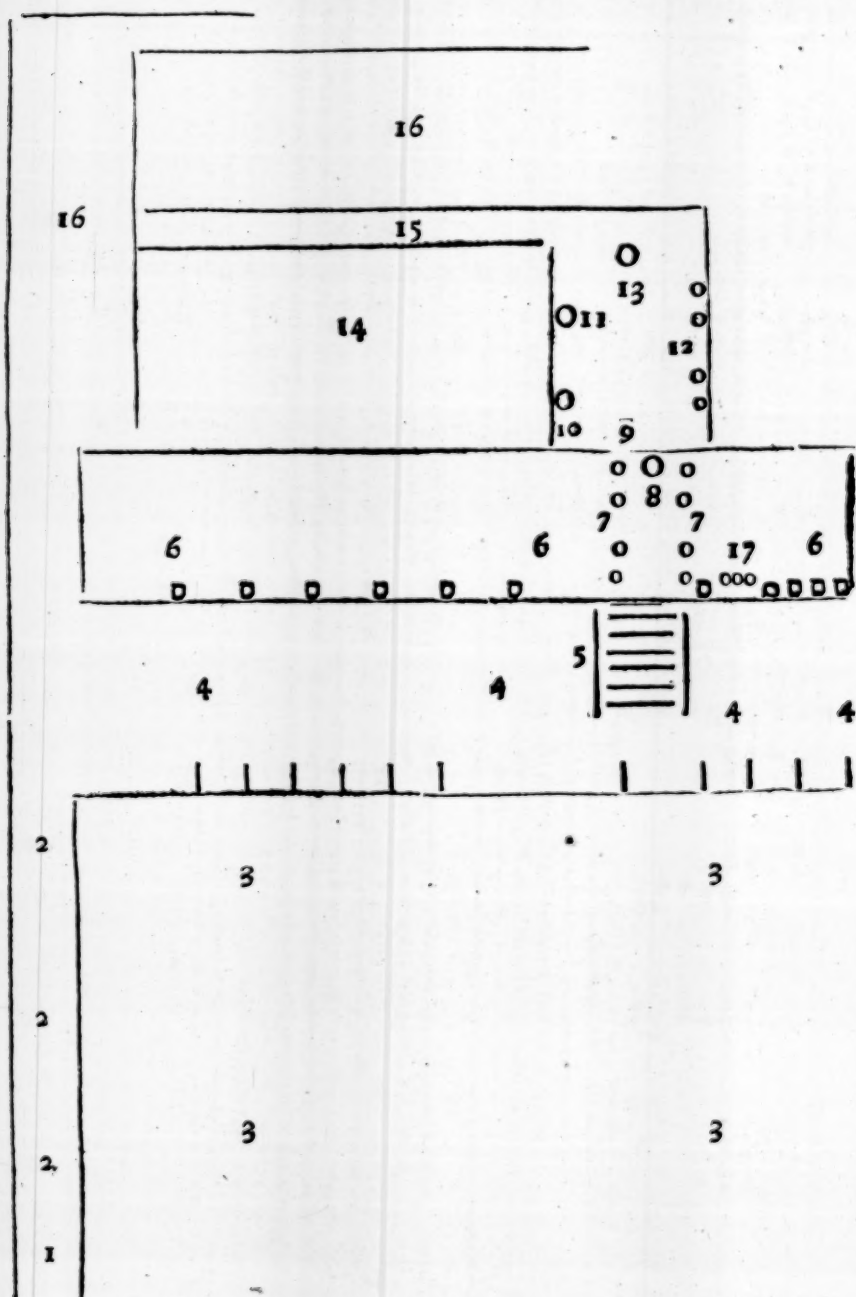
never rose from his seat, and the Chamber was something dark ; besides that, the painted cloth on his shoulders hung down very low. His Nephew who sat beside him was not naked, but clad in a whole white garment ; and his Head was wrapt up in a greater volume, white, like a little Turbant.

X :

When I came before the King, his Men made me come near to the little Porch in the midst of them, where standing by my self, after the first salutations, the King presently bid me cover my head, which I forth-with did without further intreaty ; though with the Mother, because a Lady, I was willing to super-abound in Courtesie, speaking to her all the time uncover'd : But with the Son who was a Man, I was minded to enjoy the priviledg of my descent, and receive the favour which he did me, as due to my quality. To sit upon at first they offer'd me nothing, nor was it fitting to sit down upon the bare ground : Yet to shew some difference between my self and the by-standers, after I had put on my Hat, I lean'd upon my Sword, and so talk'd as long as I was standing, which was not long ; the King, who at first sat side-wise, turning himself directly towards me, although by so doing he turn'd his back to his Nephew. He ask'd me almost all the same questions as his Mother had done ; Whence I came ? What Countries I had travell'd through ? What Princes I had seen ? Whether I had left my own Country upon any misfortune ? Or why ? How I would have done thus alone in strange Countries, in case of sickness or other accidents ? To all which I answer'd, as I had done to his Mother ; and upon my saying, that I wander'd thus alone up and down trusting in the help of God ; He ask't me, Who was my God ? I answer'd him, (pointing upwards) the God of Heaven, the Creator of the Universe ; whereupon certain Souldiers there present, (in all likelihood *Moors*) as if applauding me, said, *Ab Chodia, Chodia*, which in the Persian Tongue signifies *Lord*, and is meant of God ; inferring that I worship'd the true God, whom they *Moors* pretended to know, in opposition to the Idols of the *Gentiles* of the Country ; And they us'd the Persian word *Chodia*, because that probably the Sect of Mahomet came into these parts from *Persia*, (which is not very remote from *India*) as also from *Arabia* ; or perhaps, because the Indians of the Territory of *Idal-Sciàh* and *Dacàn*, being in great part *Moors*, use much the Persian Tongue which is spoken in the Courts of those Princes no less then their natural Language ; whence these other Indians more inwards to the South have, by reason of neighbourhood, communication both in Religion and Speech. The King told me several times that he had very great contentment in seeing me, and that no European of my quality had ever been in his Country ; that my person well shew'd of what quality I was : Nor was he mistaken herein ; for what other would ever go out of *Europe* into his Country ? unless some *Portugal* Merchantello of those who come hither for the most part to seek wood to make masts and sails for

for Ships; these Woods abounding with very goodly Trees. I told him, I was sorry I had nothing worthy to present to him; that in my Country there wanted not gallant things for his Highness; but it being so many years since my departure thence, and my Travels so far, I had nothing left as I desir'd; yet, as a memorial of my service, I should venture to give him a small trifle of my Country: Whereupon I caus'd my Interpreter, (who carried it) to offer him a little Map of the World, which I had brought with me out of *Italy*; telling him what it was, and how all the Countries, Lands, Seas, and Islands of the world were exactly delineated in it, with their Names set to each place in our Tongue, and all that was necessary to make him understand what it was. The King was hugely pleas'd with it, and desir'd to see several Countries, where they lay, and how great they were, asking me sundry questions about them; but being he understood not our Letters written therein, he satisfi'd himself with the sight onely, and with shewing it to all the by-standers as a curious and ingenious piece of Art. Then he ask'd me, whether I could eat in their Houses, or of their meats; for he desir'd to give me something to eat: I answer'd that I could, and that the purity of our Religion consist'd not in the eating or touching of things, but in doing good works. He earnestly desir'd me, that I would stay a while till some meat were prepar'd for me; for by all means he would have me eat something in his House, and himself see me eating. I told him, that if his intention were onely to give me meat, the time was already past, nor was I dispos'd to eat; but if it were to see me eat, I could not eat in that place after the fashion of my Country, not having there the preparations necessary thereunto, so that his Highness should not see what, perhaps, he desir'd; and therefore I beseech'd him to excuse me: Nevertheless he was so urgent for it, that, not to appear discourteous, I consented to obey him. And, till the meat came, the King commanded some of his Servants to conduct me to sit down by them in the Porch, where I might sit after our manner, but not in the King's sight.

Hereupon I with-drew with some of his Men to entertain me, and in the mean time the King remain'd talking with the rest of them concerning me, commending me much for several things, but above all, for a good presence, for speaking truly and discreetly, like a Gentleman, and for my civil deportment. But before I proceed further, I will here present you with a rough and unmeasur'd draught of the King's House, and the place wherein he was; so far as may suffice for the better understanding of what is already spoken, and is to follow after.



1. At the foot of this design is the Gate of the Palace.
2. The Walk leading to it, and included within the House.
3. A great plain and sown field.
4. The turning of the Walk before the House, where the short lines intersecting the outward line towards the field, represent

represent the Trees planted at equal distances and in order.

5. Seven or eight wooden Stairs leading up to the Porch.

6. The Porch of the House, in which the little squares near the outer lines are the wooden pillars which support it, and the ambient lines the walls.

7. The King's Servants standing on either side without the little Porch of the Chamber.

8. I *Pietro Della Valle*, when I first talk'd with that King, standing.

9. The Room wherein the King was.

10. The King sitting on the ground upon a little coarse Cloth.

11. The King's Nephew sitting on the ground upon a little matt.

12. The King's Servants standing.

13. I *Pietro Della Valle* sitting in the said room on the ground upon a little low Table, whilst I eat and discours'd with the King a very long time together; the place mark'd with the number 13, being that where they set the meat before me.

14. A small open Court.

15. A small mount or bank in the said Court, leading from the more inward Chambers to that where the King was.

16. Inner Chambers and Lodgings, which, what they were, I saw not; but they were of very bad earthen buildings, low, and cover'd with thatch-like Cottages, that is, with Palm-leaves; which are always to be understood when I speak of Cottages or Houses cover'd with thatch in *India*.

17. I *Pietro Della Valle* sitting between two of the King's Servants upon the side of the Porch, (after having spoken the first time with the King) entertaining me while the meat was preparing.

The meat was not long in preparing, and being now in order, the King call'd for me again to enter into the room where it stood ready; and one of the Brachmans who spoke *Portugal*, and was wont to accompany me, ask'd me, Whether it would not be more convenient for me to ungird my Sword, and put off my Cassack? I answer'd, that my Cassack gave me no trouble, nor was there occasion to lay it off; but my Sword might be laid aside, and therewith ungirding it, I gave it him to hold: which I did, the rather because all Princes being commonly suspicious, I imagin'd the King would not like my entring in with Arms; and he that goes into another's House, to visit him and do him honour, is not to disgust, but to comply with him in all points. So I enter'd without a Sword, but yet with shoes and stockings on, though with them it be unusual; for none should enter into that place but bare-foot, and the King himself is so there, according to their custom: Nor did I scruple their taxing me of uncleanness, as undoubtedly they would have done in *Turkie* and *Persia*, if I had enter'd into their rooms with shoes or slippers on, because

XII.]

there all the rooms are cover'd with Carpets, but there was not any in these of the King, onely the pavement was gloss'd with Cow-dung. Wherefore as to have put off my shoes, (besides that they are not so easily slip'd off as Pantofles, nor does it shew well) would have been an exorbitant and unnecessary humility; so to enter with them on, was to me convenient and decorous, without any lyableness to be accus'd of uncleanness, being the floore was not cover'd; if it had been so with Carpets or the like, as 'tis usual in *Turkie* and *Persia*, then, (to avoid seeming slovenly by soiling the place with my dirty shoes, and my self by sitting upon them, which indeed is not handsome) I should have caus'd my shoes to be pull'd off; for which purpose, I had accordingly caus'd a pair of slippers of our fashion to be brought along with me, in case there should have been need of them; our kind of shoes being not so easie to be put off by shaking the foot alone without the help of the hand, as those which for this end are us'd by all the Eastern people. Entering in this manner, and saluting the King as I pass'd, I went to sit down at the upper end of the Chamber, (as 'tis above describ'd) where they had prepar'd a little square board of the bigness of an ordinary stool, which might serve for a single person, but rais'd no more then four fingers above the ground; upon this I sat down, crossing my Legs, one over the other; and that little elevation help'd me to keep them out from under me, with such decency as I desir'd. Right before the seat upon the bare floor, (the Indians not using any Tables, they had spread instead of a dish, (as their custom is, especially to us Christians, with whom they will not defile their own vessels; it not being lawful for them ever to eat again in those wherein we have eaten) a great Leaf of that Tree, which the *Arabians* and *Persians* call *Mouze*; the *Portugals* in *India*, *Fichi d'India*, *Indian Fig-trees*; and upon the said leaf they had lay'd a good quantity of Rice boyl'd after their manner, onely with water and salt; but for sauce to it, there stood on one side a little vessel made of Palm-leaves, full of very good butter melted. There lay also upon another Leaf one of those Indian Figgs, clean and par'd; and hard by it a quantity of a certain red herb, commonly eaten in *India*, and call'd by the *Portugals* *Brèdo*, (which yet is the general appellation of all sort of herbs). In another place lay several fruits us'd by them, and, amongst the rest, seven of the *Bambù*, or great *Indian Cane*; all of them preserv'd in no bad manner, which they call *Acciao*; besides one sort pickled with Vinegar, as our Olives are. Bread there was none, because they use none, but the Rice is instead of it; which was no great defect to me, because I am now accustom'd to want it, and eat very little. The King very earnestly pray'd me to eat, excusing himself often that he gave me so small an entertainment on the sudden; for if he had known my coming before-hand, he would have prepar'd many *Caril*, and divers other more pleasing meats. *Caril* is a name which in *India* they give to certain Broths, made with

with Butter, the Pulp of Indian Nuts, (instead of which, in our Countries Almond Milk may be us'd, being equally good, and of the same virtue) and all sorts of Spices, particularly, Cardamoms and Ginger, (which we use but little) besides herbs, fruits, and a thousand other condiments. The Christians who eat every thing, add Flesh or Fish of all sorts, sometimes Eggs, which, without doubt, make it more savory, especially, Hens or Chickens cut in small pieces : With all which things, is made a kind of Broth, like our *Guazzetti*, or *Pottages*, and may be made many several ways ; this Broth with all the abovesaid ingredients, is afterwards poured in good quantity upon the boyled Rice, whereby is made a well-tasted mixture, of much substance and light digestion, as also of very little pains ; for it is presently boyled, and serves both for meat and bread together. I found it very good for me, and used it often, as also the *Pilão* else-where spoken of, and made of Rice boyled with butter and flesh fryed therein, besides a thousand other preparations of several sorts which are so common to every body in *Asia* ; and I account it one of the best and wholsomeest meats that can be eaten in the world, without so many Artificial Inventions as our gutlings of *Europe* (withall, procuring to themselves a thousand infirmities of Gouts, Catarrhs, and other Maladies, little known to the Orientals) daily devise to the publick damage. But to return to my Relation, the King told me, he would have given me a better entertainment, but yet desired me to receive this small extemporary one, and eat without any respect or shiness of those that were present ; for thereby he should understand that I liked it. I answer'd, that the Favour and Courtesie which his Highness shew'd me, was sufficient : But as for eating, the time being now past, I did it onely to obey him ; and so, to comply with him, although I had little will to eat, I tasted lightly here and there of those fruits and herbs, where-with my Hand was but little soiled, which upon occasion I wiped with my handkerchief, being they use no other Table-linnen, nor had laid any for me. The King seeing that I touched not the Rice, spoke to me several times to eat of it, and to powre upon it some of that butter which stood by it prepared. I did not, because I would not grease my self, there being no spoon ; for the *Indians* eat every thing with the Hand alone, and so do the *Portugals* ; I know not, whether as having learnt so to do in *India* of the *Indians* ; or, whether it be their own natural custom ; but they too, for the most part eat with the Hand alone, using no spoon, and that very ill-favouredly ; for with the same Hand, if need be, they mingle together the Rice, the Butter, the *Caril*, and all other things how greasie soever, daubing themselves up to the wrist, or rather washing their Hands in their meat before they eat it ; (a fashion indeed sufficiently coarse for people of *Europe*) : and thought at their Tables, which are handsome enough, there want not knives, spoons, and silver forks, and some few sometimes make use thereof ;

thereof ; yet the universal custom is such, that few use them, even when they lie before them. The truth is, they wash their Hands many times during one dinner, to wit, as often as they greafe them, but they wipe them not first ; for neither do they make use of napkins, whether they have any before them (as for the most part they have) or not ; but b sides the trouble of washing so often, in my judgment, there is but little neatness in washing their anointed Hand after that manner ; and, I know not, whether the washing cleanses or defiles more : I being inur'd to the neatness of *Italy*, could not conform to slovenliness : and, let them cover this barbarous custom with what pretence they please, either of military manners, or what else they think fit ; 'tis little trouble for a civil Man to carry, even in the Warr and Travels, amongst other necessary things, a spoon, knife, and fork, where-with to eat handsomely : The Turks themselves, as barbarous as they are, yet are so much observers of this, that amongst them there is not the meanest Souldier, but who, if he hath not other better convenience, at least carries his spoon ty'd to the belt of his sword. In short, the King frequently urg'd me to eat of the Rice, and I as often deny'd with several excuses ; at last he was so importunate, that I was fain to tell him, I could not eat that meat in that manner, because I had not my Instruments. The King told me, I might eat after my own way, and take what Instruments I would, which should be fetch'd from my House. I reply'd divers times, that there was no need, and that my tasting of it was enough to testify my Obedience : However, by all means he would have what was necessary fetch'd from my House. So I sent my Brachman and my Christian Servant with my key, and they, the King so enjoining, went ; and return'd in a moment, for my House was directly over against the Palace. They brought me a spoon, a silver-fork, and a clean and fine napkin, very handsomely folded in small plaits ; this I spread upon my knees which it cover'd down to my feet, and so I began to eat Rice, powring the butter upon it with a spoon ; and the other things with the fork, after a very cleanly manner, without greasing my self, or touching any thing with my Hands, as 'tis my custom. The King and all the rest admir'd these exquisite, and to them unusual, modes ; crying out with wonder *Deurnu, Deurnu*, that I was a *Deurnu*, that is, a great Man, a God, as they speak. I told the King, that to eating according to my custom, there needed much preparation of a table, linnen, plates, dishes, cups, and other things ; but I was now travelling through strange Countries, and treated my self, *alla Soldatesca*, after the Souldiers fashion, leading the life of a *Gioghi*, and consequently, had not with me such things as were necessary. The King answer'd, that it suffic'd him to see thus much, since thereby he easily imagin'd how all my other things would be ; and that, in brief, he had never seen any European like me ; and that it was a great con-

contentment to him to see me. He desir'd me several times to eat more, perceiving that I rather tasted of things to please him, than to satiate my self. He caus'd divers other Fruits pickled with Vinegar and Salt to be brought me, by a Woman who came from the inner rooms through the little Court; as also for my drink, (in a cup made likewise of Palm-leaves) a kind of warm Milk, to which they are accusom'd, and which seem'd to me very good.

XIII

Both before and after, and whilst I was eating, I had much discourse with the King, who entertain'd me sitting there above two long hours; but not remembring it all, I shall onely set down some of the most remarkable particulars. He ask'd me concerning our Countries, all the Christian Princes, with the other Moors and Pagan-Princes whom I had seen; concerning the power and Armies of each, and their Grandeur in comparison of others. On which occasion I told him, that amongst us Christians the prime Prince was the Pope my Lord, the Head of the Church, and the High-Priest, to whom all others gave Obedience; the next, was the Emperour, in dignity the first of Souldiers, or secular Princes; that the first Nation was *France*; and that for Territory and Riches, *Spain* had most of all; with many other circumstances too long to be rehearsed. Which discourse led me to tell him, as I did, that the King of *Portugal*, as they speak, that is, the King of *Spain*, so much esteem'd in *India*, pay'd Tribute to our Lord the Pope for the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he held of his Holiness in homage; for which he had a great conceit of the Pope. Amongst the Moorish Princes, I said concerning the *Moghòl*, whom he much cryed up to me, that we held him indeed for the richest in treasure, but otherwise had greater esteem of the Turk and the Persian; because though the *Moghòl* hath not an infinite number of people, and, without doubt, more then others, yet they were not people fit for war; and that *Sciàh*, amongst the rest, did not value him at all, as manifestly appear'd in the late war. Of *Sciàh Abbas*, the King profess'd to account him a great Prince, a great Souldier, and a great Captain; and I related to him, how I had been for a great while together very familiar with him, and that he had done me many favours, having me with him in divers notable occasions: whereto he answer'd, that he did not doubt it, and that, being such a person as I was, there was no Prince but would highly favour me. He ask'd me also concerning the commodities of our Countries, and of those which are brought from thence into these Oriental parts; and (being that in *India* they are accusom'd to the *Portugals*, who, how great Personages soever they be, are all Merchants, nor is it any disparagement amongst them) he ask'd me, whether I had brought from my Country any thing to bargain with all, either Pearls or Jewels, for I knew very good ones came from thence? I answer'd him, that in my Country the Nobles of my rank never practis'd
Merchandize,

Merchandize, but onely convers'd with Arms or Books, and that I addicted my self to the latter, and medled not with the former. He ask'd me, how I was supply'd with Money for my Travels, in so remote Countries? I answer'd, that I had brought some along with me, and more was sent me from time to time by my Agents, either in Bills or in ready Money, according as was most expedient in reference to the diversity of places. He ask'd me, whether I had either a Father or a Mother, Brothers or Sisters, Wife or Children, remaining by that Wife, who, I said, was pass'd to a better life? I answer'd, that I had not; whereupon he said, it was no wonder then that I pleas'd my self in wandring thus about the World, being so alone and destitute of all Kinred. And indeed, the King did not ill infer; for had any of my dearest Relations been living, as they are not, perhaps, I should not have gone from home, nor ever seen *Manel* or *Olaza*; but since 'tis God's Will to have it so, I must have patience. The King told me, that if I could procure a good Horse out of my Country, he would pay very well for it, for the Indians have none good of their own breed; and the good they have, are brought to them either from *Arabia* or *Persia*, and the *Portugals* make a Trade of carrying them thither to sell, even the greatest Persons, as Governours of places, and Captains General, not disdaining to do the same. I standing upon the point of my Italian Nobility, which allows not such things, answer'd the King; that to sell Horses was the Office of Merchants, not my profession; that I might present some good one to his Highness, there being in my Country very good ones, and would gladly do it, if it were possible. The King was much pleas'd with this Answer of mine, and said to his Men, that I spoke like a right Gentleman, plainly and truly; and did not, like many, who promise and say they will do many things, which afterwards they perform not, nor are able to do. He ask'd me concerning Saffron, which is much esteemed among them; they use it mix'd with Sanders to paint their fore-heads withall, as also for Perfumes, for Meats, and for a thousand other uses. I answer'd, that I might be able to serve his Highness, that it was a thing that might be transported; and that in my Country, there was enough, and that, if it pleas'd God I arriv'd there alive, I would send him a Present of it, with other fine things of my Country, which perhaps, would be acceptable to him. And indeed, if I arrive in *Italy*, I intend to make many Complements, with this and divers other Princes, whom I know in these parts; for by what I have seen, I may get my self a great deal of Honour amongst them with no great charge. Ever now and then, the King would talk with his Servants, and all was in commendation of me and my discreet speaking, and especially of my white complexion, which they much admired, although in *Italy* I was never counted one of the fair, and, after so many Travels, and so many sufferings both of Body and Mind, I am so changed that I

can scarce acknowledge my self an Italian any longer. He prayed me once with much earnestness and courtesie, (out of a juvenile curiosity) to unbrace one of my sleeves a little and my breast, that he might see whether my body were correspondent to my face. I laughed, and, to please him, did so: When they saw that I was whiter under my clothes (where the Air and Sun had not so much injured me) than in the face, they all remained astonished, and began to cry out again that I was a *Deurù*, that I was a Heroe, a god, and that blessed was the hour when I entered into their House, (I took my self to be *Hercules*, lodged in the Country of *Evander*) and the King being much satisfied with my courtesie, said, that he knew me to be a Noble Man by my civil compliance with his demands; that if I had been some coarser person, I would not have done so, but perhaps, have taken ill, and been offended with those their curious Questions.

As for the Ceremonies of eating, I must not omit, that after he saw that I had done eating, notwithstanding his many instances to me to eat more, he was contented that I should make an end; and because most of the meat remained untouch'd, and it was not lawful for them to touch it or keep it in the House, they caused my Christian Servant to come in and carry it all away (that he might eat it); which he did in the napkin which I had used before: for to fling it away, in regard of the discourtesie it would be to me, they judged not convenient. At length when I rose up from my seat and took leave of the King, they caused my said Servant to strew a little Cow-dung, (which they had got ready for the purpose) upon the place where I had sat, which, according to their Religion, was to be purified. In the mean time as I was taking leave of the King, he caused to be presented to me, (for they were ready prepared in the Chamber) and delivered to my Servants to carry home four *Lagne*, (so they call in *India*, especially the *Portugals*, the Indian Nuts before they be ripe, when instead of Pulp they contain a sweet refreshing water, which is drunk for delight; and if the Pulp, (for of this water it is made) be begun to be congealed, yet that little is very tender, and is eaten with much delight, and is accounted cooling; whereas when it is hard and fully congealed, the Nut remaining without water within, and in the inner part somewhat empty, that matter of the Nut which is used more for sauce than to eat alone, is, in my opinion; hot, and not of so good taste, as before when it was more tender.) Of these *Lagne* he caus'd four to be given me, besides I know not how many great bunches of *Mowl*, or *Indian Figs*, which, though a small matter, are nevertheless the delights of this Country; wherefore as such I received them, and thanking the King for them, (who also thank'd me much for my visit, testifying several times that he had had very great contentment in seeing me) at length taking my leave, I departed about an hour or little more before night.

XIV.

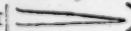
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XV.

I intended to have visited the Queen also the same time, but I understood she was gone abroad; whilst I was with her Son, to the above-mention'd place of her Works. Wherefore being desirous to make but little stay in *Manel*, both that I might dispatch as soon as possible, and withall not shew any dis-esteem of the Queen by visiting her, not onely after her Son, but also on a different day, I resolv'd to go and find her where she was, although it were late; being also perswaded so to do by that Brachman to whom I gave my Sword when I went to eat, and who sometimes waited upon the Queen; and the rather, because they told me, she was little at home, but rising at break of day, went forth-with to her Works, and there stayed till dinner; and as soon as dinner was done, return'd thither again, and remain'd there till night. By which action, I observ'd something in her of the spirit of *Sciàh Abbas* King of *Persia*, and concluded it no wonder that she hath alwayes shew'd her self like him, that is, active and vigorous in actions of war and weighty affairs. Moreover, they said that at night she was employ'd a good while in giving Audience, and doing Justice to her Subjects: so that it was better to go and speak to her there in the field while she was viewing her Work-men, then in the house. Accordingly I went, and, drawing near her saw her, standing in the field, with a few Servants about her, clad as the other time, and talking to the Labourers that were digging the Trenches. When she saw us, she sent to know wherefore I came, whether it were about any business? And the Messenger being answer'd that it was onely to visit her, brought me word again that it was late and time to go home; and therefore I should do so, and when she came home she would send for me. I did as she commanded, and return'd to my house, expecting to be call'd when she thought fit; but she call'd not for me this night, the cause whereof I attributed to her returning very late home, as I understood she did.

December the sixth, I understood the Queen was gone abroad very early to her Works before I was up, without sending for me. Wherefore desiring to dispatch, I sent the Brachman my Interpreter to her, to remember her, that I desir'd to do her Reverence, having come into her Country onely for that purpose, and to know when she pleas'd the time should be: The Brachman did the Message, and she answer'd, that I should not wonder at this delay, being she was employ'd all the day at those works; but however, she would send for me when she came home. She ask'd the Brachman many questions concerning me; and because some of her people extolled me much, and particularly, for Liberality, saying, that I had given so much for a House, so much for Hens, so much for other things; She wondring thereat, said, Do we here toil and moil so much for a *fanò*, (which is a small piece of Mony) and does he spend in this manner? The Brachman returned with this Answer, and I waited
all

all this day for the Queens sending, but in vain. In the mean while, not to lose time, I went to see a Temple at the end of the Town, standing on a high place, and ascended to by some few ill-favour'd stairs; they told me it was dedicated to *Naraina*, yet very ill built, like the rest of the Edifices, being covered with Palm-leaves for the roof; and, in short, such as suited with such a Town. Then descending down the street, which leads to the neighbouring River, I saw likewise upon another Hill a little square Chappel, which instead of walls was inclosed with pales of wood, and cover'd with a roof. My Interpreter told me, it was built by this Queen, and that there was in it an Idol dedicated to the Devil, to whom out of their fear of him, that he may do them no evil, these wretched people do reverence. I hearing of a thing so strange, though not new to my ears, said, I would go see it, that I might affirm with truth I had with my own eyes seen the Devil worship'd. The Brachman, my Interpreter, dissuaded me as much as he could, alledging that many Devils dwelt in that place, and might do me some mischief. I told him, that I was not afraid of the Devil, who had no power over me, that himself needed to fear him as little as I; and therefore I desired him to go along with me cheerfully. When he saw me resolute, he accompanied me to the foot of the Hill, and shew'd me the way; but it was not possible for me to get him further: he remained at a distance, and said he would by no means approach near that place, for he was afraid of the Devil. Wherefore I went forward alone, and said, If that Cairif the Devil could do any thing, let him hurt me: for I was his Enemy, and did not value him; and that if he did not, it was a sign he had no power. Speaking thus, and invoking the Name of Jesus, (at which Heaven, Earth, and Hell ought to bow the knee) I mounted up the Hill, and being come to the Chappel, and finding no body there, I opened the door and went in. I saw the Idol standing in the middle upon the plain ground, made of white unpolish'd stone, exceeding a humane stature, and not of that shape as we paint the Devil, but like a handsome Young Man, with a high round Diadem upon his Head after their fashion. From each Arm issu'd two Hands, one of which was stretch'd out, the other bended to the body. In the anterior right Hand, he had a kind of weapon, which, I believe, was one of those Indian Ponyards of this form (II ) of which I keep one by me: In the Interior left Hand he had a round thing, which I know not what it was, and in the other two Hands, I cannot tell what. Between the Legs was another Statue of a naked Man with a long beard, and his Hands upon the ground, as if he had been going upon them like Animals; and upon this Image the Devil seem'd to ride. On the right Hand of the Idol was a great trunk of a Tree, dead but adhering to the root, low, and seeming to be the remains of a great Tree that had grown there. I imagine that this Tree was the habitation of

the Devils, who are wont to be in this place, and to do much mischief; to remedy which the Queen founded this Chappel here, and dedicated this Idol to *Brimòr*, (which they say is the name of a great Devil, King of many thousands of Devils) who dwelt here: The same was afterwards confirm'd to me by others of the Country, all confessing that it was *Buto*, i. e. the Devil; for so they term him in their Language. When I had seen all, and spit several times in the Idol's face, I came away and return'd home, upbraiding the Brachman with his Cowardize, and telling him that he might see whether my Religion were good or no; since so powerful and fear'd a Devil could not hurt me when I went to his very house, and did him such injuries: Whereunto the Brachman knew not what to answer. Concerning Idols, they told me, at *Manèl*, that the Queen of *Olaza* and all her Family, as 'twere upon an Hereditary Account, ador'd and held for her principal God, an Idol call'd *Putià Somnàta*, which they said was the same with *Mahaden*, and which they delineated also of a round figure, like the little pillar of a Land-mark, circular at

the top after this manner , as I have else-where noted that they pourtray *Mahaden* in *Cambaia*, and the Sun in other places.

The same day, *December* the seventh, Being return'd home before noon, I took the Altitude of the Sun at *Manèl* with an Astrolabe. I found him to decline from the Zenith 35 degrees; he was this day in the fourteenth degree of *Sagittary*. His Southern Declination was 22 degrees 30'. 34". which subtracted from 35 degrees, (the Altitude which I took, leave 12 degrees 29'. 36". which is the Declination of the *Æquinoctial*, Southwards from the Zenith of *Manèl*, and also the height of the Northern Pole in that place. So that *Manèl*, where the Queen of *Olaza* now resides, lyes 12 degrees 29'. 36". distant from the *Æquinoctial* towards the North. At night, having waited all the day, and not hearing of the Queens sending for me, as she had promis'd, I thought not good to importune her further, but imagin'd she was not willing to be visited more by me. Wherefore I gave Order for a Boat to carry me back to *Mangalòr* the next day. Of the Queens not suffering her self to be visited more by me, certain Men of the Country who convers'd with me, gave sundry Reasons: Some said, the Queen imagin'd I would have given her some Present, as indeed I should, which would require a requital; but, perhaps, she had nothing fit to requite me with in these wretched places, or was loath to give: So that to avoid the shame, she thought best to decline the visit. Others said, there was no other decent place to give Audience in, but that where her Son was; and for her to come thither, did not shew well; as neither to send for me into some other unhand-some place, nor yet to give me Audience in the Street, when it

was

was no unexpected meeting but design'd, for which reason she avoided speaking with me. The Brachman, not my Interpreter, but the other who held my Sword, had a more extravagant, and (in my opinion) impertinent conceit, to wit, that there was spread such a Fame of my good presence, fairness, and handsome manner of conversation, that the Queen would not speak with me, for fear she should become enamor'd of me, and be guilty of some unbecoming action, at which I heartily laugh'd. 'Twas more probable, that she intended to avoid giving people occasion to talk of her, for conversing privately with a stranger that was of such Reputation amongst them. But let the Cause be what it will, I perceiv'd she declin'd my visit, and therefore caus'd a Boat to be provided, which (there being no other) was not row'd with Oars, but guided by two Men with Poles of Indian Cane or *Bambu*, which serv'd well enough for that shallow River.

The next day, *December* the eighth, A little before Noon, without having seen the Queen or any other, I departed from *Manèl*. In a place some-what lower, on the left bank of the River, where the Queen receives a Toll of the Wares that pass by, (which for the most part are onely Rice, which is carried out, and brought into her Country) I stay'd a while to dine. Then continuing my way, I arriv'd very late at *Adangalòr*, where the Shops being shut up, and nothing to be got, I was fain to go supperless to bed. Occasion being offer'd for sending this Letter to *Goa*, whence the Fleet will depart next *January*, I would not omit it; so that where-ever I may happen to reside, the Letter may at least arrive safe to you, whose Hands I kiss with my old Affection.

LETTER VII.

From *Goa*, January 31. 1624.

IN this my excursion and absence from *Goa*, (which was short, but the pleasantest three Moneths Travel that ever I had) besides the Royal Seats of *Ikkeri* and *Manèl*, describ'd in my last to you, I had the fortune to go as far as *Calecut*, to the other Royal Seat of *Vikirà*, call'd by his proper Title, *il Samorino*, where I have erected the Pillars of my utmost peregrination towards the South. Now in my Return, before I describe to you the Court of this *Samorino* and his Princesses, following the Order of my Journeys, I shall first inform you of my going to the famous Hermitage of *Cadur*, and visiting of *Batniato*, call'd King of the *Gioghi*, who lives at this day in his narrow limits of that Hermitage, impoverish'd by *Venk-tapà Naieka*.

December the tenth, Being yet in *Adangalòr*, I took the Altitude

tude of the Sun, whom I found to decline from the Zenith 35 degrees and 20 minutes. He was now in the 18 degree of *Sagittary*, and declin'd towards the South 22 degrees 55'. 28". which, detracted from the 35 degrees 20'. wherein I found him, there remain 12 degrees 24'. 33". and so far is *Mangalòr* distant from the *Æquinoctial* towards the North, and hath the Northern Pole so much elevated. At this time the heat at *Mangalòr* is such as it is at *Rome* in the moneth of *June*, or the end of *August*.

December the eleventh, I went in the Morning about half a League from *Mangalòr* to see the Hermitage, where lives and reigns the Archimandrita of the Indian *Gioghi*, whom the *Portugals* (usually liberal of the Royal Title) style King of the *Gioghi*, perhaps because the Indians tearm him so in their Language; and in effect he is Lord of a little circuit of Land, wherein, besides the Hermitage and the habitations of the *Gioghi* are some few Houses of the Country people, and a few very small Villages subject to his Government. The Hermitage stands on the side of a Hill, in this manner.

II.

On the edge of the Plain, where the ascent of the Hill begins, is a great Cistern or Lake, from which ascending a pair of stairs, with the face turn'd towards the North, you enter into a Gate, which hath a cover'd Porch, and is the first of the whole inclosure, which is surrounded with a wall and a ditch like a Fort. Being enter'd the said Gate, and going strait forward through a handsome broad Walk, best on either side with sundry fruit-trees, you come to another Gate, where there are stairs and a Porch higher then the former. This opens into a square Piazza or great Court, in the middle whereof stands a Temple of indifferent greatness, and for Architecture like the other Temples of the Indian-Gentiles; onely the Front looks towards the East, where the Hill riseth higher, and the South side of the Temple stands towards that Gate which leads into the Court. Behind the Temple, on the side of the Court, is a kind of Shed or Pent-house with a Charriot in it, which serves to carry the Idol in Procession upon certain Festivals. Also in two or three other places of the side of the Court, there are little square Chappels for other Idols. On the North side of the Court is another Gate opposite to the former, by which going out and ascending some few steps, you see a great Cistern or Lake of a long form, built about with black stone, and stairs leading down to the surface of the water; in one place next the wall 'tis divided into many little Cisterns, and it serves for the Ministers of the Temple to wash themselves in, and to perform their Ceremonies. The Gate of the Temple, as I said, looks Eastward, where the Hill begins to rise very high and steep. From the Front of the Temple to the top of the Hill, are long and broad stairs of the same black stone which lead up to it, and there the place is afterwards plain. Where the stairs begin, stands a high, strait, and round brazen Pillar, ty'd about in several

veral places with little fillers; 'tis about 60 Palms high, and one and a half thick from the bottom to the top, with little diminution. On this Pillar are plac'd about seventeen round brazen wheels, made with many spokes round about like stars: they are to support the lights in great Festivals, and are distant about three Palms one from another. The top terminates in a great brazen Candlestick of five branches; of which the middlemost is highest, the other four of equal height. The foot of the Pillar is square, and hath an Idol engraven on each side; the whole Engine is, or at least seems, all of a piece. The Temple, to wit, the inner part where the Idol stands, is likewise all cover'd with brass: They told me, the walls of the whole Inclosure, which are now cover'd with leavs, were sometimes cover'd with large plates of brass; but that *Venk-tapâ Naieka* carry'd the same away, when in the war of *Mangalôr* his Army pillag'd all these Countries; which whether it be true or no, I know not. The walls of a less Inclosure (wherein according to their custom the Temple stands) are also surrounded on the outside with eleven wooden rails up to the top, distant one above another little more than an Architectical Palm; these also serve to bear Lights in Festival occasions; which must needs make a brave Shew, the Temple thereby appearing as if it were all on fire. This Temple is dedicated to an Idol call'd *Moginâto*; of what form it is I know not, because they would not suffer us to enter in to see it.

Having view'd the Temple, I ascended the Hill by the stairs, and passing a good way forward on the top thereof, came to the habitations of the *Gioghi* and their King; the place is a Plain, and planted with many Trees, under which are rais'd many very great stone-pavements a little height above the ground, for them to sit upon in the shadow. There are an infinite number of little square Chappels with several Idols in them, and some places cover'd over head, but open round about, for the *Gioghi* to entertain themselves in. And lastly, there is the King's House, which is very low built; I saw nothing of it, (and believe there is nothing more) but a small Porch, with walls round about colour'd with red, and painted with Elephants and other Animals: Besides, in one place a wooden thing like a little square bed, somewhat rais'd from the ground, and cover'd with a Cloth like a Tent; they told me it was the place where the King us'd to reside, and perhaps also to sleep. The King was not here now, but was gone to a Shed or Cottage in a great plain field, to see something, I know not what, done. The Soil is very good, and kept in tillage; where it is not plain, by reason of the steepness of the Hill, 'tis planted with high goodly Trees, most of which bear fruit: And indeed, for a Hermitage so ill kept by people that know not, or cannot make it delightful, it seem'd to me sufficiently handsome. I believe, it was built by the Kings of *Banghel* whilst they flourish'd, for it lyes in their Territory,

and

III.

and that the place and the Seignory thereof was by them given to the *Gioghi*; who, as they have no Wives, so the Dominion of this Hermitage and the adjacent Land, goes not by Inheritance but by Elective Succession. I thought to find abundance of *Gioghi* here, as in our Covents, but I saw not above one or two; and they told me, they resort not together, but remain dispers'd here and there as they list, abide in several places in Temples where they please, nor are subject to their King in point of Obedience, as ours are to their Superior, but onely do him Reverence and Honour; and at certain solemn times great numbers of them assemble here, to whom during their stay, the King supplies Victuals. In the Hermitage live many Servants of his and Labourers of the Earth, who till these Lands, whereby he gets Provision. They told me, that what he possesses within and without the Hermitage, yields him about five or six thousand Pagods yearly, the greatest part whereof he expends in Feasts, and the rest in diet, and in what is needful for the ordinary service of the Temple, and his Idols; and that *Venk-tapà Naieka* had not yet taken Tribute of him, but 'twas feared he would hereafter.

IV.

At length I went to see the King of the *Gioghi*, and found him employed in his business after a mean sort, like a Peasant or Villager. He was an old man with a long white beard, but strong and lusty; in either ear hung two little beads, which seemed to be of Gold, I know not whether empty or full, about the bigness of a Musket-bullet; the holes of his ears were large, and the tips much stretched by the weight; on his head he had a little red bonnet, such as our Galley-slaves wear, which caps are brought out of *Europe* to be sold in *India* with good profit. From the girdle upwards he was naked, onely he had a piece of Cotton wrought with Lozenges of several colours cross his shoulders; he was not very low, and, for an Indian, of colour rather white then otherwise. He seemed a man of judgement, but upon tryal in sundry things, I found him not learned. He told me, that formerly he had Horses, Elephants, Palanchinoes, and a great equipage and power before, *Venk-tapà Naieka* took away all from him, so that now he had very little left. That within twenty dayes after, there was to be a great Feast in that place, to which many *Gioghi* would repair from several parts; that it would be worth my seeing, and that I should meet one that could speak *Arabick* and *Persian*, and was very learned, who could give me satisfaction of many things; and extolling the qualities of this *Giogho*, he told me that he had a very great Head (to signifie the greatness of which, he made a great circle with his arms) to wit, of hair, ruffled and long, and which had neither been cut nor combed a great while. I asked him to give me his Name in writing, for my Memory; since I was come to see him. He answer'd me, 'as the Orientals for the most part do to such curious demands) To what purpose was it? and, in fine, he would not give it me; but I perceiv'd 'twas through a vain and ignorant fear, that

that it might be of some mischief to him. Nevertheless at my going away, I was told by others that he is call'd *Batniato*; and that the Hermitage and all the adjacent places is call'd *Cadira*.

Having ended my discourse with the King, I came away, and, at the foot of the Hill, without the first gate of the Hermitage, rested to dine, till the heat were over, in the House or Cottage of one of the Peasants, (there being a small Village there) whose Wife set before us Rice, Caril, and Fish, which themselves also eat, being of a Race allow'd so to do. When the heat was past, I return'd fair and softly, as I went, to *Mangalor*; and arriv'd at home a good while before night.

V.

December the eighteenth, I prepar'd my self to go to *Carnate* to see that Queen; whose Territory and City is, as I have said else-where, two or three Leagues distant from *Mangalor*, upon the Sea-coast towards the North. The City stands upon a River which encompasses it, and over-flows the Country round about, it was wont to be very strong both by Art and situation; but during the war of *Mangalor*, *Venk-tapà Naieka* coming with a great Army to subdue and pillage all these Countries, sent for this Queen to come and yield Obedience to him. The Queen, who, as I have heard, is a Lady of much Virtue and Prudence; being unwilling to render her self to *Venk-tapà*, summoned her Captains together, told them, that she was ready to spend and give them all the Money and Jewels she had, and not to be wanting on her part to her utmost power, if they would prepare themselves to defend the State: But these Ministers, either through Cowardize or Treachery, would not attempt a defence: Whereupon the poor Queen, who as a Woman could do little by her self, (her Son also being very young) seeing her people disheartned, resolv'd by their advice to surrender her self to *Venk-tapà Naieka*; and accordingly prepar'd to go to him with a good Guard of Souldiers. Which he hearing, sent to her to come alone without other company then her Attendants; which she did, not voluntarily, but constrain'd thereto by her hard Fortune, and the little Faith of others. *Venk-tapà* receiv'd her honourably, and took her into his Friendship and Protection; but withall he caus'd the City to be dismantled of the strong walls it had, to prevent her rebelling against him afterwards, and left her, as before, the Government of the State, tying her onely to Obedience, the payment of a Tribute, and the professing of a noble Vassallage to him. When they dismantled the City, the Queen (they say) unable to endure the sight, retir'd into a solitary place a little distant, cursing in those her solitudes the Pusillanimity and Infidelity of her own people, no less then the unfortunateness and weakness of the *Portugals* her defenders, to whom she had been always a faithful Friend. At this time she lives with her young Son, either in *Carnate*, or some other place thereabouts.

VI.

Being mov'd by the Fame of this Queens Virtue, I was desirous to go and do her Reverence ; for which purpose I had gotten a Palanchino ready, and Men to carry me thither. But in the Morning of the above-said day, there put in to *Mangalor* a Fleet of *Portugal* Ships, which they call *l' armata del Canarà*, because it coasts along the ruines of the Province *Canarà* ; or else *l' armata della Colletta*, for that it is maintain'd with the Money of a New Impost lay'd upon, and collected by the *Portugals* in their Indian Plantations. The General of this Fleet was Sig: *Luis de Mendoza*, a principal Cavalier or *Fridalgo*, (as they speak) young, but of very good parts. The Captain of one of the Ships was Sig: *Ayres de Siqueira Baraccio*, formerly my Friend at *Goa*, whom I expected that I might return thither in his Ship. Whereupon hearing of his Arrival, I went to seek him, and finding him already landed, I understood by him that this Fleet was to go to *Calecut*, in order to carry thither two Men of *Samorì* King of *Calecut*, (*Samorì* is a Title given to all those Kings, like our Emperour or *Cesar*) which Men he had a little before sent to *Goa* in the same Fleet, in another Voyage which it had made upon those Coasts, to try the Vice-Roy about a Peace ; (for he had been many years, if not at War, yet at enmity with the *Portugals*) saying, that if the Vice-Roy inclin'd to Peace, he would afterwards send Ambassadors with more solemnity, and treat of Articles. Now these Men were returning to *Calecut* with the Vice-Roy's Answer ; and, as Sig: *Ayres* said, the Fleet would depart from *Mangalor* the same night, yet would return very shortly, because the General had Orders not to stay at *Calecut* above four and twenty hours, onely till he had landed these Men, and understood what Resolution the *Samorì* gave in Answer, without giving him more time to think thereupon. That in their return the Fleet would touch at *Mangalor*, and all the other Ports of that Coast, to take with them the Merchants Ships laden with Rice, (which were now prepar'd, or a preparing) and convoy them according to their custom to *Goa*, where, by reason of scarcity of provision, they were much desir'd. Hearing this News, I was loath to lose the opportunity of seeing *Calecut*, (the King whereof is one of the most famous among the Gentile Princes of *India*, and is likely to be at Peace but a little while with the *Portugals*) and therefore resolved to go aboard the Ship of Sig: *Ayres* the same day, putting off my Journey to *Car-nate*, whither I had hopes to go at my return. Accordingly dismissing the Palanchino, and the Men that were to carry me, together with the Servant I had taken at *Barselòr*, (because he was not willing to go further with me), I went aboard alone without any Servant, assuring my self I could not want attendance, and what-ever else was needful in the Ship ; wherein I found Sig: *Manoel Leyton*, Son of Sig: *Gio: Fernandez Leyton*, embark'd as a Souldier (which course of life he was now first enter'd upon), besides many other eminent Souldiers, who were after-

afterwards very friendly to me, and with whom I spent many days in good conversation.

December the nineteenth, We departed from *Mangalor*, and went formost of all, because our Ship was Captain of the Vanguard. This day we pass'd by a high Hill discover'd within Land, call'd *Monte Deli*; and the next day, (*December* the twentieth) by another, call'd *Monte Fermofo*. At night, we anchor'd under *Cananor*, but enter'd not the Port, having sail'd from *Mangalor* hither always Southwards eighteen Leagues.

VII.

December the one and twentieth, Once in the Morning, and once in the Evening, we met with *Paroes*, which are very light Ships of the *Malabar* Rovers, of whom this Coast was full; for at *Mangalor* ends the Province of *Canarà*, and that of *Malabar* begins: We made ready our Arms both times to fight them, but they fled from us, and recover'd the mouths of the Rivers, whereof that Coast is full, where by reason it was their own Territory, and well guarded in those narrow and difficult places, we could not pursue them to take them; onely we discharg'd some Guns against them at distance to no purpose, which were answer'd from that Land with the like; we might easily have attempted, if not to take that which we saw in the Evening, yet at least to shatter it a far off with our Cannon, if the General had not had regard to the Land they recover'd, which belong'd to the *Samorì*, to whom upon account of the Peace in agitation, he was willing to have respect. At night we came to Anchor under *Calecut*, which is twelve Leagues Southwards beyond *Cananor*.

December the two and twentieth, Early in the Morning the *Samorì's* two Men landed at *Calecut*, and with them a *Portugal* common Souldier, but well clad and attended, whom the General sent to the King with the Vice-Roy's Answer, which was; That the Vice-Roy was contented to treat of a Peace, and would gladly conclude it; but on condition that the *Samorì* made Peace too with the King of *Cocin*, the *Portugals* Confederate, whom it was not fit to leave out of the said Peace; and the rather, because the greatest differences between the *Portugals* and the *Samorì* were touching the King of *Cocin*, whom the *Portugals* justly defended as their faithful Friend; and had always, to the dammage of the *Samorì*, his perpetual Adversary, much supported; That if the *Samorì* were contented to make Peace with both, he should send his Ambassadors to *Goa* with power to treat of the conditions, and they should be receiv'd very well. Within a short time the *Portugal* return'd to the Fleet; for the City of *Calecut* stands upon the shore, and the *Samorì's* Royal Palace is not far off: And together with the *Portugal*, the *Samorì* sent to the General a *Portugal* Boy, eight or ten years old, call'd *Cicco*, who in certain Revolutions of *Cananor*, had been taken Prisoner, and was brought up in his Court; he sent him well cloth'd, and accompany'd not onely with many persons,

but also with Pipes and Drums, that he might visit the General in his Name, and give him a Present of Refreshments to eat, namely, Indian Figgs, *Lagne*, and other fruits. His Answer to the business was, that the Peace should be first made between himself and the *Portugals*, and afterwards the Interests of the King of *Cocin* should be taken into consideration; withall, desiring the General that he would vouchsafe to stay a while till he had better advis'd with his Ministers, and deliberated about sending Ambassadors to *Goa* in the same Fleet; with other Reasons, which were judg'd rather excuses to put off the time, and hold the *Portugals* in a Treaty of Peace, till some very rich Ships of his which he expected from *Meccha* were return'd, lest the *Portugals* should molest them at Sea; than real intentions for a Peace, especially with the King of *Cocin*, with whom he hath long and intricate discords, not so easily to be terminated. The *Portugals* also demanded, that the *Samorì* would remove a Garrison which he had plac'd in certain Confines, where they for their own security, and the defence of the King of *Cocin*, were fain to keep a Fort continually, with a great Garrison and at much expence: And because he shew'd not much inclination thereunto, it was not without cause judg'd that his Treaties were Artifices, to hold the *Portugals* in suspense; wherefore the General sent him word, That he had express Order from the Vice-Roy not to stay longer at *Calecut* then twenty four hours, and so long he would stay: If within that time the *Samorì* took a Resolution sutable to the Vice-Roy's Propositions, he would carry his Ambassador with a good will; otherwise, he intended to depart the next night, all the intermediate day being allow'd his Highness to determine. With this Reply he re-manded the young Child *Cicco*, honor'd with some small Presents, and the other Men that came with him, without sending any of his *Portugals* on purpose, or going ashore to refresh himself and visit the *Samorì*, as he was by him invited; the Vice-Roy having given him secret Instruction not to trust him too far, because these Kings *Samorì* had never been very faithful towards the *Portugals*. Nevertheless the General forbade not any Souldiers to land that were so minded, so that many of them went ashore, some to walk up and down, some to buy things, and some to do other business; as also many people came to the Fleet in little boats, partly, to sell things, and partly, out of curiosity to see the *Portugals*, who in regard of their almost continual enmity with the *Samorì*, seldom us'd to be seen in *Calecut*.

VIII.

The same day, (*December* the two and twentieth) whilst we were aboard in the Port of *Calecut*, I took the Sun's Altitude with my Astrolabe, and found him to decline at Noon from the Zenith 34 degrees and 50 minutes.* The Sun was this day in the thirtieth degree of *Sagittary*; whence according to my Canon of Declination, which I had from *F. Frà Paolo Maria Cittadini*, he declin'd from the *Æquinoctial* towards the South 23 degrees and

and 28 minutes, which according to that Canon is the greatest Declination; if it be not really so, the little that is wanting may be allowed for the anticipation of four hours, if not more, that the Noon-tide falls sooner at *Calecut* than in any other Meridian of *Europe*, according to which my Canon of Declination shall be calculated; so that if from the 34 degrees 50 minutes in which I found the Sun, you substract the 23 degrees 28'. which I presuppose him to decline from the *Æquinoctial* towards the South, the remainder is 11 degrees 22'. and so much is the Elevation of the North Pole in this place; and consequently, the City of *Calecut* lyes 11 degrees 22'. distant from the *Æquinoctial* towards the North. After dinner, I landed also with the Captain of my Ship, and some other Souldiers; we went to see the *Bazar*, which is near the shore; the Houses, or rather Cottages are built of Earth and Palm-leav's; being very low; the Streets also are very narrow, but indifferently long; the Market was full of all sorts of provision, and other things necessary to the livelihood of that people, conformable to their Custom; for as for Clothing, they need little, both Men and Women going quite naked, saving that they have a piece either of Cotton or Silk hanging down from the girdle to the knees, and covering their shame; the better sort are wont to wear it either all blew, or white strip'd with Azure, or Azure and some other colour; a dark blew being most esteem'd amongst them. Moreover, both Men and Women wear their hair long, and ty'd about the head; the Women, with a lock hanging on one side under the ear becomingly enough, as almost all Indian-Women do; the dressing of whose head, is, in my opinion, the gallantest that I have seen in any other Nation: The Men have a lock hanging down from the crown of the head, sometimes a little inclin'd on one side; some of them use a small colour'd head-band, but the Women use none at all. Both sexes have their arms full of bracelets, their ears of pendants, and their necks of jewels; the Men commonly go with their naked Swords and Bucklers, or other Arms in their hands, as I said of those of *Balagate*.

The Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Calecut*, and the In-land parts, especially the better sort, are all Gentiles, of the Race *Nairi* for the most part, by profession Souldiers, sufficiently swashing and brave: But the Sea-coasts are full of *Malabari*, an adventitious people, though of long standing; for *Marco Polo* who writ four hundred years since, makes mention of them; they live confusedly with the Pagans, and speak the same Language, but yet are Mahometans in Religion. From them, all that Country for a long tract together is call'd *Malabar*, famous in *India* for the continual Robberies committed at Sea by the *Malabar* Thieves; whence in the *Bazar* of *Calecut*, besides the things above-mention'd, we saw sold good store of the *Portugals* commodities, as Swords, Arms, Books, Clothes of *Goa*, and the like Merchandizes taken from *Portugal* Vessels

IX.

at

at Sea; which things, because stollen, and in regard of the Excommunication which lyes upon us in that case, are not bought by our Christians. Having seen the *Bazar*, and stay'd there till it was late, we were minded to see the more inward and noble parts of the City, and the out-side of the King's Palace; for to see the King at that hour we had no intention, nor did we come prepar'd for it, but were in the same garb which we wore in the Ship. Accordingly we walk'd a good way towards the Palace, for the City is great, and we found it to consist of plots beset with abundance of high Trees, amongst the boughs whereof, a great many of wild Monkeys; and within these close Groves, stand the Houses, for the most part at a distance from the common Ways or Streets; they appear but little, few of their out-sides being seen, besides the low walls made of a black stone surrounding these plots, and dividing them from the Streets, which are much better than those of the *Bazar*, but without any ornament of Windows; so that he that walks through the City, may think that he is rather in the midst of uninhabited Gardens, than of an inhabited City: Nevertheless it is well peopled, and hath many Inhabitants, whose being contented with narrow buildings, is the cause that it appears but small. As we walked in this manner, we met one of those Men who had been at *Goa* with the Vice-Roy; and because he saw us many together, and imagin'd there was some person of quality amongst us, or because he knew our General, he invited us to go with him to his King's Palace; and going before us as our guide, conducted us thither. He also sent one before to advertise the King of our coming, and told us, we must by all means go to see him, because his Highness was desirous to see us and talk with us: Wherefore, not to appear discourteous, we were constrain'd to consent to his Request, notwithstanding the unexpectedness of, and our unpreparedness for, the visit.

- X. The first and principal Gate of the Palace opens upon a little Piazza, which is beset with certain very great Trees, affording a delightful shadow. I saw no Guard before it, it was great and open; but before it, was a row of Balisters, about four or five foot from the ground, which serv'd to keep out not onely Horses and other Animals, but also Men upon occasion. In the middle was a little pair of Stairs without the Gate leading into it, and another within on the other side. Yet, I believe, both the Stairs and the Balisters are moveable, because 'tis likely that when the King comes forth, the Gate is clearly open; otherwise it would not be handsome, but this is onely my conjecture. We enter'd this Gate, ascending the Stairs upon the Rails, where we were met by the Messenger whom the above-said person had sent to the King, and who again invited us into the Palace by the King's Order. Within the Gate we found a great Court, of a long form, without any just and proportionate figure of Architecture; on the sides, were many lodgings in several places, and
in

in the middle, were planted divers great Trees for shadow : The King's chief apartment, and (as I believe, by what I shall mention hereafter) where his Women were, was at the end of the Court, opposite to the left side of the Entrance. The Edifice, in comparison of ours, was of little consideration ; but, according to their mode, both for greatness and appearance, capable of a Royal Family. It had a cover'd porch in that form, as all their structures have, and within that was a door of no great largeness leading into the House. Here we found *Cicco* the Portugal youth, become an Indian in Habit and Language, but, as himself told us, and as his Portugal Name, which he still retain'd among the *Gentiles*, demonstrated, no Renegado but a Christian ; which I rather believe, because indeed the Indian-Gentiles admit not, nor care to admit other strangers to their Religion, as I have elsewhere noted ; for conjoyning so inseparately, as they do, their Religion to the Descents or Races of Men, as a Man can never be of other Race than what he was born of ; so they also think that he neither can nor ought to be of any other Religion, although in Habit, Language, and Customs, he accommodate himself to the people with whom he lives. With the said *Cicco* we found many other of the King's Courtiers who waited for us, and here we convers'd with them a good while before the Gate, expecting a new Message from the King, who, they told us, was now bathing himself, according to their custom, after supper. Nor was it long before Order came from the King for us to enter, and accordingly we were introduc'd into that second Gate ; and passing by a close room like a chamber, (in which I saw the Image of *Brahma* upon his Peacock, and other Idolets) we enter'd into a little open Court, surrounded with two rows of narrow and low Cloysters, to wit, one level with the ground, and the other somewhat higher. The pavement of the porch was also something rais'd above the plane of the Court, so much as might serve for a Man to sit after our manner. The King was not in this small Court, but they told us we must attend him here, and he would come presently : Whereupon we betook our selves to sit down upon that rais'd pavement of the porch, the Courtiers standing round about us ; amongst which, the Portugal *Cicco*, and another Indian Man, (who, as they said, was a Christian, and being sometimes a slave to the Portugals, had fled hither for Liberty, and was entertain'd in the King's Guard) serv'd us for Interpreters ; but not well, because the Man spoke not the Portugal Tongue so much as tolerably, and *Cicco* having been taken when he was very young, remembred but little of his own Language.

No sooner were we seated in this place, but two Girls about twelve years old enter'd at the same Gate whereat we came in ; they were all naked, (as, I said above, the Women generally go) saving that they had a very small blew cloth wrap'd about their immodesties, and their Arms, Ears, and Necks, were full of ornaments

naments of Gold and very rich Jewels. Their colour was somewhat swarthy, as all these Nations are, but in respect of others of the same Country, clear enough; and their shape no less proportionable and comely, than their aspect was handsome and well-favour'd. They were both the Daughters, as they told us, of the Queen, that is, not of the King but of his Sister, who is styl'd, and in effect is, Queen; for these *Gentiles* using to derive the descent and inheritance by the line of the Women, though the Government is allow'd to Men, as more fit for it, and he that governes is call'd King; yet the King's Sister, and, amongst them, (if there be more then one) she to whom, by reason of Age, or for other respects it belongs, is call'd, and properly is Queen, and not any Wife or Concubine of the King, who ha's many. So also when the King, (who governes upon the account of being Son of the Queen-Mother) happens to dye, his own Sons succeed him not, (because they are not the Sons of the Queen) but the Sons of his Sister; or in defect of such, those of the nearest Kinf-women by the same Female line: So that these two Girls, whom I call the Nieces of the *Samorì*, were right Princesses or Infantaes of the Kingdom of *Calecut*. Upon their entrance where we were, all the Courtiers present shew'd great Reverence to them; and we, understanding who they were, arose from our seat, and having saluted them, stood all the time afterwards before them bare-headed. For want of Language we spoke not to them, because the above-said Indian-slave was retir'd at a distance upon their coming, giving place to other more noble Courtiers: And *Cicco* stood so demurely by us, that he durst not lift up his eyes to behold them, much less speak; having already learnt the Court-fashions and good manners of the place. Nevertheless they talk'd much together concerning us, as they stood, and we also of them, and all sinil'd without understanding one another. One of them being more forward could not contain, but approaching gently towards me, almost touch'd the Sleeve of my Coat with her hand, making a sign of wonder to her Sister, how we could go so wrap'd up and intangled in clothes as we seem'd to her to be: Such is the power of Custom, that their going naked seem'd no more strange to us, than our being cloth'd appear'd extravagant to them. After a short space the King came in at the same door, accompany'd with many others. He was a young Man of thirty or five and thirty years of Age, to my thinking; of a large bulk of body, sufficiently fair for an Indian, and of a handsome presence. He is call'd (as a principal Courtier, whom I afterwards ask'd, told me) by the proper name of *Vikirà*. His Beard was somewhat long, and equally round about his Face; he was naked, having onely a piece of fine changeable cotten cloth, blew and white, hanging from the girdle to the middle of the Leg. He had divers bracelets on his Arms, pendants at his Ears, and other ornaments with many Jewels and rubies of value. In his Hand he carry'd a painted staff,

staff, (if it were not an Indian Cane) like a Shep-herd's staff, upon which fix'd in the earth, just as Shep-herds are represented in our Comedies, he stood leaning for a while. When he was saluted by us, he receiv'd us smiling, and with much courtesie; and whilst his two Nieces stood by him leaning against a high banck to sit upon, we stood orderly in the Court just before the King; and the whole Court and the Porches being full of other Courtiers who came in, partly, with the King, and partly, by some other little entrances. I will not omit the manner how those that entred saluted the King; for I saw more then one do it, and particularly, a Youth who enter'd a good while after the King by one of those little Gates; to whom in particular the King spake much, and of whom he seemed to make great account. In his salutation he advanced his joyned Hands over his Head, then parting them a little, so extended and exalted, he smote them lightly together twice or thrice, to wit, the palm of one Hand with the four longest Fingers of the other joyned together; which whole action he repeated twice or thrice. Such as had weapons, lifted up their joyned Hands above their Heads, with their Swords, Ponyards, Bucklers, or other Arms in them; and instead of striking with their Fingers, as by reason of their Arms they could not, they bowed down their Hands so conjoyned, and made the points of their Swords touch the ground. No less full were the higher Cloysters round about of Women, who stood there to behold us; amongst whom stood apart in the most eminent place the Queen, Sister to the King, a Woman of ripe Age, cloth'd in blew Cotton as to her lower parts, and abundantly adorn'd with Jewels.

The King desiring to talk with us, caused the youth *Cicco* to draw near, and afterwards called for the Indian Slave above-mentioned; because *Cicco*, either out of excessive Reverence, or for that he had forgotten the *Portugal*-Tongue, durst not undertake to interpret. He asked our Captain who he was, and how called? The Captain would not confess himself Captain of a Ship, and so become known, but counterfeiting another Name, said, he was a private Souldier, and Companion to the rest of us; which the King seemed not to believe. He enquired likewise concerning the other Souldiers present; and above all, very particularly concerning me, pointing at the pendant which I wore in my Ear, almost like their Custom of *India*, and looking upon me for it with some wonder, as a thing which he knew not-usual among the *Portugals*; whereupon I told him who I was, to wit, of what Country, and something I said briefly concerning the curiosity of my Travells; that I had run through so many Countries onely to see the world, and was at length come to his Court, being no *Portugal*, but of *Rome*, a different and remote Nation from *Portugal*; with all which he seem'd well pleas'd. He bid us several times put on our Hats; but our Captain, whose example 'twas fit for us to follow, being resolv'd not to make

XII.

himself known, not onely would not do it, but refus'd it both by gestures and words, which I liked not well; for shaking his Head and smiling, he answer'd that he would not, that they should not cause him to commit that false Latine, what ever else he did; that indeed it was not a thing to be jeasted in, with other such gallantries; he conceiving, as I believe, that herein consisted all the punctuality of this Audience on his part: So that none of the rest of us cover'd himself; but it would not have been ill done, if the favour had been with better Answers then by saying, as the Captain did twice or thrice, (with greater Courtship, as he thought) that it was hot, and therefore he would not put on his Hat, which his smiling betray'd to be but an excuse; though he conceiv'd he thereby shew'd himself an excellent Courtier. Then the King began to speak to our Captain, (whom he well perceiv'd to be the Chief of the company) concerning the Peace; yet saying no more then what he had signifi'd to our General, and desiring him to perswade the General not to depart so soon from *Calecut*, but to stay till he had consulted better with his Ministers, and had time to give a better and more determinate Resolution. The Captain answer'd cunningly, that these matters did not belong to him, who was a private Souldier, and was come thither onely to see the City and the Palace, whither he had been unexpectedly invited by his Highness; that as to the Peace, it was to be treated of with the General, who had already answered his Highness as far as he could, according to the Orders given him by the Vice-Roy; nevertheless that in Obedience to his Highness, he would deliver this Message to him in the Evening. The King saw that a Souldier of ours had one of those Harquebuzes, which the *Portugals* call *Baccamarti*, which are very short, of a large bore, and with a Fire-lock after the English-fashion. He asked to have it brought to him to look upon; whereupon a Courtier taking it out of the Souldier's Hand reach'd it to the King, not giving it into his Hand, (for 'tis not lawful for them to touch a thing at the same time with the King) but (because it would neither have been handsome to have lay'd it down on the ground for the King to take it up) therefore he took this course; He set the but-end of the Harquebuz upon the ground at a little distance from the King, and then giving the bore-end a gentle cast from himself, made it fall into the Hands of the King, who held them ready for that purpose. The King taking the Harquebuz in his Hand, presently shook the powder out of the pan upon the ground, lest any disaster should befall him, (for he perceived it was charged) then lifting it up to his Eye, he looked through the sight, shewing thereby that he was a good markes-man, as they told us afterwards he was. He look'd much upon the Fire-lock as a thing unknown to them, for their Guns have onely match; and being he seem'd much taken with this piece, I told the Captain it would be handsome to present it to him, and indeed had it been mine,

mine, I should willingly have given it him. The Captain spoke to the Souldier, who, uncapable of such noble thoughts, answered that he would give it to the King if he might have forty Piasters for it, which was above twice the value. So that the King not offering to buy it, nor the Captain to lay out so much Money in order to present it to him, the pleasuring him therewith was waved; nor was it otherwise offered to him, as in my opinion Civility required. Nevertheless the King never let it go out of his Hand so long as we were with him. Afterwards he shewed us a little Parrot standing in an open Cage under the Cloyster, he endeavoured to cause it to speak in our presence; and because our Interpreters were not very good, he sent to call an eminent Servant of his, who spoke the *Portugal*-Tongue better, to come and interpret in this Conversation.

XIII.

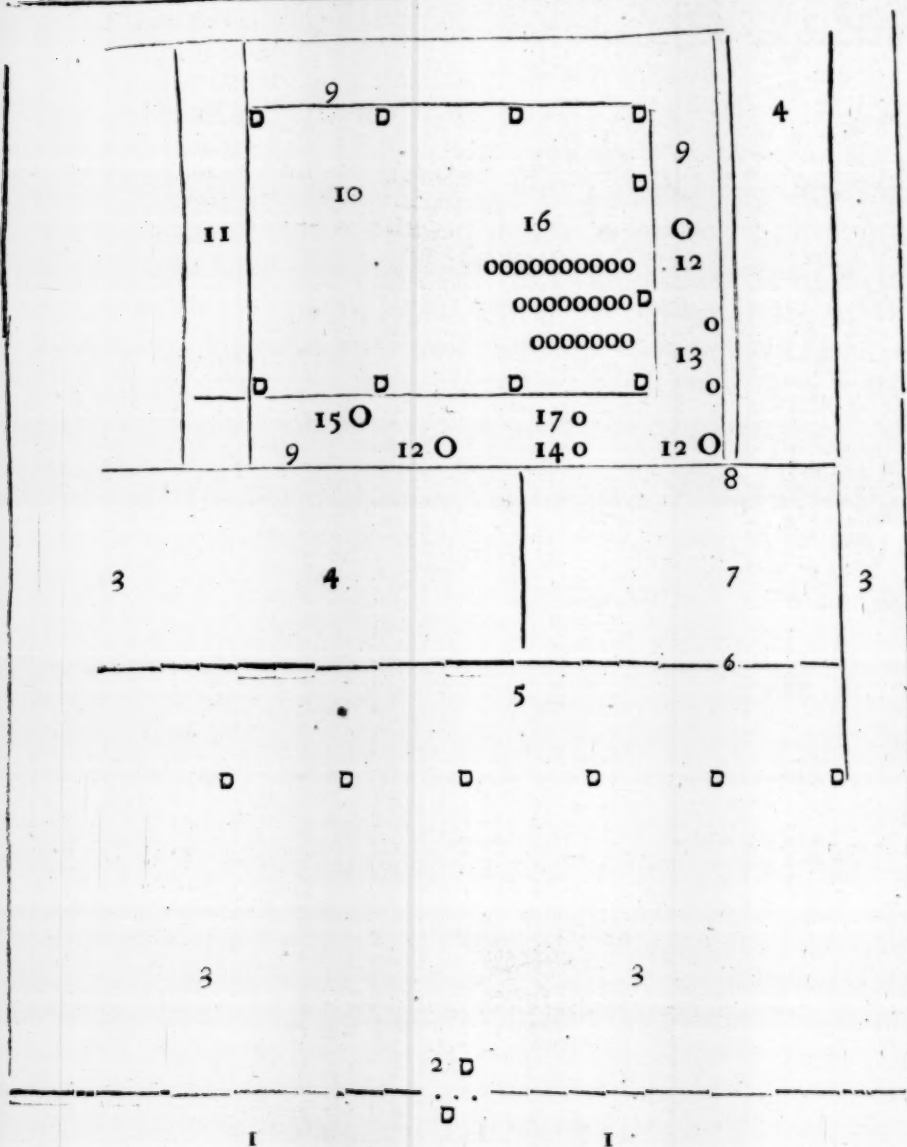
The *Signori Portoghesi* my Companions, little accustomed to Princes Courts, though otherwise well bred, gave me occasion to laugh within my self at two things. The first was, that it appearing to them unhandsome, that the King stood all the while he discoursed with us, as he did; or at most, leaned onely on the wall or his staff; they took upon them to speak to his Highness to sit down, and not put himself to such trouble. I dissuaded the Captain from it by all means, because Kings are Kings, and sit or stand when they please, and do what they list, 'tis their part to command; nor are we to use those Complements with them which we do to our equals, but always leave them to their own will and pleasure, for this is the breeding of the Court: But my counsel prevailed little, for the Captain was resolved to speak and desire him to sit down, as he did, not once, but twice or thrice; of which, nevertheless the King made little account, and answered onely with a smile. The second thing that made me laugh, was, that when the King enter'd into the little Court, the door whereat he and we had enter'd before, was immediately made fast with an Iron barr, people also standing continually to guard it; and so likewise when any one came in, or was sent out by the King, it was presently shut with diligence. The Captain and the other *Portugals* did not like this shutting of the door, and began presently to mutter amongst themselves, and to suspect that the King intended to detain them prisoners there, or to put some trick upon them; and what would the General and others say in *Goa*, for their coming to put themselves in a Cage thus, without the order and leave of their General, onely upon meer curiosity? I advis'd them to be quiet, telling them that it was not befitting a King to do such an act, nor was there any occasion why the King should be so treacherous; that we were not so many, nor so considerable that the doing thereof would be of any profit to him, or damage to the *Portugal* Nation. That it was fit the doors should be shut whilst the King was there in that manner giving Audience to so

many strangers together, arm'd, and of so little confidence with him as we were : That on the contrary, he had done us much Honour in inviting and admitting us to his presence with all our weapons, there being no Ambassador, nor publick person, or so much as known amongst us. This partly quieted them, although they very ill indur'd to see themselves shut up. I told them further, that it belong'd to the King to dismiss us when he pleas'd, and that, should we be late, the General would excuse us for our delay, at least, if not for our too-great Curiosity, which yet was no high crime as the case stood, almost all the Souldiers being come a shore this day. Nevertheless they twice or thrice demanded of the King that he would let them go, alledging that it was already late to return aboard, as indeed it was ; but the King alwayes excus'd it, and would not dismiss them, saying, That we must stay till the Man he had sent for was come, because he was desirous to talk a little better with us, and that he would send us aboard in his own Boats, at any time when it should be needful ; for, there being no form'd Harbour at *Calecut*, but an open shoare, the Ships rode at a good distance from the Land.

XIV.

At length came the expected Interpreter, who was a prime Brachman, and a Man of great Authority with the King ; for I observed, that he alone of all that were present, leaned upon his staff as the King did, and, as himself said, he had sometimes treated of weighty affairs on his Kings behalf with the *Portugals* in the enterprize of *Cognale*, perhaps not in the dayes of this *Samora*, but of his Predecessor : So that he said, he was very well known to the Vice-Roy, and the chief Captains of *Goa* vers'd in those parts. Upon the entrance of this Man, the King call'd our Captain to come up to him upon the raised pavement of the Porch ; he refused at first twice or thrice, but at length was prevailed with by the instances both of the King himself, and of this Brachman. Here the King fell largely to discourse with him, and with us about the Peace, about his desire to have the Fleet stay a while longer for establishing a firm Friendship with the *Portugals*, and about divers other things ; many of which were the same that he had spoken before. In short, the Audience lasted till night, the two little Ladies his Nieces, being present almost all the time, (for they went and came now and then) and the Queen in the upper Cloyster ; in beholding of whom, to speak truth, I was more attentive than in all hearing these discourses, which I well saw were of little importance, and therefore I cannot relate more punctually. At length it growing dark, upon our Captain's importunity the King dismiss'd us, and the door being open'd, we were suffer'd to go forth ; but first he caus'd many branches of Indian Figs and *Lagne*, to be brought and presented to us ; the Courtiers giving them to our Captain and the other Souldiers, not by stretching forth the Hand, but by tossing them in the Air, as their custom is, I believe, to avoid being contaminated

nated by our contact. The King did the like, when at our departure he restor'd the Harquebuz to its owner; for he cast it after the same manner into the Hands of one of his Courtiers as it was cast to him, but gently, and with much care lest it should fall, bowing himself almost to the ground for that purpose, as it was necessary to do by reason of the shortness of the piece. These Ceremonies, of not being touch'd, and the like, of which in publick demonstration they are so rigorous, yet in secret and when they please, they do not so exactly observe. And 'twas told us of this King, that he is a great drinker of Wine, though rigorously prohibited by his Religion, and that he hath sometimes eaten and drunk at the same Table with *Portugals* very familiarly; and that he is a Man of very affable humour, and a great friend to a jovial life, as also his carriage towards us demonstrated. Besides the *Lagne* and Figs which he appointed some of his Servants to carry for us even to the Boats, he gave our Captain a wild Pig alive, which he caus'd to be brought from some inner rooms of the Court, and being ty'd with a rope to be carry'd likewise to the Sea-side, whither also he sent many, and some of the principal of his Courtiers, to accompany us. A little after us he sent again to the General, one of those two Men which had been at *Goa*, (to wit, he who conducted us to the Palace, and was present at the whole Audience) to visit the General in his Name, carry him new refreshments of Fruits, and desire him not to depart so soon. But before I proceed further, for the better understanding of what I have already written, I will here present to your view a rough and unmeasur'd Plat-form of the *Samori's* Palace, and the place where he gave us Audience.



1. The little Piazza without the first Gate of the Palace.
2. The first Gate guarded with Balisters.
3. A great Court within the first Gate, which should be longer in proportion to the breadth, but is drawn thus in regard of the scantness of the paper, it hath lodgings about it in several places.
4. The King's House, and the Apartment of his Women.
5. The Porch of the said House.
6. The second Gate.
- 7 A dark Room lock'd up

8. A Door

8. A Door leading into the little Court.
9. Several Lodgings.
10. The little Court.
11. The place whence the wild Swine was brought.
12. The King denoted in several places, according as he mov'd whilst he 'was speaking.
13. The King's two Nieces.
14. A great Man of the King's, who serv'd for Interpreter.
15. The Queen in the higher Cloyster.
16. Our Company, with a greater number of Courtiers on each side of us, than the place allows to be here denoted.
17. Our Captain in the close of the Audience, and when he receiv'd the *Lagne*.

Being dismiss'd by the *Samori*, as is above-said, we return'd to the Sea-side to go aboard, it being now night; but because there were but two or three very small boats, in each of which not above two or three could go at a time, in regard the Sea was some-what rough, and we were many, it came to be above one a clock in the night before we all got aboard. Our Captain was one of the first, and he went presently to give an account of what had pass'd this day between us and the *Samori* to the General, who was minded to depart forth-with; but understanding that the Souldiers were not yet all embark'd, and particularly, the Captain telling him that I was still on shore, he gave order to move but slowly in expectation of me. In the mean time the *Samori*'s Messenger went to him to desire him to stay a little longer; whereupon the General, though he knew it would be of little importance in reference to the Treaty of Peace, yet not to appear discourteous, and perhaps also upon account of some expediency in order to our Navigation, he determined to stay all this night in the Port of *Calecut*. The Messenger returning ashore with this answer, found me alone of all the Fleet, still there, where some of the principal *Nairi* kept me company all the while, and left me not till they saw me in the Boat, using much diligence, to dispatch all others as soon as possible; and in the mean time that we waited, which was above an hour, holding me by the hand, and expressing many other caresses and demonstrations of kindness to me.

Before I leave *Calecut*, I shall here observe one strange custom of the people of these parts. The Gentil *Nairi* have no peculiar Wives; but all Women are common amongst them; and when any man repairs to visit one of them, he leaves his weapons at the door, which sign sufficiently debar's all others from entering in to disturb him; nor does this course beget any disgust or jealousy. The Women are maintained by those men that have to do with them. The children neither seek nor many times know, who their Father is, but that descent by the Mother's side is alone considered, and according to that all inheritances

tances are transferred. The same is observed among Princes and their Wives; the Queens, who are the King's Sisters, use to marry other neighbouring Kings, and go into their States to have children, who are to succeed in the Kingdoms of their Uncles, and by this means are of Royal blood both by Father and Mother. These Princesses are held in great esteem by the Kings their Husbands; yet if they are minded to try other men, they are not prohibited, but may and oftentimes do so, making use of whom they fancy for their pleasure, but especially of some Brachmans or other of their Husband's principal Courtiers, who with their privacy and consent are wont to converse and practise with them most intrinsically in the Palace. The King, and all others, as I have said, commonly go naked; only they have a cloth wherewith they are girded, reaching to the mid-leg. Yet when upon any occasion the King is minded to appear much in Majesty, he puts on only a white Vestment of very fine Cotton, never using either Cloth of Gold or Silk. Others also when they please may wear the like garment but not in the King's presence, in which 'tis not lawful for any to appear otherwise then naked, saving the Cloth above-mentioned. The Arms which every one wears, must not be laid aside at any time, especially not before the King; and, as I have elsewhere noted, every one keeps to one sort of Arms, which he first takes to, without ever changing. When two Kings happen to war together, each Army takes great heed not to kill the contrary King; nor so much as to strike his Umbrella wherever it goes, which is amongst them the Ensign of Royalty; because, besides that it would be a great sin to have a hand in Royal blood, the party or side which should kill or wound him, would expose themselves to great and irreparable mischiefs, in regard of the Obligation the whole Kingdom of the wounded or slain King hath to revenge him with the greatest destruction of their enemies, even with the certain loss of their own lives if it be needful. By how much such Kings are of greater dignity among them, so much longer this obligation of furious revenge endureth. So that if the *Samori* should be killed or wounded by the Army of the King of *Cocin*, who is his enemy, but of greater dignity; the people of the *Samori* stand obliged to one day of revenge, (others say three days) during which, every one is obliged to act their utmost to the utter destruction of those of *Cocin*, even with the manifest hazard of their own. But if the King of *Cocin*, who hath a greater repute, for honour at least, if not for power, should happen to be slain or wounded, by the people of the *Samori*; the fury of revenge is to last in those of *Cocin* all the time of their lives, (others say once a year) which would cause a great destruction of both sides. They call this term of time, or manner of revenge, *Amocò*; so that they say, the *Amocò* of the *Samori* lasts one day; the *Amocò* of the King of *Cocin* lasts all the life, and so of others. Of the *Malabars* who live
mixt

mixt with the *Nairi* in the Maritime Parts, and are Moors in Religion and all other Customs; I heard onely this Remarkable, That by a receiv'd and universal practise amongst the Women, they will never lie under the Men in the Act of Coition; which, because a thing extraordinary, I would not omit to mention.

December the twenty third, A good while after Sun-rise we departed from *Calecut*, but had the wind all day against us, and made but little way. At night we cast Anchor, because there is seldom wind enough for sailing in the night time; and being we coasted along the shore, we might cast Anchor at any time we pleas'd.

XVI.

December the twenty fourth, We had the wind contrary again, making very little way; so that we cast Anchor many times, and in the Evening, because it was Christmase-Eve, the Litanies were sung in all the Ships; and afterwards we had Collations of Sweet-meats, and celebrated the Feast as well as the place afforded. In our Ship, some Souldiers, who were employ'd to make a sort of sweet fritters of Sugar, for sport put into many of them certain powders which caused giddiness; so that almost all the Souldiers that ate of them, after the Collation seem'd drunk, and were constrain'd to betake themselves to sleep, which they did all night much more then that time and place requir'd; for, had Enemies come, the greatest part of the Souldiers being in this manner, I know not how we should have done.

December the twenty fifth, By break of day we arriv'd at *Cananor*, where we presently landed to hear the divine Offices. *Cananor* is a little place upon the shore, but near a Promontory, which makes a kind of Haven. The City is surrounded with walls, not very strong and well made, but in some places I know not by what negligence decay'd. It hath four Churches, to wit, *La Sede*, or the Cathedral; *La Misericordia*, which is a Confraternity, and much like our *Monte della Pieta*, *Santo Spirito*, and other such; it hath correspondence with another: There are of them in all the Plantations of the *Portugals*, and they do many good works; for almost all the pious works, which amongst us are done by divers Houses and Societies, this one place of *La Misericordia* do's amongst the *Portugals*; as, keeping of things Deposited; transmitting Bills of Exchange safe; relieving the poor, the sick, and imprisoned; maintaining expos'd Children; marrying young Maids; keeping Women of ill Lives when converted; redeeming Slaves; and, in short, all works of Mercy, whereof a City or Country can have need. A pious thing indeed, and of infinite benefit to the Publick; the rather because they are in all Territories of the *Portugals*, and hold correspondence together, even those of *India* with those of *Portugal*; so that they all seem but one body extending its members and influences incredibly profitable to several Countries. This pious Place is govern'd by Secular Confreres; to which Confraternity none are admitted but worthy Persons, upon certain decent

Conditions, and to a set number. So that the good Works which they do, and the great sums expended therein every year, accrew to the benefit not only of the Confreres, but of the Publick in general, with much Charity; so that I do not account my time lost in making this little Digression. The third Church of *Cananor* is *San Francesco*, where the Fryers of that Order reside; and the fourth, if I remember right, is *Santa Maria della Vittoria*. Without *Cananor* is an entrench'd Fort, contiguous to the walls of the City, and under the *Portugals* jurisdiction: But about a musket-shot distant, or more, is a great Village, which they call the *Bazar*, where all sorts of Provisions and other Merchandizes are sold; the Building is like that of *Calecut*, and perhaps better; yet this is under the jurisdiction of the *Gentiles*, (though the Inhabitants are in great part *Malabar-Moors*) and by derivative Authority from a King of this Country whom they call the King of *Cananor*, and who resides far from the Sea; 'tis govern'd by a famous *Malabar-Moor*, nam'd *Agà Begel*, whose House I saw, but not himself, having spent this whole day in walking up and down *Cananor*, and the *Bazar* of the *Gentiles*; for I dined with our Captain on shore in the House of a *Portugal* married there: At night having view'd all, and bought abundance of dried Indian Figs, and many Vessels of Conserves of the Pulp of young Indian Cane or *Bambû*, (which is very good to eat after this manner) of green Pepper, Citrons, and other Fruits wont to be pickled by them in Vineger, and vendible here, very good, and in great plenty, at length we returned a Ship-board.

XVII.

December the twenty sixth, We set sail from *Cananor*; but for three dayes together failed but little by reason of the accustom'd contrary wind, and our casting Anchor frequently as well in the day time as the night.

December the twenty ninth, We pass'd before *Cagnarotto*, whence some Men came in a Boat from the King of *Banghel*, (who lives there in Sanctuary with the King of that place his Friend and Kinsman) to visit and present our General in the Name of their Lord.

December the thirtieth, About noon we entred the Port of *Mangalor*. I had a desire to go to *Carnate* to see that Queen, and had already given Money for a Boat to carry me thither, being I might sooner and better go so then with a *Palanchino*; but this journey was disappointed as well as my former, I know not by what unhappy destiny; for I understood that the Fleet was by all means to depart from *Mangalor* the next day, so that I could not have time to go and return; and if I lost the opportunity of this Fleet, God knows when I should have another of passing to *Goa*, whither other considerations of my business required me to repair as soon as might be. So I deferr'd my going to *Carnate*, but with no small regret; for being deprived of the knowledge of that Queen, who was reported to me for a Lady of great Worth and Valour. Whilest we stayed ashore, I went to the Church

Church of *San Francesco* to visit those Fathers, where I found the General of our Fleet, Sig: *Luis de Mendoza*, whom I had never seen before. I found him a very compleat and gallant Cavalier, and, having been bred in the Court of *Spain* the Queens Page, a much better Courtier then other *Portugal* Cavaliers of *India*, who have not seen other Countries, are wont to be.

December the one and thirtieth, I heard Mass in the fore-noon and dined a shore with the Brother of Signor *Tomè de Barrios*, my Friend in *Goa*, at the House of the *Padre Vicario* of *Mangalòr*, named-----, and known to me likewise at *Goa*. In the Evening I went aboard, and when it was dark we went out of the mouth of the Port to put our selves before the whole *Casila*, which here began to joyn with our Fleet, very numerous indeed, consisting of above a hundred and fifty Ships, laden with Rice, which were going to *Goa*, from whence all that Provision is dispersed abroad; of which *Casila*, our Ship being Captain of the Vant-guard, it behooved us to go first; but being the *Casila* was so great, we cast Anchor just without the mouth of the Port, there expecting the day, and a sign to be given us by the General with his Canon: For it was requisite for all to keep as close together as possible, to the end that so many Ships of Merchandize, (disarmed and without Souldiers, saving the Convoy of the few Ships of our Fleet, some of which went before, some in the middle, and some alwayes behind) might go secure from the assaults and surprizes of Pirates; and indeed, to guard so many disarmed and laden Ships, that took up so much room at Sea, with so few armed Vessels, was no easie matter. But so it was, that we above all the rest were to take particular care that no Ship got before us, or separated from the Company, lest some disaster might befall them.

On the first of *January*, 1624. We set sail from *Mangalòr* to-wards *Goa*, with the whole *Casila*, which encreased hourly; other Merchant Ships joyning with us at all the Ports by which we passed, we giving them a sign with our Canon, and many times waiting for them till they came out. This first day we sailed not above three Leagues, and anchored under *Carnate*, but not in such a place and time that I could go to see the Queen as I desired. XVIII.

January the second, We set forth again very early, but a contrary North-West wind arising caus'd us to anchor among the Rocks, which they call *scogli di Santa Maria*; whence some Men that went on shore, brought me some Jasmens, of a very goodly Scarlet-colour, of which sort I had never seen any Jasmens before, in any other place of the world; but for smell, it had little or none at all.

January the third, We set forth again at our usual hour, and the wind began to blow from the land, which in that place is on the East. We pass'd by *Barfelòr*, and, a League beyond, anchored at the Rock of *Camboli*, where we waited for the

Casila of *Barseldor*; we not entring there our selves, that it might dispatch the sooner.

January the fifth, Whilst we stay'd at *Camboli* expecting the coming forth of all the *Casila* of *Barseldor*, in the Morning we discover'd twelve Ships coming towards us from the South; and knowing that they were not Merchants but Men of War, and having no News of any Armado that was to come from *Goa* at this time, we judg'd them to be Paroes of *Malabar-Pirats*, as indeed they appear'd; for the said Paroes are almost like the Ships of the *Portugals*, but somewhat lighter. And because we saw them make directly up to us, we prepar'd for fight, and sail'd forwards to meet them; assuring our selves, that if they were Paroes, they came to assault us; since they could not but know that the Ships of our Armado, which alone were fit for fight, were fewer then theirs, and that the other Merchants Ships of the *Casila*, whom we convoy'd, could serve for nothing else but either to fly away, if they were able, or to increase their booty in case our few arm'd Vessels should be beaten. The Ship wherein I was, being the Captain of the Vant-guard, was far before the rest, and alone towards that part whence the abovesaid Ships were coming. Having betaken our selves to our Arms, (which yet was not done without some confusion, because the things in the Ship were out of order, and the Souldiers unprovided of Powder, which was to be fetch'd out of the place where it was kept and distributed thus hastily in small quantities, being our store was but small) we consulted a while what to do, whether to wait for our other Ships which were behind, and so joyn all together in encountering the Enemy; or else to begin the fight, as we were, alone, till the rest came up to us. The first course seem'd safest and most considerate; the latter was more magnanimous, but with-all temerarious, because we were so distant from our company, that before they could come to succor us, our Ship might be wholly destroy'd; as being but one it might very easily be by so many, especially in that extreme furious way of fighting practis'd here, wherein there is great use of fire-works. Yet our Captain and the rest of us thought it was no time to demurr longer and consult; because the Enemy was so near, that to wait for our Company would have little advantag'd, but might much have prejudic'd us, giving them thereby presumptions of our weakness and fear: Wherefore we all cry'd out to go on; that since we were come to this pinch, 'twas better to incurr our loss alone with a valorous temerity by doing our duty, then to hazard the loss of the whole Armado and its Reputation, if the Enemy perceiving us timorous and weak should take heart against us from our imprudent fear: That as it was our duty to go forwards, so it was the duty of our Companions to follow us and succor us, and not let us perish alone; that this care belong'd to them; that if they did otherwise, the fault would lie upon them, not upon us; that (in fine) let us give the onset, and leave Heaven to take care

can of the rest. Thus resolv'd, we desperately sail'd forward. Our Companions that were nearest would have done the like; but the General, who was far behind in another place of the *Casila*, shot off a Piece to command all to stay for him, reasonably conceiving it the best way to attaque the enemy altogether; whereupon all the other Ships of the Fleet which were behind us, stood still awhile; but we alone, seeing our selves so far engag'd and so near the Enemy, whatever the others did, would by no means stay but continu'd our course. Which Sig. *Francesco Pesciotto* Captain of one of the nearest Ships, beholding, and mistaking that we should charge thus alone, and he quietly look on at a little distance, he lost all patience, and began again to make up after us, though a far off; the same did all the rest soon after, conceiving it the best way. We were now within Falcon-shot (for greater Pieces then Falcons these Ships carry not) but forbore to fire till a nearer approach might make the shot more certain; which seem'd also to be the Enemy's design: when being come so neer as to speak and be heard, and standing ready to give fire both to the Ordnance and Musket by the voices and cries on either side we found each other to be friends: for these Ships were an unexpected and extraordinary Fleet of *Portugals* sent to *Cocin* to convey securely from thence to *Goa* certain moneys of the Confraternity *della Misericordia*, and other Provisions. Hereupon the feud ceasing, the mortal thunder was turn'd into joyful salutations, with chearful noise of Drums and Trumpets; at the sound whereof the Morning beginning to clear up, seem'd also to hasten to rejoyce with us and part our erroneous fray. I have mentioned this passage at large, to the end the successes, inconveniences, counsels and resolutions ensuing suddenly thereupon may be known; from all which, prudent adviso's for other occasions may be deduced; and also to make known to all the world the demeanour of the noble *Portugal* Nation in these parts; who indeed, had they but as much order, discipline, and good government as they have valour, *Ormuz* and other sad losses would not be now lamented, but they would most certainly be capable of atchieving great matters. But God gives not all things to all.

It being now broad day, we set sail with the whole *Casila*; but by reason of contrary wind, sail'd no more then three leagues, and late in the evening came to anchor, in the place where we hapned to be; the contray Northwest wind beginning to grow more boisterous.

XIX.

January the sixth, We had the wind still contrary, and having sail'd three other leagues, at the usual hour we cast anchor near the Rocks of *Baticala*.

On the seventh, the said wind blowing somewhat favourably, about noon we pass'd by *Ondr*, and without staying discharg'd only one Gun to give notice for the Ships to come forth of the port, if any were there that would accompany us; for greater dili-

diligence was not needful, because few come from thence. In the Evening the usual contrary North-west wind arising, we came to an anchor, a little distant from *Mirizeo*. At the second watch of the night, a good stiff South-wind arose; and in the forenoon next day we pass'd by the Rocks call'd *Angediva*, and at night came to an anchor somewhat Southwards of *Capo falso*.

January the ninth, the wind was contrary, our way short; and because we could not proceed forwards, we cast anchor near *Rio del Sale*; also the next day, for the same reason we could get no further then an *Enieda* (as they speak) or Bay, call'd *Mormogòn*, in the Island of *Salsette* contiguous to that of *Goa* on the South, but greater and divided from the same only by a River. This Island of *Salsette* is full of very fair Towns, and abundance of Houses. Above all, the Jesuits have the goodliest places, and 'tis counted that perhaps a third part of the Island is theirs; for besides three good Towns which belong wholly to them, they have also dominion and government in all the other Towns too which are not theirs; they have Churches everywhere, Lands and store of Goods; and I believe all the Parishes are govern'd by them in Spirituals with supreme Authority; whence this people acknowledg more Vassallage (upon the matter) to the Jesuits then to the King himself. The case is the same in another Island call'd *Bardeos*, adjacent also to that of *Goa*, but more Northward, which is under the government of the *Franciscans*. Nor is it otherwise in almost all the other Territories of the *Portugals*; so that it may justly be said that the best and perhaps too the greatest part of this State is in the hands of Clergymen.

XX.

Having anchor'd in the Bay of *Mormogòn* in good time, and knowing that we were not to depart the night following, our Captain with some others of us went ashore to see a Place and Church of the Jesuits call'd *S. Andrea*, which they told us was hard by: yet we found it not so near, but that we walk't about a league to get to it, because we knew not the right way, but mistook it, and were fain to leap over very broad and deep ditches of water, into one whereof one our Company hapned to fall, to the great laughter of the rest, besides many other inconveniences. We found the Church large, near and well built, with a fair square Court or Yard before it, surrounded with handsom Stone-walls, and within with some great Trees, under which were Banks rais'd to sit upon in the shadow. On one side of the Church was a very fair and well-built House for the *Padre Rettore*, who hath the present superintendency thereof; which Church and Building would be very magnificent not only for this place but for the City of *Rome* it self. We stay'd a good while discoursing with the F. Rector, who told us sundry news from *Goa*, and invited us to Supper; but fearing to arrive too late at the Fleet if we stay'd to sup here, we wav'd the Courtesie,

lie, and taking leave of him at Sun-set return'd to the place where we had left our Ships; and though we had a Guide to conduct us by the best and nearest way, yet we got not thither to imbarque till after two hours within night.

January the eleventh, at our departing from the Port of *Mormogon* this day, in which we were to arrive at *Goa*, the General, who was wont to go in the Rear-guard, being now minded to go in the middle of the Armada, commanded our Ship, (hitherto Captain of the Vant-guard) to remain behind all the rest for guarding the Rear-guard: where great diligence was to be us'd, both that no stragling Ship might be in danger of being surpriz'd by Rovers, or any of the Merchants Vessels slip aside to avoid paying Custom at *Goa*, and go to unlade in other places of Counterband. Wherefore having sail'd the little remainder of the way, and caus'd all the other Ships to enter, which were in number more then two hundred and fifty; we at length enter'd the Bar or Mouth of the *Rio* of *Goa*, where we anchor'd under a Port hard by, without going further to the City; it being the custom for no Fleets to arrive in the City without the advice and Licence of the Viceroy. Here we found the Ship, which alone was to go this year to *Portugal* already laden and ready to sail; as also some Galeons in readiness likewise, whether to be sent to *Ormuz* or elsewhere I know not. Sig. *Ayres de Siqueida* Captain of our Ship, having got leave of the General, went to *Goa* with a *Manciva* or Boat which came to him for that purpose; and I with Sig. *Francesco Pesciotto* Captain of another Ship, Sig. *Manoel Lejera* and some few Soldiers accompani'd him. We arriv'd at *Goa* when it was dark night, because 'tis three leagues from the mouth of the Bar to the City, almost directly from South to North; so that there is a considerable difference between the altitude of the Pole at *Goa*, and the mouth of the Bar. Having landed, every one went to his own home; and I, who had no house ready for me, nor yet any servant, went alone, as I was, to lodg in the House of Sig. *Antonio Baracio* my friend, according as himself & Sig. *Ruy Gomes* his Brother had promis'd I should when I departed from *Goa*. As I was going thither I was unexpectedly met by the said two Brothers, who receiv'd me with their wonted courtesie. My Bed and Goods which I had in the Ship were soon after brought to the same place by the procurement of Sig. *Ayres*. I understood here that my quondam servant the honest *Cacciatùr* coming hither from *Ikkeri* to *Goa* after his false dealing with me, had attempted to put a trick upon Signora *Maria* also, but it did not succeed. He feign'd that I had sent him beforchand to take order for a house against my return, and was importunate for mony to prepare and provide things necessary. My letter he ventur'd not to present but pretended a misfortune at Sea, whereby it was lost, with other such inventions. Hereupon Signora *Maria* suspected him, and, without my Letters, gave no credit to him, as neither did Signora
Maria

Maria da Cugna. So that seeing his devices to get money from them, prov'd ineffectual, he came no more in sight; and we believe is gone into the Territories of the Moors amongst the Mahometans, having heard no more news of him.

XXI.

January the twentieth, a Proclamation was put forth by the Vice-roy for all *Portugal* Soldiers (they call all such as have not Wives, *Soldati*) and also all *Dispacciati*, though married, to prepare to go to *Ormùz*; it being given out that the Vice-roy intended to pass thither in person with a great Armada and Galeons. Amongst the *Portugals*, those are call'd *Dispacciati*, who having ended their services, which every one is oblig'd to perform for eight years, only with that small pay and maintenance which is given to Servants (which indeed is very slender), upon petition to the King in *Spain* and representation of the faithfulness of their services, according as the same are greater or less, are dismiss'd by the King with some honourable and profitable Charge, as Captain of a Fort, and the like; to enjoy the same for three years or some other determinate time. Which Charges they enter not upon as soon as the same are granted, but when it falls to them of course according to the time of their dismissal: whereby it comes to pass that some never enjoy them as long as they live, nor yet their sons sometimes, unless very late, (in case the favour extend to their sons too) because all the said Charges or Offices go by seniority, every man's time beginning from the day of their dismissal; and oftentimes it happens that forty or fifty are dismiss'd at the same time with him, all who must first enjoy the same Office or else do to make way for him. In brief, 'tis an invention of the Kings of *Portugal*, much for their own interest; for not having much to give in recompence of services, they by this means pay the greatest part of those that serve them with hopes alone; which also prove very well to them; the men of this nation being of such an humor that they not only are contented with these bare hopes, and hold themselves well requited for many great and toilsome service, but make great account thereof; for these Reversions, which are to fall God knows when, are the estate and support of many, the portions of many Daughters, and in brief, in respect of the little other estates they have in *India*, one of the best and most considerable advantages that they possess, besides their being of much reputation and honour. Now to all such as were in this manner dismiss'd was this Proclamation directed, obliging them to go to *Ormùz* with the Vice-roy under penalty of losing all their Reversions. But for all this, intelligent men did not believe that the Vice-roy would undertake this Expedition, both because they did not hold him a man likely to take up such a resolution, and because there were not such preparations made in *Goa* for his voyage, as was requisite.

XXII.

January the two and twentieth, a Galeot under the command of Sig. *Manoel de Paiva*, our friend, arriv'd at *Goa* from *Sindi*, in which were many persons that had come to *Sindi* with other Ships

Ships from *Mascàt*; amongst the rest there was a considerable Soldier belonging to *Ruy Freira*, who brought certain news of his own knowledge, how the said *Ruy Freira* having held *Ormùz* closely besieg'd for a long time, and brought the Defendants to great distress for want of all things; at length, no relief coming to him, no provisions wherewith to continue the Siege, (his Victuals failing him) was constrain'd to raise the Siege and return to *Mascàt* with all his Army; yet with intention to make new provisions, and get new succours and ammunitions, and then to return again to besiege the place; which in the mean time the Moors omitted not to supply with all sort of necessaries for a long time, to repair the fortifications and re-inforce it with fresh Soldiers. All which consider'd, I hold the retaking of *Ormùz* very difficult, both in regard of the courage the enemy hath resum'd by this action, and because the same scarcity of Victuals will happen frequently, and in a short time to the besiegers no less then to the besieged, being the Island affords nothing of it self, and our provisions must be fetcht from greater distance then those of the enemies: wherein not much diligence being us'd on our part, I doubt not but it will be very difficult for them to hold the Siege long; and when they intermit the same never so little, as they have done now, that short time is sufficient to secure the place from famine; because having the Continent so neer hand, and provisions there in much plenty, it may be in one day alone supply'd for many months. As for taking it by battery or otherwise; the *Portugals* being so few and little skill'd in such Arts, and on the other side the enemies so numerous and indefatigable in undergoing toil and pains, I hold it very difficult. The Viceroy of *Goa*, who had been so cold in sending succours to *Ruy Freira*; because he would not that he should take *Ormùz*, but only hold it streightned till himself went in person to reap the fruit of others labours; that so he might with the glory of this victory cover the pass'd neglect he had committed in the shameful loss of the Ships in the Voyage when he came into *India*: now hearing this news, and how *Ormùz*, which he thought he had in his clutches, was by the retreat of *Ruy Freira* (who would infallibly write into *Spain* of the wrong done him in not sending him any forces or succour during a year's time that he had been upon the attempt, and heinously charge the Viceroy for it) escap'd out of his hands, and become very difficult to be taken, was infinitely troubled thereat; and indeed I know not how he can excuse himself to his Master for so great negligences; and some have heard him lament himself much, and say that it was his own fault. However it were, the talk of his going to *Ormùz* became very cold upon these news; and if it was not believ'd at first, after this it was held wholly desperate; although to encourage others to the expedition, he still kept up the report. The same Ship brought news, how *Ruy Freira*, whilst he was at the Siege of *Ormùz* with his few Ships, sent two to the streight of

Mecha, to see whether they could get any booty which might serve to support his forces; another to *Sindi* to fetch provisions, and advertise the Mogul's Ministers there not to send any Ships into *Persia*, otherwise he should take them; yet neither those of *Mecha*, nor this of *Sindi* ever return'd to him; neither did this Captain send him any thing from *Maschât*: so that he was constrain'd to remove his quarters. Besides, during his being before *Ormûz*, he had sent some other Ships to fall upon the Country of those *Arabians* whom they call *Nacfrilû*, living upon the Coasts of *Persia* in the gulf above *Mogostân*; and that this enterprize succeeded well enough, they having made great destruction, and taken much spoil: but afterwards the Captains of the same Ships being greedy of prey, contrary to the order of *Ruy Freira*, and against the judgment of one of them who was the head of all the rest (little obedience is an ordinary thing among the *Portugals*, and causes infinite disorders) design'd to set upon another place, whose Governour, who was an Arabian *Seich*, at first attempted to make them forbear with good words, saying that he was their Vassal, &c. but when he saw, that courtesie prevail'd not against their rapacity, he got his men together, and made head against them; so that allaulting them in a convenient place as they were out of order, he defeated them, killing many, and amongst those, divers Captains and Soldiers of valour; which was no small loss. It was further related, that during the Siege of *Ormûz*, the besieg'd being in great streights for all other things, and which was most important, of water also, which within fail'd them and was corrupted; yet *Ruy Freira* could not hinder them from fetching plenty of very good water as often as they pleas'd at a place of the Island without the Garrison, which they call *Trumbâk*; where, not through want of Soldiers, (for he might have had *Arabians* enough and others of those Countries) but for want of money to pay and support them, he could never place a guard to prevent the enemies from fetching as much water as they pleas'd. They said lastly, that *Ruy Freira* was at *Masât* soliciting for aid, and preparing to return to *Ormûz* as soon as he should be provided of what was needful.

X X I I I.

By the same Ship a Jew came from *Sindi* who had lately dwelt in *Ormûz* and came to *Sindi* by sea from *Guadêl*, which is a Port of the Kingdom of *Kic* and *Macran*, and was come to *Guadêl* by land from *Sphahân*. He was a sagacious person, and affirmed to me for certain that the Prince of *Kic* and *Macran* was a friend and obedient to the *Persians*, and that there passed through his Country infinite *Cafilas* of Merchandize which came from *India* to *Guadêl* by Sea, and from thence were transported into *Persia* upon Camels; and that this way was not only frequented since the taking of *Ormûz* which was declined during that War, but was also very secure and afforded much profit to the said Prince of *Macran*, because at *Guadêl* he received divers Customs of the above-laid Merchandizes; and before this pass was open, he had no profit

profit at all. Yet this Jew could not tell me, whether this friendship and obedience of the *Macranite* to the *Persian*, was because the Prince, who reigned there, was dead and succeeded by his younger Brother, who many years ago had fled into *Persia* to this *Sciab*, as I have elsewhere mentioned in this Diary; or else because the two Brothers ne'r agreed together, and that he who reigned still, either for his own interest upon account of the said pafs of the *Casila's*, or through fear since the taking of *Ormuz*, or perhaps forced by War or other like Accidents, had disposed himself to be friendly and obedient to the *Persian*.

XXIV.

January the twenty fifth, The Jesuits of the Colledge of Saint *Paul*, (this day being the Feast of their Colledge) began to make part of their Solemnities, which were to be made for joy of the Canonization of their Saints *Ignatio* and *Sciavier*; the Celebration of which was deferred till now, that more time might be allotted for preparation. They came forth with a Cavalcade of all their Collegians divided into three Squadrons under three Banners, one of which represented the *Asiatics*, one the *Africans*, and another the *Europeans*; those of each Squadron being clothed after the manner of their respective Countries. Before the Cavalcade, went a Chariot of Clouds with *Fame* on the top, who sounding her Trumpet with the adjunction of Musick, published the News of the said Canonization. Two other Chariots accompany'd the Cavalcade, the hindermost of which represented *Faith* or the *Church*; the other in the middle was a Mount *Parnassus*, with *Apollo* and the Muses representing the Sciences professed in the said Colledge; both which Chariots, were also full of very good Musick and many people. Moreover, they remov'd from place to place amongst the Cavalcade five great Pyramids upon wheels, drawn by Men on foot, well cloth'd after the Indian fashion. Upon the first were painted all the Martyrs of the Order of Jesuits; upon another, all the Doctors and Writers of Books; upon another, figures of Men of all such Nations in their proper habits, where the said Order hath foundations, to represent the Languages in which the Fathers of it preach: Another had abundance of Devises relating to all the Provinces of the said Religion; and lastly, another had all the Miracles both of *Sant' Ignatio*, and *San Francesco Sciavier*. All of these Pyramids had Epitaphs, Statues, and other Ornaments both at the pedestal and at the top; so that passing in this manner through the principal streets of the City, they planted and left the said Pyramids in several places; one before the See or Archiepiscopal Church; one before the profess'd House of *Giesu*; one before the Church of *San Paolo*, where at first they kept the Colledge; but by reason of the badness of the Air, remov'd it from thence, yet the Church remaining to them, which was sometimes much frequented and magnificent, but at this day is but meanly provided for; so that they are still in contest with the City about it, who unwillingly consent to this changing of the Colledge.

The last they left before the new Colledge, the Church whereof they are wont to call *San Rocco*, and by the other Name also; but the Jesuits, resolute to keep their Colledge by reason of the fairness of the place, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Augustine* Fryers, who by long and intricate suits, use their utmost endeavor to hinder them from it, onely to the end not to have them Neighbours, under pretext that they deprive them of the fresh Air, and the prospect of the Sea: The Jesuits, I say, resolute to abide there, prevailing hitherto, both against the City, which re-calls them back to *San Paolo Vecchio*, for greater convenience of the Students, and against the *Augustines*, and against the King himself, who hath many times ordained their removal and the destruction of their new Colledge; nevertheless maintain themselves in possession of their new and sumptuous Fabrick, which also they daily enlarge, and nominate *San Paolo Nuovo*; for in *India* they will have all their Colledges dedicated to Saint *Paul*, the Doctor of the *Gentiles*.

XXV.

January the nine and twentieth, I went together with the *Signori Baracci* my entertainers and other friends, to see and spend a day at *Guadalupe*, which is a place of Recreation in the Island of *Goa*, distant from the City about two leagues, populous and full of Houses and Gardens of several Portugal *Signori*, who for pleasure go to dwell there some time of the year, as you at *Rome* do to *Frascati* which is the ancient *Tusculanum*. *Guadalupe* lies at the foot of a certain Precipice in a plain soil upon a spacious Lake, which at one time of the year is quite dry'd up and sown with Rice, so that the prospect is always very lovely; because the Lake is either full of water, in which grow abundance of pretty Flowers and aquatick Plants; or else 'tis all green with Rice, which is sown before the Lake is totally dry and grows up to maturity before the Water return; so that it makes a very pretty Shew, and the more because this Water being collected in great rain, is fed also by a small but constantly running River; and though so kept there for many months, yet causes not any bad affection of the Air; but through the goodness of the Climate the Air is always better here than any where else. Nor is the Sea far distant, to wit the shore of the other more Southern River which forms the Island of *Goa* on the other side opposite to the City; and the mouth of that River which makes a secure and spacious Harbour, where sometimes even the greatest *Portugal* Ships ride, and in old time the City stood there, so that they call the place at this day *Goa Vecchia*, or old *Goa*. As we return'd, we saw abundance of Villages and Palmets full of all sort of fruits, and many fair and well-kept Churches, as *San Lorenzo*, and others within a small distance; so that I had reason to judge this place to be held the most delicious of *Goa*.

January the thirtieth, Being in *Guadalupe*, in the Garden of the House where we were, which belong'd to Signor *Simon Gomes* our Friend, and Kinsman to the Sigg: *Baracci*, I saw a
Canella

Canella, or Cinamon Tree, of which some are found in *Goa*, but strangers. 'Tis as big a Tree as any, not a shrub as I imagin'd; some of the leaves, which have a taste of Cinamon, and are pleasant to be masticated, I keep among my baggage, to shew the same in *Italy*; as also some of the Tree *Trifoe* with its odoriferous Flowers, which blow every day and night, and fall at the approach of day, as I my self saw and observ'd of one that was planted before the Gate of our House. This Flower is very like the *Jasmin* of *Catalonia*, but the *Canella*-----hath a yellow one, which is us'd by the Country-people instead of Saffron with their meats, and upon other occasions. Moreover, I saw and observ'd in the Lake two sorts of Flowers, one great, the other very small, both white, with something of yellow in the midst; the lesser hath no green leaves on the stalk to be seen, and the inner part of the white leaves is full of thick and long Down: The greater Flower hath smooth, long, and strait leaves, and grows on a Plant whose leaves are large, and almost perfectly round, swimming on the surface of the water, totally expanded almost like those of a Gourd. Both these Flowers have a strange property; in the night they are alwayes clos'd, in the day alwayes open, displaying themselves at the rising, and closing at the setting of the Sun; besides, that they are of a very excellent fragrant smell. I could not keep any to shew, because they are so tender and so full of moisture, especially the lesser sort which is the fairest, that they fade presently upon being kept in papers, as the Custom is. The Indians call them-----and tell a Fable of *Brahmà's* being born of one of these Flowers, and afterwards re-entring into one again, wherein he hath spent ten thousand years. You see what fine Stories we have here; I leave them with you and kiss your Hands.

LETTER VIII.

From *Goa* Novemb. 4. 1624.

MY last I writ to you by the Ship which departed from *Goa* to *Portugal* the first of *February*, and was the only Ship of that Kingdom that was sent hither this year: On which Day the Bells rung at *Goa*, and many rejoycings were made, particularly, in the Churches of the Jesuits, the *Augustines*, the *Dominicans*, upon News brought of many Martyrs lately Martyred in *Japan*, amongst which were many Religious of the above said Orders; and particularly of Jesuits, were Martyred three *Italians*, to wit, *F. Carlo Spinola*, a *Genovese* of principal quality: *F. Camillo Costanzo*, a *Calabrese*, or rather a *Neapolitan*, of a Family whose Estate lyes in *Calabria*: And *F. Pietro Paolo*, a *Neapolitan* likewise, if I mistake not.

February

February the eighth, A Council of State was held concerning the Vice-Roys going to *Ormuæ*; in which, I know not what was resolved, because some talked one thing, and some another; but as for the Souldiers, it was determined that all should go, and he that refused was imprisoned, as some were to my knowledge.

February the tenth, As a beginning of the solemnities for the Canonization, the Jesuits sung a Vespers in the Church of the Profest-house of *Giesu*. The night following, they caused a numerous Maskerade of young Students, not Collegians but Outliers, to pass through the streets on Horse-back, cloth'd in several rich habits, and following a Standard whereon was portrayed the Effigies of the Saints. The next day there was a solemn Mass in the same Church, and a Sermon made by the F. Visitor, *Andrea Palmuro*, at which the Vice-Roy was present. In the Evening upon a very great Theatre, erected without the Church in the Piazza, for representing many dayes together the Life of *San Francesco Sciavier*; they caused a Squadron of young men mask'd in the habits of Peasants, to dance many gallant Balls with Musick.

On the twelfth of *February*, in the presence of the Vice-Roy and of all the Nobility and People of the City, (for whose conveniency scaffolds and seats were erected in the Piazza round about the Theatre both for Men and Women) the first Act of the above-said Comedy or Tragedy, (as they said) of the Life of *Santo Sciavier* was represented. Of which Tragedy, which was represented by about thirty persons, all very richly clothed and decked with Jewels; the vast and no less extravagant Machin whereinto they entered to act the rare Musick, gallant Dances, and various contrivances of Charriots, Ships, Gallies, Pageants, Heavens, Hells, Mountains, and Clouds, I forbear to speak, because I have the printed Relation by me.

On the eighteenth of *February*, The Vice-Roy being indispos'd, the proceedings were superseded. But in the three following dayes, by two Acts a day, the whole Tragedy was rehearsed. It comprehended not onely the whole Life, but also the Death of *San Francesco Sciavier*, the transportation of his Body to *Goa*, his ascension into Heaven; and lastly, his Canonization.

On the seventh of the same moneth, Mass was sung in the Colledge of *San Paolo Nuovo*, and a predication made by F. *Flaminio Cald* an Italian, upon the Beatification of the Blessed *Luigi Gonzaga*, who was also a Father of the Society. In the Evening, the Portugals of quality passed about the streets in a Maskerade, accompanied with Chariots and Musick; about twelve of us went out of the House of Sig: *Antonio Baraccio*, all clothed in the same Livery, which I took care to get made according to my Phansie, and I ordered it after the fashion of the ancient Roman Warriors, just as the ancient Emperours use to be pictur'd; the colours were Carnation and White, with several Impresses on the breast, every one after his own Phansie;

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it appear'd very well by night, and was the best and greatest Body of the whole Maskerade. I bore for my Impress a Blaze of Flames, with this Italian Word of *Tasso*,

Men dolci sì, ma non men calde al core.

Which Impress I have been wont to use frequently since the death of my Wife *Sitti Maani*; the Work of my clothes was wholly together Flames, onely distinguished here and there with Tears which shewed my grief.

February the eighteenth, In the Morning solemn Mass was sung, and a Sermon made upon the Canonization of the Saints in *San Paolo Vecchio*. In the Afternoon, Lists and a Ring being prepared before the Church of *Giesù*, many great *Portugal* Gentlemen richly clothed, came as to run Carreers both at the one and the other, giving Divertisement to the Ladies who stood beholding them on Balconies and Scaffolds. The like they did afterwards in the street of *San Paolo Vecchio*.

February the nineteenth, A very solemn Procession was made from *San Paolo Vecchio* to *Giesù*, through the principal streets of the City; which Procession exceeded all the rest, in number of Pageants, Chariots, and Ships, and other Engins filled with people who represented several things, and good Musick, accompanied with several Dances on Foot, and many other brave devices: Of all which things I speak not, because I have a printed Relation thereof by me. In the end of the Procession, was carried by many of the Fathers in their Copes the Body of *San Francesco Sciavier*, inclos'd in a fair and rich Silver Coffin, with a Silver Canopie over it made very gallant, and the Effigies of the Saint behind: Then came a great Standard with the pourtrayures of the Saints, carry'd likewise by some of the Fathers; and after that, all the Crosses of their Parishes of *Salsette*, and onely one company of the Fryers of Saint *Francis*. Of the other Religions that are in *Goa*, none appear'd here; because they said they would not go in the Processions of the Jesuits, since the Jesuits went not in those of others. With this Procession, which ended about noon, ended also the solemnities for the above-said Canonizations.

February the twenty fifth, This day being the first Sunday of Lent this year, the *Augustine* Fathers, according to custom made a solemn Procession, which they call *de i Passi*, in reference to the steps which our Lord made in his Passion, being carry'd to several places. They carry'd in Procession a Christ with the Cross on his shoulders, and many went along disciplining themselves, being cloth'd with white sack-cloth, gallant and handsome, very gravely, according to the humor of the Nation. In several places of the City certain Altars were plac'd, where the Procession stood still; and after some time spent in singing, the Christ turn'd backwards, representing that passage, *Conversus ad Filias*

II.

Filius Jerusalem, dixit illis, Nolite flere super me, &c. At which turning of the sacred Image, the people who were very numerous, and fill'd the whole streets, lamented and utter'd very great cries of Devotion. At length, the Proceſſion being come to the Church, *Della Gratia*, where it ended; after the *Augustine* Nunns (whose Covent ſtands near that of the Fryers in the ſame Piazza) had ſung a while, an Image of *del volto Santo*, of our Lord's Countenance like that at *Rome*, was ſhown to the people gather'd together in the ſaid Piazza, from a window of one of the Bell-turrets which are on either ſide the front of the ſaid Church; and ſo the Solemnity ended. But the above-mention'd Altars in the ſtreets are every *Fryday* during Lent adorn'd in the ſame manner, and viſited by the people every day, and alſo many hours of the night; juſt as the Church of Saint *Peter* at *Rome* is viſited every *Fryday* of *March*; and they call this viſiting, *Corror os Paſſos*, that is, going about and viſiting the ſteps of our Lord; which ſerves the people, during this time of Lent, no leſs for devotion then for paſtime.

March the firſt, There was alſo another Proceſſion in *Goa* of the Diſciplinanti, which I went not to ſee; the like is made every *Fryday* during all Lent, and therefore I ſhall not ſtand to deſcribe it. I believe there is no City in the world, where there are more Proceſſions made then in *Goa* all the year long; and the reaſon is, becauſe the Religious are numerous, and much more then the City needs; they are alſo of great authority and very rich, and the People being naturally idle, and addicted to Shews, neglecting other Cares of more weight, and perhaps more profitable to the Publick, readily imploy themſelves in theſe matters; which, however good, as ſacred and parts of divine worſhip, yet in ſuch a City as this which borders upon Enemies, and is the Metropolis of a Kingdom lying in the miſt of *Barbarians*, and ſo alwayes at Warr, and where nothing elſe ſhould be minded but Arms and Fleets, ſeem according to worldly Policy unprofitable and too frequent, as alſo ſo great a number of Religious and Eccleſiaſtical perſons is burdensome to the State, and prejudicial to the Militia. In the Evening of every *Fryday* of Lent, there is a Sermon upon the Paſſion, in the Church of *Gieſu*; and ſo likewiſe in other Churches, but upon other dayes and hours. At the end of theſe Sermons certain Tabernacles are open'd, and divers figures, repreſenting ſome paſſages of the Paſſion, (according to the ſubject of the Sermon) are with lighted Tapers ſhew'd to the People; as one day that of the *Ecce Homo*; another day, Our Lord with the Croſs upon his ſhoulders; and the laſt day, the Crucifix; and ſo every day, one thing ſutable to the purpoſe. Oftentimes they make theſe figures move and turn, as they made the Robe fall off from the *Ecce Homo*, and diſcover the wounded Body; at which ſight the devout People utter prodigious Cryes, and the Women force themſelves to ſhreek out; and the Signore, or Gentlewomen, are ſo zealous, that

that they not onely cry out themselves, but make their Maids do so too, and beat them even in the Church if they do not, and that very lowdly, whether they have a will to it or no. Strange devotion indeed!

March the third, Ten Ships of Warr were at length sent from Goa to the barr or mouth of the Sea, in order to depart (as they did) within two or three dayes towards *Ormuz* to *Ruy Freira*; the General of which was Sig: *Sancho de Toar*, Brother to *Veedor da Fazenda*, who was Treasurer and Captain of one of the Ships. Our Friend Sig: *Michel Pereira Boralho*, who was sometimes Captain of the Galeons, went also; his Brother *Giovan Boralho*, was kill'd under *Ruy Freira*, in the battle with the English at *Giask* last year, being Admiral of that Fleet, which next the General is the prime charge, having been many times before *Capitan Maggiore*, as they speak, or General, in the Streight of *Ormuz*; I make particular mention of him upon account of his relation to Sig: *Michel* our Friend. But such a succour for *Ormuz* after so long a time, is indeed a very inconsiderable matter. Yet, they say, other Ships are preparing to be sent after these.

III.

March the one and twentieth, I took the Altitude of the Sun at Goa with my Astrolabe, and found him decline at noon from the Zenith towards the South fourteen degrees, and forty minutes. He was this day in the thirtieth degree of *Pisces*, and consequently, in the *Æquinoctial* without any Declination; so that without making any Substraction or Addition to this number, Goa, that is, the City, will lye just so many degrees (14. gr. 40'.) from the *Æquinoctial* towards the North, and also have the Northern Pole elevated as many.

March the eight and twentieth, News was brought to Goa how the great *Moghòl* had caus'd all the English that were at his Court to be slain, and imprisoned all the rest that were at *Surat*. As for those that were slain, some say it was by the *Moghòl's* Order in way of punishment, and that they were hang'd and otherwise executed; Others say, it was by chance, as they endeavour'd to defend themselves by Arms, when he sent onely to arrest them prisoners, as he did those of *Surat*; and this seems most likely. Be it as it will, this Accident may easily disturb their Commerce something in that Country. The occasion is reported thus. A few dayes, or moneths agoe, the English in *Surat* apprehending themselves aggriev'd to a considerable sum by the *Moghòl's* Ministers, (whether by exaction of Customs, or in Accounts, I know not) to repair the loss by force, since otherwise they could not, made reprisal of some of the *Moghòl's* ships, which were come abroad full laden; and being the *Moghòl's* people were not able to deal with the English at Sea, they were constrain'd for recovering their surpris'd Vessels, to grant the English every thing demanded, and satisfie them so far as they pretended to be aggrieved. Which thing coming afterwards to the King's knowledge, he caus'd all of that Nation to be apprehended where-ever

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found

found in his Dominions, hereupon hapned the slaughter above-mention'd. For my part, I think the English have not manag'd their business discreetly in this case; for how is it possible for a few strangers and inmates to contest with, and get the better of, a great King in his own Country? And upon rising of the like differences, I should account it the best course to accord them with good words, and amicably with the said King, by complaining of his Ministers, and procuring him to provide in such cases as well as may be; and this course may succeed happily: Otherwise, if redress can be obtain'd, then, before a manifest feud, 'twere best to get out of his power, and warr upon him securely, not in his own Country where there are so many people, and the King, undoubtedly, hath more power then any other. I believe, the English made this attempt, upon supposition that the *Moghòl* hath great need of the Sea, and that to the end his Ships might have free passage therein, without being molested by the English, he would suffer what they pleas'd. But herein, in my opinion, they are grossly mistaken; because the *Moghòl* is a very great and wealthy King, whose Revenues arise from his own Lands, and not from the Sea; and to whom that little which is to be had from the Sea, (how great soever it may be) is nothing, and nothing he accounts it; because it accrues rather to some small Captain of his, as the Governour of *Surât*, and the like, then to the King himself: So that, What is he concern'd for it? But indeed he will be concern'd for such an injury done to him in his own jurisdiction, as the English have done by making reprisal of Ships, which Princes much inferior to the *Moghòl* would not have suffer'd from any admitted as Friends into their Countries. Besides, the grievances alledg'd by the English were but pretences, and the *Moghòl's* Ministers had their Reasons for them; wherefore the case ought to have been heard before falling to violence; and let the matter be how it will, 'twas just for him to be Judge in his own Country, and that this respect should be shewn him, if the English would have taken this course; if not, or if he would not do them Justice, they were alwayes at liberty to go out of his power, and so make Warr against him by Sea upon better terms. Concerning the Affairs of the *Moghòl* with his Son, they said that *Sultân Chorròm* having been twice routed, was at last retreated with some few followers into the Dominions of *Cutab-Sciâh*; and that his Father had given over pursuing him, and being retir'd to his own Court, left him there in quiet; that *Cutab-Sciâh* did not assist him out of awe to the Father, nor yet drive him out of his Territories out of respect to himself, but let him enjoy the possession of a certain small circuit in his Country to which he had retir'd.

IV.

Concerning Persian affairs, we heard a while since, and it was verifi'd, that not only the English Ships were gone thither according to their custom for the Trade of Silk, but also those of the *Hollanders* which come to *Surât*; perhaps because the *Hollanders*

landers are minded to set up a Traffick thither too, as I understood from a good hand last year at *Surât*. In the mean time other Ships and Galeons are preparing at *Goa* to be sent to *Ormûz*.

April the tenth, Three Galeons freighted with Victual departed from *Goa* to *Ruy Freira* for the war of *Ormûz*, as two other Ships had done a few days before besides the above-mention'd ten: and order was given for three other Galeons to go from *Mozambique* with people sufficient to arm all the six; because the former three of *Goa* carri'd no Soldiers but only Sea-men. They carri'd also from *Goa* a Petard, wherewith they said they intended to attempt the little false Gate of *Ormûz* which stands towards the Sea; and several other preparations of War.

On the twenty ninth of the same month, being the day of *S. Pietro Martire*, who, they say, was the Founder of the *Inquisition* against Hereticks, the Inquisitors of *Goa* made a Solemnity before their House of the Inquisition which is in the Piazza of the Cathedral, and was sometimes the Palace of *Sabaio* Prince of *Goa* when the *Portugals* took it, whence it is still call'd *la Piazza di Sabaio*. After solemn Mass had been sung in the Church of *San Domirico*, as Vespers had been the day before, in presence of the Inquisitors, who coming to fetch the Fryers in Procession, repair'd thereunto in *Pontificalibus*; in the evening many carrees were run on horse-back by the *Portugal-Gentry*, invited purposely by the Inquisitors; and a day or two after (for this Evening was not sufficient for so many things) there was in the same Piazza a Hunting or Baiting of Bulls after the Spanish fashion; but the Beasts being tame and spiritless afforded little sport; so that I had not the curiosity to be present at it. This is a new Festival lately instituted by the present Inquisitors, who, I believe, will continue it yearly hereafter.

May the tenth, a Packet-boat from *Mascât* arriv'd at *Goa* with Letters dated *April* the twenty fourth, confirming what had some dayes before been rumor'd, that the King of *Persia* had taken *Baghdâd*, and the *Persians* were about to go against *Bassorâ* by Sea, but were diverted from their design by the *Portugal Fleet* which they heard was preparing to succour that City; besides some Ships of theirs which they continually keep there in favour of the *Turks* against the *Persians* to guard the Mouth of the River, which is *Euphrates* and *Tigris* joyn'd together. The same Boat brought news also that twelve Ships were already departed from *Mascât* under the conduct of my friend Sig. *Michele Pereira* to begin a new Siege of *Ormûz*; and that *Ruy Freira* waited for the Galeons that he might go thither too with the greater Fleet. If it be true, that *Sciab-Abbas* ha's taken *Baghdâd*, I am confident that at the long run *Bassorâ* will fall into his hands too: if the *Portugals* may hinder him by sea, they cannot by land; and 'tis a clear case, that if he hath *Baghdâd*, he intends also to have the port of *Bassorâ*, which is of great importance. That

he ha's taken *Baghdàd* may very well be true, during the present ill State of the Turkish Affairs, after the late tumults in that Court, and the death of *Sultàn Suleiman* who was lately murder'd and his formerly depos'd Uncle *Sultàn Mustafà* restor'd to the Empire, as I was lately assur'd here, by an *Armenian* who told me that he was at *Constantinople* in the time of these Revolutions; and that *Sultàn Mustafà* was very loth to re-assume the Government by reason of the ill deportment of the Ministers; and that he would have no more Women or Concubines, but had married and dismiss'd all that were in the Seraglio; that, if any woman came into his presence, he ran at her with his Ponyard, professing to lead a chaste and religious life, not meaning to have other Successors then his Brother's two Sons, the elder of which is *Sultàn Mahomad* Son of *Sultànà Kiosmè*, who, I alwayes believ'd, would by his Mother's Art some day come to rule, and now without doubt, whether she be living or not, (if the above-said relations be true) will at least reign after his Uncle *Mustafà*. Now forasmuch as in these violent mutations of Empires, the Government alwayes suffers deterioration, because without some evil disposition of the Government such violences in Royal Families cannot arise; therefore, I say, perhaps this ill posture of affairs hath afforded the *Sciàh* occasions making himself Master of *Baghdàd*, especially if the Tyrant *Bechir Subasci*, who had in a manner usurp'd it to himself, have given it into his power; (which is an easie thing even in the good State of the Turkish Affairs) being perhaps afraid of *Sultàn Mustafà*, who, they say, is very prudent and wholly intent to reform the Disorders of the Empire without caring to attend forreign enterprises; whence perhaps having an eye too upon the Disorders of *Baghdàd*, he was about to raise a strong Army for removing the said Tyrant, who by this means became necessitated to yield it to the *Sciàh*. Nevertheless in these matters I have some doubt, because the same *Armenian* told me, that *Sultàn Mustafà* had made peace with the *Persian* for twenty years; and if the taking of *Baghdàd* be true, it is a breaking of the peace; which amongst the Moors, and considering the Customs of *Sciàh Abbas* is not impossible. At present I suspend my belief, and desire to have more certain and particular informations of these matters, of which in *Goa* there is little plenty.

V.

By the same Vessel came a Letter from *Sig. Nicolao de Silva Vedor da Fazenda*, or Treasurer at *Mascàt*, to one of the Inquilitors, wherein he signifi'd to him that he understood by the Letters of the French Consul at *Aleppo*, that at *Rome* *Gregory XV.* was dead, and a new Pope already chosen, *Card. Masseo Barberini*, about fifty four years old, who had assumed the name of *Urban VIII.* The same Letter further advertis'd that in *Spain* the Marriage between the Prince of *England*, and the *Infanta* was celebrated upon the day of our Ladie's Nativity in *September*; and that the *Infante Don Carlo* was to accompany her into *England*, and from

from thence pass to his Government of *Flanders*; that in *England* the Catholicks had publick Churches open, and enjoy'd Liberty of Conscience: That in *Italy* the business of the *Valtolin* had been referr'd to his Holiness; but Pope *Gregory* dy'd without determining it: That the King of *Spain* kept a great Army ready in *Milan* about it; and that a League was made against him in *Italy* by other Princes; that some said *Don Carlo* of *Spain* was to marry the Heiress of *Lorraine*; and other like news, which being of things either uncertain or future, I make small account of, till I see the issue.

May the seventeenth, By a Merchants Ship from *Bassora*, we had more certain intelligence by *Luigi Medices*, of *Ramiro* the *Venetian* Consul at *Aleppo*, that Pope *Gregory* XV. dy'd on the twenty ninth of *July* 1623. having been sick only five dayes. The Relation of the Conclave saith that the Pope dy'd on the eight of *July*, the Cardinals enter'd into the Conclave on the nineteenth, and that on the sixth of *August* *Urban* VIII. was created Pope. That Card. *Montato* dy'd a little before the Pope, and Card. *Ludoviso* was made Vice-Chancellor in his stead; and the Chamberlainship, being vacant by the death of *Aldobrandino*, was conferr'd upon the young Cardinal of the same name. That the new Pope *Urban* was sick for some dayes after his Election; but afterwards recovering was crown'd upon the day of *S. Michael* the Archangel. That besides the Pope, almost all the Cardinals fell sick through the inconveniences of the Conclave in so hot a season; and many of them dy'd, as *Pignatelli*, *Serra*, *Sauli*, *Gozzadino*, and *Sacrat*; and the Card. *Gherardi* and *Aldobrandino* remaining still grievously sick; and that of the Conclavists there dy'd about sixty; which indeed was a great number, for a Conclave that lasted so short a while. That *Telli* (*Tilly*) the Emperor's General, had given a great rout to *Alberstat*; and the Emperor's Affairs in *Germany* pass'd very well. That 'twas true, a confederacy was made against *Spain* about the business of the *Valtolin* between *France*, *Venice*, and *Savoy*, but that it will proceed no further, because *Spain* had deposited the *Valtolin* in the hands of the Pope. That the Prince of *Urbino* was dead, and consequently that State would fall to the Church; which is a thing of much importance. That at *Venice* the Doge *Prunili* was dead, and a new Doge already elected, one *Contarini* an eminent Person. That there was a great Plague, and that the King of *France* had subdu'd almost all the Garrisons of the Hereticks, except *Rochel*, which he also hop'd shortly to reduce to obedience. That the Espousals were pass'd between the Infanta of *Spain* and the King of *England*'s Son, with hope that he is already a Catholick. That they have given her in dower the pretensions of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and money, on condition that Liberty of Conscience be granted in *England* and four Churches for Catholicks built in *London*, which was already executed, publick Writings thereof going about in print; besides

sides divers other Affairs of *Europe* of less consideration.

VI.

May the nineteenth, One *Ventura da Costa*, a Native of *Canara* was married. He was a domestick servant to Sig: *Alvaro da Costa*, a Priest and our Friend, Lord of a Village near *Goa*; for whose sake, who was willing to honour his servant's wedding in his own House, I and some other Friends went thither to accompany the Bride and the Bride-groom to the Church of *San Blagio*, a little distant in another Village, which was the Parish of the Bride, where the Ceremonies were perform'd in the Evening for coolness sake. The Company was very numerous, consisting of many *Portugal* Gentlemen, such, perhaps, as few other *Canarini* have had at their Marriages. The Spouses came under Umbrella's of Silk garnish'd with silver, & in other particulars the Ceremonies were according to the custom of the *Portugals*; only I observ'd, that according to the use of the Country, in the Company before the Married Persons, there march'd a party of fourteen or sixteen men odly cloth'd after the Indian fashion, to wit, naked from the girdle upward, and their Bodies painted in works with white Sanders, and adorn'd with bracelets and necklaces of Gold and Silver, and also with flowers and turbants upon their heads, in several gallant fashions and streamers of several colours hanging behind them: From the girdle downwards, over the hose which these *Canarini* use to wear short like ours, they had variously colour'd clothes girt about them with streamers, or flying laps, hanging down a little below the knee; the rest of the leg was naked, saving that they had sandals on their feet. These fine fellows danc'd all the way both going and returning, accompanying their dances with chaunting many Verses in their own Language, and beating the little snappers which they carry'd in their hands, after the fashion of the Country, formerly taken notice of at *Ikkeri*. And indeed the dances of these *Canarini* are pleasant enough; so that in the Festivities made at *Goa* for the Canonization of the Saints *Ignatio* and *Scia-zier*, though in other things they were most solemn and sumptuous; yet, in my conceit, there was nothing more worthy to be seen for delight, then the many pretty and jovial dances which interven'd in the Tragedy. The Marry'd Couple being return'd from Church to the Bride's House, we were entertain'd with a handsome Collation of Sweet-meats in the yard, which was wholly cover'd over with a Tent, and adorn'd with Trees and green boughs, the Company sitting round, and the Marry'd Couple on one side at the upper end upon a great Carpet under a Canopy. After which we all return'd home, and the Husband stay'd that night to sleep in his Wife's House.

VII.

May the twentieth, A Galley of the Fleet expected from *Mozambique* arriv'd at *Goa*. It brought Sig: *Don Nugro Alvares*, (sometimes General there, and Supream Governour of all that Coast of *Casuria*, comprising under his Government the Rivers of *Coama*, *Atombace*, and as much of *Africk* as the *Portugals* have from

from *Capo di Buono Esperanza*, to the Streight of *Meka*) and with him a Jesuit that was a Bishop, one of those that were to go into *Ethiopia*. The Patriarch design'd thither, being also a Jesuit, remain'd behind in another Galeot, as likewise did the Ships of the last years *Portugal* Fleet, which came on by little and little. They brought News of the miserable wrack of a Ship call'd *San Giovanni*, which two years before set forth from *Goa* for *Portugal* very rich; and meeting with the *Dutch* by the way, after a long fight being totally shatter'd, ran a ground upon the Coast of *Casuria*; so that, saving the people remaining after the fight, and the Jewels, all was lost: Which people, after this disaster, refusing both the offer of good entertainment made them by the Lord of the place, who was a Friend to the *Portugals*, all upon advice sent to *Mozambique* they might have passage thither; and also his counsel to travel far within Land, where he said, they would have less trouble in passing many Rivers, which otherwise they would meet with, and find an unarmed, and more hospitable people; but unadvisedly after the inconsiderate humor of the *Portugals* resolving to go by land to *Mozambique*, and travel always far from the Sea amongst barbarous inhospitable people who eat humane flesh; and with-all, not behaving themselves well with them in their passage, but out of a foolish temerity giving many occasions of disgusts, they were assaulted in many places by the said *Casiri*, often spoyl'd and rob'd, and many of them kill'd; so that of the Women that were with them, some were taken, others strip'd naked, till, after a thousand inconveniences and sufferings, and, as some say, about eight moneths travelling on foot, during which they were fain to wade through abundance of Rivers, at last no more of the company arriv'd at *Mozambique* but twenty seven persons; all the rest being either slain by the way, or dead of hardships, excepting some few that were kept slaves by the *Casiri*; amongst which, was a *Portugal* Gentlewoman of quality, whom they kept to present to their King, without hope, I believe, of ever being deliver'd. A misery indeed worthy of compassion. The Jewels sent from *Goa* to be sold in *Portugal*, were almost all sav'd and deposited at *Mozambique* in the *Misericordia*; some say to be restor'd to the owners, and others say, at the instance of the King's Officer, who pretends the King's Right to them as shipwreckt goods; yet most conclude, that the case will not be so judg'd, but that they will be restor'd to the owners, upon payment of some small matter to those that sav'd them.

May the three and twentieth, I visited the above-mention'd Bishop now arriv'd in *Goa*, at the Colledge of *San Paolo Novo*. He was call'd *Dom Joanno da Rocha*, and nominated but not consecrated Bishop of *Heliopoli*.

VIII.

On the twenty sixth, I visited in the Covent of our Lady della *Gratia*, F. Fra: *Manoel della Madre di Dio*, formerly known to me in *Persia*, and now Prior of the Covent of *Sphahan*, who the day

day before arrived at *Goa* in a Shallop which had been long expected and judg'd lost, having been seven moneths in coming from *Mascat*. He said, he came about Affairs of his Order and the Covents of *Persia*, (for besides that which I left at *Sphahan*, they have since made one at *Sciraz*, and another at *Bassora*, and daily multiply) yet with-all it was rumored, that he was sent by the King of *Persia*, to treat with the Vice-Roy about According the matters of *Ormuz*; and I believe it, although he spoke nothing of it himself; otherwise, me-thinks 'tis not likely they would have let him come out of *Persia* without the King's express Licence, or that the King would have granted it in time of Warr, unless he had come about some particular business of his. He informed me that all my friends in *Persia* were well, and so did a Letter of F: *Fra: Giovanni* to his Provincial at *Goa*, wherein mention was made of me, giving me intelligence of the well-fare of all my Friends, and how *Sitti Laali* my Cousin, had brought forth a Son whom she had nam'd *Avedik*, from *Chogia Avedik* his Father's Uncle; which News was stale, for I knew it before my coming out of *Persia*; and indeed, all the Letters F. *Manoel* brought were of a very old date; to me he brought none, because my Friends there conceiv'd I was gone out of *India* into *Europe*.

May the seven and twentieth, A Ship of the *Portugal* Fleet that was coming from *Mozambique*, arrived in the Port of *Mormogon*; it entred not into the River of *Goa*, because the mouth of the River, by reason of the lateness of the season was unsecure, and began to be stopped; for every year all the mouths of the Rivers and Ports of this Coast are fill'd with sand during the time of Rain, wherein the West wind blows very tempestuously, and are open'd again in *September* when the Rain ends. The Port of *Mormogon*, as I have elsewhere said, is in the same Island of *Goa*, in the other mouth of the more Southern River, where sometimes old *Goa* stood, by which goods are convey'd by Boat from the Ships to the City, but by a longer way, going behind round the Island.

May the twenty eighth, In the Evening at the time of *Ave Maria*, the Bells of almost all the Churches of *Goa*, saving that of the Jesuits, were rung for the Beatification of two Fryers, of the Order of *San Domenico*, whereof this Ship had brought News.

May the twenty ninth, Another *Portugal* Ship of the Fleet arrived, and within two or three dayes after, all the other Ships expected from *Mozambique*; and in one of them, the Jesuit design'd Patriarch into *Aethiopia*, whither he with two Bishops, whereof one was dead by the way, and many other Jesuits, was sent at the instance of the King of the same Country, who, they say, is called *Sultan Saghed*, and professes himself a Roman-Catholick already, with great hopes of reducing all that Kingdom to the Church in short time. As for the progress which the Jesuits

suits affirm daily to be made in those Countries, being I know nothing of them, but by the information of others, I refer you to their Annual Letters; and it suffices me to have touched here what I saw concerning the same, to wit, the expedition of this Patriarch, Bishops, and many Fathers who were sent thither by several wayes, attempting to open a passage into those Countries, lest such Commerce might be hindred by the *Turks* who are Masters of some of those Passes; So that the F. Visitor of the Jesuits told me, they had this year sent many people for *Æthiopia*, not onely by the Arabian Gulph, and the Territories of the *Turky* bordering upon it, but also by *Cascem* a Country of *Arabia* govern'd by *Arabians* themselves; by *Mozambique* and *Mombaza*, Countries of the *Portugals*, in the Coast of *Africk*; by *Casaria*, *Angola*, and *Congo*; that so by these several wayes they might send enough, being the King demanded at least two hundred of their Fathers. And 'tis manifest, that if the Conversion goes forward, as they presuppose, the Country is so large that there will be work enough for a greater number of Fathers and Religious Catholicks.

June the second, We accompany'd, with a solemn Cavalcade, Sig: *Andrea de Quadro*, from the House of his God-father Sig: *Gasparo di Melo*, Captain of the City, to the Jesuits Colledge; where, by the hands of the same Fathers, was given him the degree of Master of Arts, that is, of Philosophy; the said Fathers having by Apostolical Authority jurisdiction in *India* to confer the said degree, and that of Doctorate; for which reason I here have taken notice of this action.

IX.

June the seventh, I visited in the said Colledge the Patriarch of *Æthiopia* one of the society, nam'd *Don Alfonso Luigi de Santi*; he told me much News from *Rome*, and of several of my Relations whom he knew; but it was stale News. The Patriarch and his Fathers had been inform'd of me, both by the Fathers of *Goa*, and by a *Portugal* Souldier call'd *Pero Lopez*, whom I knew in *Persia*, and who went to *Rome* with my Letters, where he lodg'd many dayes in my House, from thence pass'd into *Spain*, and at length return'd into *India*; and came from *Mozambique* to *Goa*, in the same Ship with the Patriarch. To gratifie whose desires of seeing me, upon their informations, I visited him; he not onely shew'd me many courtesies, and offers of serving me, with like ceremonious words, but himself and all his Fathers enter'd into an intimate Friendship with me, condition'd to hold mutual correspondence of Letters from *Æthiopia* to *Rome*, and where ever else I should happen to be. We discours'd of many things, and he inquir'd of me concerning his Voyage, and how Fathers might pass at any time into *Æthiopia* from other parts, particularly, from *Egypt*. I inform'd him of the *Æthiopick* Language, and some good Books for learning it, &c.

June the sixteenth, If I mistake not in Computation, for

F f

which

which I refer my self to better diligence (which I shall use with their Ephemerides of this year, in case I can procure the same) the Moors were to begin their *Rasandhan* or Fast of their 1633 year of the *Hegira*.

June the twenty fourth, Being in a Window to see the careers of the Cavaliers who ran in the Street before the Vice-roy according to the yearly custom in *Goa* upon *S. John's Day*, I happened to meet with *Sig. Luis de Mendoza* General of the Fleet wherewith I went to *Calecut*, and *Sig. Bento* or *Benedetto*, or *Freites Mascarenhas*, in a Portugal Habit, who a few years before was taken by Pirats of *Algiers*, and carried a slave to *Barbary*; whence being redeemed and return'd into his own Country, he was favourably look't upon by his King, and sent again into *India* Captain of a Galeon. This Cavalier, besides the relation of his own misadventures told me how *Qara Sultan* (who in my time was sent Embassador from the King of *Persia* into *Spain* in answer to the Embassy of *Don Garcia de Silva Figueroa*, and travailed in the same Ship, before it was taken by the Pirats) died by the way, having first substituted another of his company to perform his charge; which other Embassador was taken with the said Ship, and carried a slave into *Argiers*; whereof notice being given to the *Persian* Embassador at *Constantinople*, order was expected from thence what to do with him; which not coming before this Gentleman was delivered he could not tell what the issue was; but left him still a prisoner in *Argiers*.

- XI. *August* the fifth, The *Indians* were to celebrate their solemn Festival of Washing and other Ceremonies accustomed to be performed at *Narva*, and mentioned by me in the last years relation to be celebrated on the seventeenth of the same Month. And because this year the Feast-day fell twelve dayes sooner in our year than in the last, I perceived that the *Indian* year must be Lunar; or if it be Solar, as I think I have heard, it cannot be just or equal, but to be adjusted requires some great and extravagant intercalation. I went not to *Narva* to see the Feast, because the place lies beyond the River in the Territory of the Moors, who at this time stood not upon good Terms with the *Portugals*. Neither did the Gentiles of *Goa* go thither, for the same reason; and if I was not mis-enformed, they expected a safe conduct from *Idal-Sciab* from *Vidhiapor*, to go thither another day.

August the ninth, Two hours and forty minutes before Noon (if the Calculation and Observation of *Christofero Borano* or *Boro* be true) the Sun was in the Zenith of *Goa*, and began to decline towards the South.

August the twenty fourth, On which day the Feast of *S. Bartholomew* uses to be celebrated, certain Officers deputed for that purpose with other Principal Persons entrusted with the superintendency of the Fields and Agriculture, offered to the Cathedral Church, and afterwards also to the Vice-roy, the first-fruits

fruits of the Fields, to wit, of Rice newly eared, which is the most substantial of the fruits of the Territory of *Goa*. I was told likewise that they made a Statue of an Elephant with Rice-straw, which I know not whether they carry'd about with them or set up in some Piazza. This custom is practis'd annually upon the said day, because at that time precisely the said fruit begins to ripen.

August the twenty seventh, One Galeon (of four that were coming from *Mascat*, whither they had been sent last *April* with Provisions) arriv'd at *Goa*; they came, by the Vice-roy's Order, to transport, if occasion requir'd, new succours to be sent to *Ormuz*. This Ship related, that the other three were possibly return'd back again to the streight of *Ormuz*, for fear of some *Dutch* Vessels which hover'd thereabouts; but this being driven out to Sea, and having lost its company in the night, was forc'd to come directly forwards. It related further, that *Ormuz* had been again besieg'd a good while by the Captains of *Ruy Freira*, to wit, first by *Michel Pereira Boraglio* our friend, and afterwards by another, whom he sent thither by turns, because thereby the task would be easier to the besiegers: but that, at the parting of these Gallies from *Mascat*, *Ruy Freira* himself was upon the point to go to the said Siege with all the Men and Vessels with oars he had, which were about twenty or twenty five Galeots, and many less *Morisco* Vessels call'd *Ternata's*: a small preparation indeed to take *Ormuz* withall.

September the second, a little before day-light, The safe arrival of the annual *Portugal* Fleet was congratulated by all the Bells of *Goa*. It consisted of two Merchant's Ships, lesser and lighter then the Carracks which use to come other years; one Galeon laden also with Merchandize, and order'd to return with the same Ships, in case it should not be necessary at *Goa* for the war; and five other Galeons equip'd for war which were to remain at *Goa* with all the Soldiery which was numerous and good, to be imploy'd as occasion should require. The General of this Armada was Sig. *Nugno Alvares Botelho*; the Admiral Sig. *Giovan Pereira Cortereal*, to whose diligence the happy and speedy arrival of this Fleet is attributed; the like not having come to pass in many years, and that through the fault and greediness both of the Pilots and Merchants: for before, without keeping order or rule in the voyage or obedience to the General, every one endeavor'd to have his Ship arrive first and alone. But this Sig. *Gio. Pereira Cortereal* having written and presented a printed Discourse about this matter to the King, his Majesty approv'd the same and gave strict charge that his Prescription should be observ'd with all exactness; and hence proceeded the good success of this Voyage. This Fleet brought news, that the Prince of *England* was departed from *Spain* without effecting the marriage between the two Crowns, because the Parliament of *England* would not consent to it: which considering all the preceding transactions seems to me a strange case, and perhaps the like

hath scarce hapned between Princes; unless possibly there be some unknown myserie in the business: That the Frosts having obstructed the mouth of a River in *Holland* had caus'd a great inundation, which broke the banks or dikes whereby they keep out the sea, and done much damage to the Country: That twelve Ships which set forth from thence for *India*, being beset by the *Spanish* Fleet of *Dunkirk*, were partly sunk and partly shatter'd, so that they could not come to *India*. That the Catholics, in *August* last, upon the precise day whereon *Urban VIII.* was created Pope, had obtain'd a signal victory in *Germany* against the Hereticks. That great Fleets were preparing in *England*, *Spain*, and *France*, for unknown designs. That the King of *Spain* was at *Sevil*, and the Queen had brought him forth a Daughter who was dead; but the Daughter of the *Conte di Vidigueira*, present Vice-Roy here in *India*, had brought him forth a Son; at which the Queen was much pleas'd with the King. And that in *Portugal* it was expected that the Arch-Duke *Leopold* should go to govern that Kingdom.

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September the fifth, the other three Galeons, which I said were to come from *Mascat*, arriv'd at *Goa*. The cause of their delay was, as was rightly conjectur'd, that they had discover'd an English Ship upon those Coasts, and spent some time in giving her chase, but in vain, through the fault perhaps of the *Portugal* Captain who was loth to fight her: for one of them made up to her, and fought a while with her Artillery, but perceiving her companions came not to do the like, gave over, and having given and receiv'd many shots, let her go without doing her hurt, and return'd to her company. The English Ship shew'd much bravery; for seeing three Vessels coming against her, she waited to give them battle without flying. The above-said Galeons brought Letters which signifi'd that *Mascat* was molested with wars by the neighbouring *Arabians*; which, I conceive, may be upon some confederacy with the King of *Persia*, thereby to divert the *Portugals* from the Siege of *Ormuz*. That *Ormuz* was well provided with Men and Victuals; that nevertheless they hop'd it would be taken, if good succour were sent from *Goa*, particularly of Galeons to fight with the *Dutch* Ships which were expected to come to the Ports of *Persia* to assist *Ormuz*, and recruit it with fresh soldiers. Of the English there is no speech, because considering the late transactions in *Spain*, it is not known whether there will be War or Peace with them henceforward, though perhaps the Vice-roy may know something in private.

September the twenty ninth, A Jesuit, whose name I know not, was consecrated here in their Church of *Giesu*, Arch-Bishop of *Angamali*, and as they speak in the *Portugal* Language, *da Serra*, that is, of the Mountain, where live the Christians whom they call *di San Tome*, of the Chaldean Rite, and sometimes subject to the Schismatical Patriarks of *Babylonia*, but now of late

late years (by the diligence of the *Portugals*) Catholicks, and obedient to *Rome*; his residence is in *Cranganor*, five leagues from *Cocin* Northwards.

October the one and twentieth, Proclamation was made by the Vice-Roy's Order for the Souldiers to come and receive Pay, in Order to their going to *Ormuz*. The Armado wherein they were to go, was very long in preparing through want of mony; which the Vice-Roy was very diligent to raise, both from the Merchants, and also from the *Gentiles*, who consented to pay a certain Annual Summ, (or else a greater once for all) that Licence might be granted them to celebrate Marriages in *Goa*, according to their own Rite, which ordinarily was not allowed them. But all these courses were not sufficient to dispatch the Fleet with that diligence which was desired; and in the mean time it was said, that many Dutch or English Ships infested the Ports of *Ciaul*, *Bassaim*, and *Dabul*, without controll; by all which it appears to me, that matters in *India* go every day from bad to worse.

October the one and thirtieth, News came to *Goa* that *Melik Ambar*, who a good while had succesfully warr'd against *Adil-Sciab*, at length in a victory had taken one *Mulla Mubhamed*, General of *Adil-Sciab's* Army, and much favor'd by him; who by his ill demeanor towards the said *Melik*, (even so far as to endeavor to get him poyson'd) was the occasion of the present Warr, wherein *Melik's* chief intent was to revenge himself of the said *Mulla Mubhamed*: Whom being thus taken, they say, he beheaded and caus'd him in that manner to be carry'd about his Camp with this Proclamation; That this Traytor *Mulla Mubhamed*, the cause of the Warr, and present discords between *Adil-Sciab* and *Nizam-Sciab*, (to whom this *Melik* is Governour) otherwise Friends and Allies, was thus in the Name of his Lord *Adil-Sciab*, as a Traytor and disturber of the publick Peace, put to death. By which act *Melik* meant to signifie that he had no evil intention against *Adil-Sciab*, but onely took up Arms for the mischiefs done him by *Mulla Mubhamed*, whom he desir'd to remove from the Government of *Adil-Sciab* and the world. Yet it was not known how *Adil-Sciab* receiv'd this action, and what end the business would have. In this Warr, they say, the *Moghol* favor'd *Adil-Sciab* against *Melik*, and supply'd him with 20000. Horse: but, be that how it will, *Adil-Sciab* hath hitherto always gone by the worst, and some-times been in great danger; *Melik*, who is a brave Captain, having over-run all the State almost to the Gates of *Vidhiapor*, which is the Royal City of *Adil-Sciab*, where he hath sometimes been forc'd to shut himself up as 'twere besieg'd. A few moneths before, *Adil-Sciab* put one of his principal Wives to death, for intelligence which she was said to hold with *Melik*, and for having been a party in promoting this Warr, out of design to remove *Adil-Sciab* from the Government, as one become odious to his own people, either through
his

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his covetousness or inability (being infirm) and place his Son in his room, who therefore was in danger too of being put to death by his Father, when the conspiracy was discover'd. Further news came that *Adil-Sciab* had deposed from the government, and imprison'd the Governour of the maritime Territories bordering upon *Goa*, who had lately given the *Portugals* so many disgusts; which seem'd to signifie that he was minded to give them some satisfaction: that he had given the place to *Chogia Riza* or *Rezeb* a Persian, lately Governour of *Dabul*, who being in greater employments at Court will send a Deputy, and from whom being prudent, and formerly a friend to the *Portugals*, they hope better dealings.

November the first, The Confraternity *della Misericordia* made a solemn Procession in the evening (as they use to do yearly upon this day) going with two Biers from their own Church to the Church of our Lady *de la Luz*, to fetch the bones of all such as had been executed this year, and buried under the Gallows; which they carry in Procession, first to this latter, and then to their own Church to bury, where also they make solemn Exequies for them.

November the second, In the Evening the Dominicans made their solemn Procession *del Rosario* with much Solemnity, and so also the next morning, having deferr'd the same from the first Week of *October* till now, because the rain uses to disturb it in *October*. This day news came to *Goa*, that a Ship belonging to the *Mogul's* subjects, at her departing for *Gidda* from the Port of *Diu*, had there given security to return to the same Port to pay the usual Customs to the *Portugals* which would have amounted to above five thousand *Scierifines*; but the Ministers of *Diu* contented with small security, which was no more then four thousand *Scierifines*: yet when the said Ship came back very rich, she would not touch at *Diu*, little caring to discharge the small security, but put in at a place upon that Coast belonging to the *Mogul* between *Diu* and *Cambaia*. The *Portugals*, understanding this, sent the Armada of *Diu* consisting of small Vessels with Oars, to fetch her in to *Diu* by force; and the Ship refusing to obey, they fell to fighting. In the fight those of the Ship kill'd amongst others the chief Commander of the *Portugal* Armada; yet the Armada so beset the Ship that they first forc't her to run on shore, and then burn't her. It was not true that the General was slain; the Ship was taken indeed, but empty; the Moors having had time to save most of their wealth upon Land, but however they suffer'd much damage. By this accident it may be doubted whether some disgust be not likely to ensue between the *Mogul* and the *Portugals*; and I know not whether it may not somewhat retard the *Portugal* Armada and *Casila* which was ready to set sail for *Cambaia*.

November the fourth, The Armada of *Colletta* departed from *Goa* to fetch provision; it was to go to *Cocin*, and therefore the newly

newly consecrated Arch-Bishop of *Serra*, imbarqu'd in it to go to his residence; so also did F. *Andrea Palmiero*, Visitor of the Jesuits, my friend, to visit that his Province; and F. *Laertio Alberti* an Italian, with many other Jesuits who came out of *Europe* this year to go and reside there. The same day, an *Almadia* or small Boat of *Ciaul* came to *Goa* with news of a Vessel arriv'd there from *Mascat*, and also a Ship from *Bassora*; both which reported that *Ormuz* was in much distress by the Siege, so that many Moor's, soldiers, escap'd out of the Town to *Ruy Freira*; after whose arrival, the Siege proceeded prosperously for us, with good order and much hope; yet in case the succours were sent from *Goa*, which *Ruy Freira* very importunately desir'd. At *Bassora*, they said, all was quiet. This will be the last that I shall write to you from *Goa*, being ready to depart out of *India* (if it please God) within a few dayes, and desirous to return to my Country, where I may see and discourse with you the first object that I propound to my self at my revisiting our dear *Italy*. However I shall not omit in my way to acquaint you with my adventures, to the end my Letters may forerun me, and be the harbingers of my arrival. I reserve many things to tell the Sig. *Dottore*, and Signor. *Colletta*, and those other Gentlemen my friends, who, I am confident, accompany my prayers to God for my prosperous arrival; from whom wishing of you all happiness, I rest, &c.

LETTER IX.

From *Mascat* January 19, 1625.

HAVING determin'd to return to my Country, not by way of *Portugal* but by that of *Bassora*, and from thence by land to *Aleppo*, which seem'd to me the best and shortest; and having accordingly obtain'd licence of the Viceroy, (who in this and other matters hath always done me many favours) which licence was necessary, because in *Goa* 'tis rigorously prohibited to all to go into *Europ* by this way of *Turky*; and being prepared with every thing necessary by the opportunity of the *Casila* and Armada which went from *Goa* for *Cambaia*, in which there was one Ship which was to go from *Ciaul* to *Bassora*, I resolv'd to embarque in a Ship of the Armada that was to go to *Ciaul*, intending there to go aboard that which was to go to *Bassora*. In order whereunto having taken leave of all my friends, and at last got the Viceroy's licence, who was then at *Pangi*, and gave me certain Letters of importance written to his King, which I was to consign to the *Portugal* Agent at *Rome*, that he might transmit the same to his Master; on the fifteenth of *November* about evening, I went down the River in a *Mansina* or Wherry to the mouth of the Sea, and there

there went aboard the Ship I had taken, whereof *Francesco Gomez* was Captain.

In this Voyage there came with me *Marian Tinatin*, *Engenia Cingala* her servant, a Venetian Merchant, my Friend nam'd *Marc' Antonio Lanza*, whom I took for my company, with his servant nam'd *Giovanni*, *Michael* a servant given me by Sig: *Antonio Baracho*, to accompany me to *Rome*, a trusty person, to whom he had therefore given liberty; and another servant of his, nam'd *Giovan Baracho*, who was to accompany me onely to *Ciaul*, whither also his Master *Antonio* intended shortly to follow him.

November the sixteenth, Before day we set sail, and met the Armada of *Chebore*, *Din Boffaria*, and *Ciaul*, (Countries on the North of *Goa*) sailing to *Goa*; at night we cast Anchor short of the Rocks, call'd *Los Ilheos quemados*. Our course was alwayes Northwards, the Land alwayes winding from us on the Right Hand.

November the twentieth, We set sail about day-break, and at three a clock after noon cast Anchor a little short of *Ciaul*, because the wind was contrary; in a Bay, where there is a Village call'd *Pascet*; here we stay'd three dayes in expectation of some ill-arm'd Vessels of the *Casila*, which lagg'd behind.

On the four and twentieth at night, We enter'd the Port of *Ciaul*, which is within the jaws of a fair River. I sent my servant to look for a House, and in the mean time remain'd for this night in the Ship, but the next day we landed with all our Goods.

II. *November* the nine and twentieth, News came to *Ciaul* that Dutch Ships were gone from *Surat* to *Ormuz*, with intent to help the *Persians* against the *Portugals*; it being suspected that they have made some agreement with the King of *Persia*, to have a share of that place, and to inhabit it. Some said the Ships were four; others, that seven more were preparing at *Surat*, with a Petache for the same design, either all Dutch, or Dutch and English together. Be it as it will, the arrival of Enemy-Ships at *Ormuz*, before the *Portugal* Armada, I account very prejudicial to the *Portugals* design upon the place; for 'tis difficult for *Ruy Freira* to hinder them only with an Armada of Oars from relieving it, which may be done in one day; and being done, 'tis sufficient to prolong the Warr and the Siege for another year. And if it be true, that so many Ships of those Hereticks are going not onely to *Ormuz*, but also to *Mascat* and all the Coasts of *India*, I look upon it as a matter of dangerous consequence; it being rumor'd not without ground that they are agreed with the *Persians* to make Warr upon *Mascat*, and to do great matters against the *Portugals*, which God forbid.

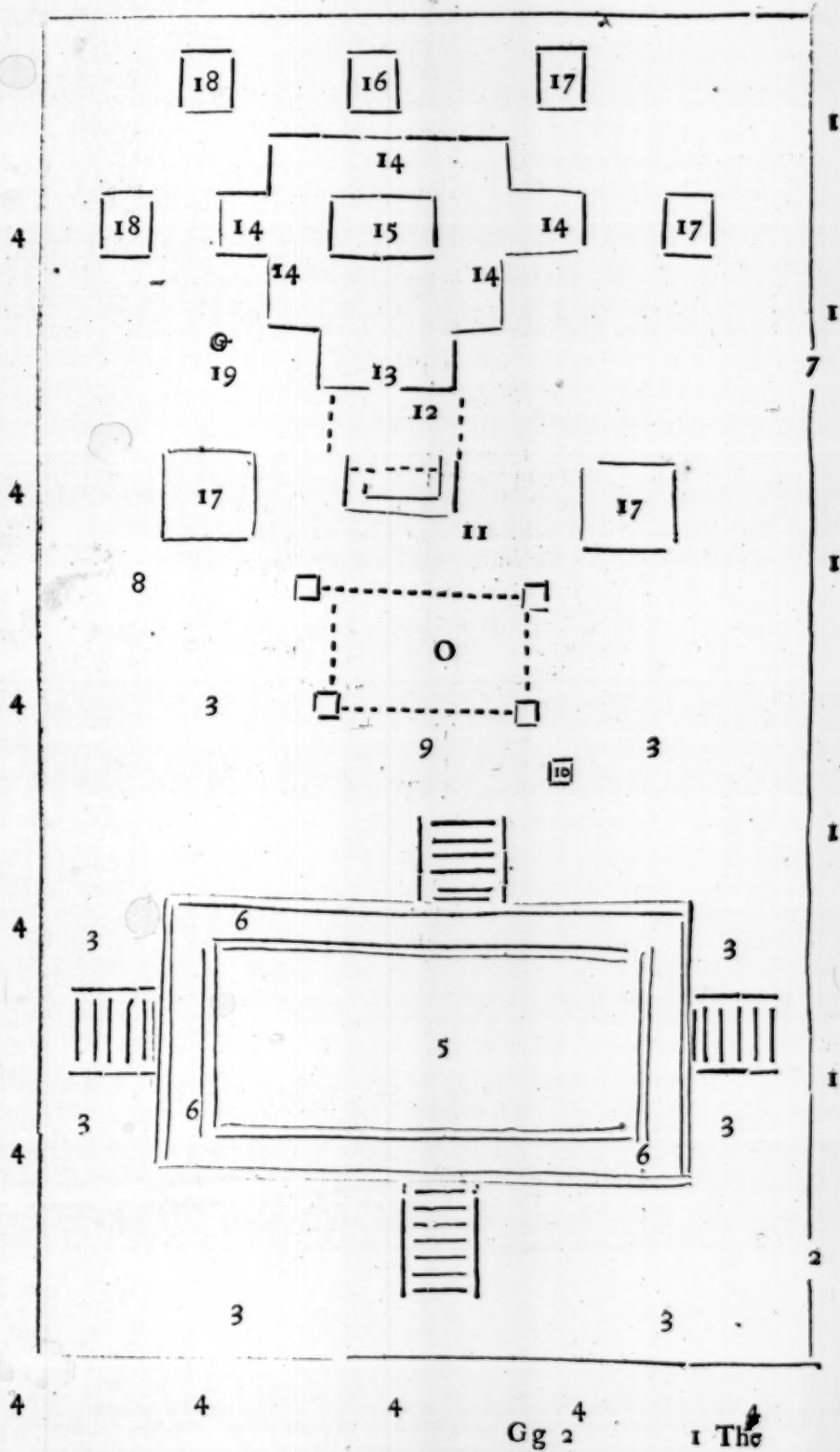
December the second, I went to view a Town of the *Moors*, subject to *Nizam-Sciah*, and his Governour *Melik Ambar*, and because near *Ciaul*, call'd *Ciaul di Riba*, that is, Upper *Ciaul*. The way leading to it is fair and handsome, amongst Groves of Palms

Palms and other Fruit-trees, and it stands on the same bank of the River more Northwards with *Ciaul* of the *Portugals*. 'Tis a large Town well inhabited both by *Moors* and *Gentiles*, especially near the *Bazar* or Market-place, where the Shops afford plenty of all things necessary for Food and Clothing, according to the fashion of the Country, as also very fine Cotton Clothes of several sorts, with other commodities which are brought thither from the more inward parts. Beyond the *Bazar*, the Houses stand not so close together, but scatter'd here and there amongst Gardens, or rather woods of Palms and other Fruit-trees, which are very thick, tall, and handsome, affording shadow to the streets all the way, which are broad, long, green, and very delightful. A little distant from the *Bazar* is a great Artificial Lake or Cistern, surrounded, as their custom is, with stone stairs; they call it *Tanle Nave Nagher*. The *Moors* for the most part dwell near the *Bazar* towards the River, which passes not far off, and is navigable seven or eight leagues upwards: Here also the *Mahometans* have their *Melchita's*, hot Baths, (which the *Gentiles* use not, because they wash themselves publicly in their Cisterns), and places of Sepulture; a *Dogana*, or Custom-house; and lastly, a *Divan*, or Court of Justice, and what-ever belongs to their Government.

Most of the *Gentiles*, who are the greatest part, live in Houses remote from the *Bazar*, amongst Gardens and Trees, where in several places they have sundry Temples of their Idols, as one principal, which I saw, of *Zagadanba* a Goddess, who, they say, is the same with *Leksemi*, Wife of *Visenu*; another good one dedicated to *Amrnt Suer*, who, they say, is the same with *Mahaden*, and is figur'd by a round stone like him of *Cambaia*. Other Temples I saw of *Neraiena*, and others of their Idols; but the greatest and chiefest of all, both for esteem and devotion, stands remote from the *Bazar* upon the way to *Ciaul* of the *Portugals*, and is dedicated to *Rami*, or *Ramisuer*; it adjoynes to a great Artificial Lake or Cistern, each side whereof is about 73 of my paces, environ'd after the usual fashion with banks and stairs of stone, leading down to the surface of the water; there are also round about it very broad walks shadow'd with high, thick, and goodly Trees, which make the place opacous and very lovely. In the front of the Temple next the Cistern, under a Cupolet supported by four Pilasters, is the statue of an Ox or Bull sitting with all the four Legs gather'd under it, being the same that I saw in *Canara*, call'd *Bajwana*, but here *Nandi*; they told me, it was a Male, and different from *Gaietry Vasca*, which was the Wife of *Rama*. The head and breast of this figure looks towards the Gate of the Temple, the back and tayl towards the Cistern; and the *Gentiles* who come to visit this Temple, first go down to wash their Face, Hands, and feet in the Cistern, and then come to kiss and touch with their Head in token of Reverence, (or at least with their Hands reverently bow'd down after their man-

III.

ner) the tayle of the said *Nandi*; after which they put off their Pantofles, and so enter the Temple bare-foot to pray and worship after their manner; of which I have else-where spoken. Some go round about the Temple before they enter, beginning from the right side, and coming about to the left, as I said before they did also at *Canara* in their Processions and Ceremonies. Others offer Fruits and other things to the Idols, or else strew grains of Rice before them in Oblation: The like they do to the Statue of the Ox *Nandi*, and also to a Sprig of *Basil*, planted there upon a square Pedestal of earth, on one side of the little Chappell of *Nandi*. There stand also upon the Lake, and other-where about the Temple, many other little Chappels inclos'd with walls, having several Idols in them. In one behind the Temple stands the Idol of the *Scimione Haniment*, in his usual and ridiculous Figure of an Ape, and sitting like a Man; and indeed, 'tis strange that these wretched people are not asham'd to worship such things. This *Haniment* was one of those *Scimioni*, or Apes which helped *Rama* to recover his Wife, for which service they merited Divine Honours; and therefore 'twas reason he should here have a place near the Temple of *Rama*, which resembles the subjoyned Plat-form.



1. The Street or High-way.
2. The Gate leading to the Cistern.
3. The place about the same.
4. Gardens and Groves about the said Street.
5. The Cistern or Artificial Lake.
6. Stairs about it.
7. Another Gate leading out of the Street or High-way to the Temple.
8. The open space where the Temple stands, enclos'd towards the Street with walls, and else-where with Gardens.
9. The Statue of *Bue Nandi*, under his Cupolet upon a pavement some-what rais'd from the ground.
10. A Pedestal with a sprig of *Basil*.
11. The Entrance of the Temple.
12. A little Porch of the same.
13. The Temple-Gate.
14. The Temple, empty within, saving that it hath a few wooden figures of Idolers, or other things.
15. A wall'd Inclosure or Penetral within the Temple, which I saw not, wherein is the Statue of *Rama*.
16. The little Chappel of the Idol *Haniment*.
17. Little Chappels of other Idols, to which certain *Gioghi*, who stand there to beg Alms, sometimes repair.
18. Other little Houses, perhaps, belonging to the Ministers of the Temple.
19. A great Tree with a round bank of Earth about it, where oftentimes some *Gioghi* sit reading and contemplating after their manner; of which sort of Trees many are planted in this inclos'd space.

IV. I was one day at this Temple, (whither I often went for Recreation) and I saw many Men and Women come to worship, and wash themselves in the Lake; some of the Women were young and handsome, yet shun'd not being seen by any one that pass'd by. There came also many *Mainati*, that is, Washers, both Men and Women to wash their clothes here, and, in brief, I took much pleasure, and sometimes dined and spent the whole day here, enjoying the shadow of the Trees, and the coolness of the Lake. It would be too long to speak here of the Idols of these *Gentiles*, how many, and what they are; perhaps I shall one day communicate something to the world about the principal of them in another Language.

V. December the seventh, My Friend Sig: *Antonio Baracho* arrived at *Cianl* as I expected; he came by the Vice-Roy's Order to make provision for the Galeoons which were sending to *Ormuz*, being seven well armed Ships, daily expected to arrive there.

December the ninth, Sig: *Antonio* having dispatched his business at *Cianl*, and taken Order for my imbarquing in the above mention'd

mentiond Vessel that was going to *Bassora*, whereof one *Antonio Giovanni* was Captain; and his much business which he had to do for the Armada at *Bassaim*, requiring haste in the Evening he departed in the same *Almadia* or *Shallop* wherein he came: Our separation was not without tears, and much regret on both sides; but I was something comforted, by his promise of visiting me at *Rome* as soon as he could get leave to go to *Portugal* about his other Affairs.

December the fifteenth, The Galeons of the Armada of *Goa* arrived at *Ciaul*; they were but six, and said that two more were coming after them, and that they had Orders, in case they understood the Ships of the Enemies were already departed from *Surat* to *Ormuz*, (as indeed they were) not to go after them, (because it would be a vain thing to think of hindering the supplying of *Ormuz* with Victuals, since it might be done if they arrived there but one day before the *Portugals*) but to go directly to *Surat* to try what damage they could do there. But in case the Enemies Ship were not yet gone from *Surat* to *Ormuz*, then to go directly to *Ormuz* as speedily as they could, and get thither before them, and hinder the besieged place from being succoured; which 'twas impossible for *Ruy Freira* to do only with his small Vessels of Oars. Now according to these orders (the *Dutch* Ships being already gone from *Surat* to *Ormuz*, as is above said) it was held fit at *Ciaul* that the Galeons should without more ado go to *Surat*, and after they had there done what mischief they could to the Enemies, then sail to *Ormuz*.

December the sixteenth, The Ship wherein I was to imbarque, being to set sail the night following, I put my Goods aboard, and having taken leave of my Friends, I was accompanied to the Sea-side by Sig. *Luigi Cabreira*, from whom I separated with many embraces, and much regret on either side. As soon as I was in the Ship the Captain weighed Anchor, intending to set sail as soon as we should have a good wind, although the Captain of *Ciaul* sent a publick Notary to the Captain of our Ship not to go out of the Port this night, the service of the King so requiring; I believe it was, that we might stay for some other Ships which were to go out the next morning, to the end we might go altogether more secure from the *Malabars*, the greatest dangers of whom is at the going out of Ports, about which they lie waiting, and near the Land where they ply up and down, more than in the main Sea. We had no wind in the night, and therefore went not out of the Port.

December the seventeenth, In the morning we set out of the Port with a small gale, and at the same time three or four other Ships set forth for several parts. We had not sail'd far, but we descri'd some Vessels coming towards us, which we took for Pirats, and therefore prepar'd to fight them; but at length we lost sight of them, and hois'd the great sail, directing our course almost

almost Northwest ; having first rehears'd the Litanies of our Lady, and invok'd the Divine Assistance, and her's, propitious to our Voyage.

December the twenty third, Having hitherto sail'd prosperously, we came to the altitude of twenty three degrees and a half, under the Tropick of *Cancer*, leaving the Torrid Zone, under which I had been travelling in sundry parts for about a year and ten Months. Here the wind fail'd us, and we had as quiet a Sea as uses to be at the shores of *Italy* in the Month of *August*. We began to find the Sky, which hitherto we had seen constantly clear, (as it uses to be in *India* during these Months) now interstinguil'd with clouds: and, in short, the mutation of the Climate was manifest. The Coast of *Arabia*, for which we were bound, could not be far off ; but we could not get to discover it for want of wind.

December the twenty seventh, Having hitherto been becalm'd, without advancing but rather being driven backwards by the contrary current of the water ; the *Portugals*, as their custom is, after reciting the Litanies, and praying to God, and Sant' *Antonio* of *Padua*, (to whom they bear great devotion) to give us a good wind, intended to bind a little Image of the said S. *Anthony* which they carry'd in the Ship, as if to imprison it : for thus they use to do, when they would obtain any favour, as if they meant to force it, threatning not to loose it till he grant them what they demand. They intended, I say, to bind S. *Anthony* that he might give us a good wind ; but forbore to do it upon the Pilot's instance, who pals'd his word for the Saint, telling them that he was so honest that without being bound or captivated, he would do what they desir'd. This manner of demanding of favours of S. *Antonio* of *Padua*, is much in use amongst the *Portugals*, especially the meaner sort of ignorant and superstitious Mariners ; though amongst us 'tis a vain thing. A barbarous Superstition indeed ; but yet such as sometimes, through the faith and simplicity of those that practise it, uses to be heard.

December the twenty eighth, We had a wind sufficiently brisk and impetuous, yet not only not favourable but altogether contrary ; so that we could neither bear up against it, nor yet cast anchor because we were in the main Sea, which growing rough and tempestuous, we were forc't to furl our sails, and suffer the Ship to be driven whither the wind pleas'd, which was Southwards, not without fear falling upon *Mombaza*, or some other remote Coast of *Africk*, and consequently suffering shipwrack, and a thousand other Dysasters.

December the twenty ninth, The Captain, with the others of the Ship resolv'd at length to bind S. *Anthony*, and as chance would have it, it prov'd well ; for the wind chang'd, and we sail'd prosperously in our right course all day, and part of the night. A little before mid-night we discover'd the Coast of *Arabia* so near that we cast anchor in haste for fear of the Shallows which

which are thereabouts. In the morning we saw the Land naked both of Trees and Grass, but rather stony in appearance and Desert, although it was part of that *Arabia* which they call Happy.

December the thirtieth, We began to move forward East South-East, having the Land on the left hand; but a sudden contrary wind arising forc't us to cast anchor again in the place where we were, not without danger; for in the furling of the sail, through the negligence of the Sea-men, it wrapt about the Mast, the wind blowing very furiously against the fore-deck; so that had the Vessel been less sound and strong-sided, or some of the Passengers less diligent to help, it had been overturn'd and sunk, like the Ship of *Orontes* in the shipwrack of *Aeneas*, which *Virgil* describes to have been lost by the like casualty. At night, the contrary wind ceasing, we proceeded in our intended course.

December the one and thirtieth, The wind failing, we cast anchor, but in an unsecure place, not without danger of being split upon the shore, whither in spight of our anchors the wind hurri'd us; but tacking about, we got to a more secure place, near that from whence we had mov'd the day before.

On the first of *January*, and of the year 1625, We stood at anchor till night, and then made a little progress; but all the next day we stood at anchor again, and took very good fish; and at night a little wind blowing from the Land, we went forwards now and then, but very little.

VII.

January the eighth, Having all the preceding days been about the Coast of *Arabia*, casting anchor every day, and weighing again at night; (during which, a Boat of *Arabians* brought us much fresh fish, and an *Arabian* came swimming to us a great way only to beg a little Rice and Bisket, which we gave him) at length having a good wind this day after noon, we pass'd a Cape which they call *Capo falso*, because 'tis neer and resembles the Cape *Ras-el-bad*, but is not it. At night we pass'd by the True Cape call'd by the *Arabians* *Ras-el-bad*, that is, the Cape of the Confine, because 'tis the last and most Southern Cape of *Arabia*, being, as they say, in the latitude of twenty two degrees and a half from the *Æquinoctial* Northwards, and distant from *Mascat*, whither we were going, forty leagues; the *Portugals* call it corruptly *Capo di Rosalgate*. Having pass'd this Cape, we steer'd North-west, still upon the coast of *Arabia* which lies all the way on the left hand, and enter'd the *Persian* Gulph, but saw not the opposite Continent of *Persia*, because for a good way inwards the Gulph is very broad.

January the seventh, Having in the night foregoing had a good wind, by day-light we were got eighteen leagues beyond the Cape, near the place where the City of *Calatat*, which *Albuquerque* destroy'd, sometimes stood, upon a good River, at the foot of certain little Mountains, of which almost the whole coast consists. Here the wind fail'd us, and having labour'd with the oar all day, we got no further then *Teive*, a place inhabited by

by *Arabians*. At night we were troubled with rain, which passing through all covers, wetted us sufficiently, and kept us from sleeping. The next day we hois'd sail, and had scarce dry'd our Clothes, but more rain surpriz'd us; and through want of wind all the day, we did not get so far as *Curiat*, which lyes eight Leagues forward, and twelve short of *Mascat*.

On the eleventh of the same Moneth, having no wind, we made use of Oars, till we came to an Anchor a little beyond *Curiat*; and the next day hoisting sail, we pass'd by an Island call'd *Scoglio di Curiat*, sailing through a narrow arm of the Sea which divides it from the Continent, which is all stony and full of Cliffs, like the fair Mountain *Poslippo* near *Naples* in *Italy*. Before night we cast Anchor a little beyond; for our Oars helpt the Ship but little; being only serviceable to such heavy Vessels to surpass a Cape, or get into a Port, or the like, in case of need for a short way. At night we weigh'd Anchor, and soon afterwards cast it again, having made but little way.

January the thirteenth, Having sail'd all day, and pass'd the Tropick of *Cancer*, we enter'd the Northern Temperate Region, and towards night arriv'd at the Port of *Mascat*, which is well clos'd and encompass'd about with little Mountains, but lyes open to the North-west, whereby it receives much damage. The Town, whereof the least part are wall'd Houses, and the greatest onely sheds made of Palm-boughs, stands directly in the innermost recess of the Port, surrounded behind with Mountains; amongst which, nevertheless, there want not wayes of access to it from the in-land parts; so that, to secure their Houses from the incursions of the *Arabians*, they had in my time begun to raise an earthen wall, but plain and weak, with a few Bastions, very distant one from another; which wall, drawn from Mountain to Mountain, incloses and secures their Houses on that side, as the Sea doth on the opposite and inaccessible little Mountains on the two other sides. On the top of one of these Mountains, on the right hand as you enter the Port, stands the Castle, difficult indeed to be taken by assault or otherwise then by Famine, if well defended; for though the wall be not very strong, yet the natural situation secures it, and it hath a Plat-form level'd to the Sea, whereby it defends the Port with Artillery, and is descended to from the Castle by a cover'd Ladder, which is very good. On the other side of the Port, upon another Mountain stands another Port of less consideration, having been anciently the Castle; yet it hath Artillery, and may be of some advantage. The Town is small, but for its bigness sufficiently peopled, especially since the loss of *Ormuz*, from whence many repair hither. The people is mix'd of *Portugals*, *Arabians*, *Indians*, *Gentiles*, and *Jews*. It hath onely two Churches; one which is the See of the Vicar, who is no Priest but an *Augustine Fryer*; one of their Covent, alwayes coming to officiate there, and to discharge the place of Vicar and Parish-Priest: the other

is of Augustine Fryers, where live about four of that Order, and both are dedicated to our Lady, with several Titles; to wit, that of the Fryers *Della Gratia*; and the other, *Del Rosario*. The Captain lives not always in the Castle by reason of the inconvenience of its situation, but onely during the hotter monthes of Summer for coolness; for upon the lower ground the heat is insupportable, both because the Climate is of it self hot, and because the dwellings lie in a low and inclos'd place, encompassed, as I said, with Mountains, which keep off all wind, and reverberate the Sun more strongly; besides that, the Soil is dry and saltish, which consequently increases the heat. The Captain whom I found there, was call'd Sig: *Martino Alfonso de Melo*. I also found dwelling here a Nephew, or Brother's Son of the Captive King of *Ormuz*, whose Father was also King of the same place before this Brother of his, who is at this day prisoner in *Persia*. This Nephew, they told me, was call'd after his Uncle's Name *Muhamed-Sciah*; and the *Portugals* make him be acknowledg'd Prince in *Arabia* by all the *Arabians* that were lately subject to the King of *Ormuz*, and are now exempt from the oppression of the *Persians* or Rebellion, as nearest Kinsman and lawfulest Heir (of any now at liberty) to the imprison'd King. At the same time of our Arrival, there was also at *Mascat* upon his journey *Hhabese-Chan*, Ambassador of the King of *Dacan*, *Nizam-Sciah*, who was returning to his Master from *Persia*, where he had been many years with *Sciah-Abbas*. It being night when we arriv'd at *Mascat*, we went not ashore; onely the Captain of the Ship was sent for by the Governour to speak with him, and give him account of his purposes.

VIII.

Remaining in the Ship this night, and for my Recreation observing the Stars a little before day, I beheld (as I had at other times in *India*) the *Austral Cross*, which the *Spaniards* call *Crucero*, and is the nearest visible Constellation to the Southern Pole, serving in the other Hemisphere as the Pole-Star of the North doth in ours; so that this Cross is discerned even in the parallel of *Mascat*, which is in the Elevation of 23 derees 36'. 7". Indeed it appears low, but a little above the Horizon. I noted here that in these Indian Seas this Cross is seen at the time above-said, (to wit, a little before day, very erect; for it rises late in the night, and at first appears a-thwart, till the Heaven wheeling about with a short circle, a little before day it appears in its

erect Figure, which is of this form, * * * consisting of 4 stars

dispos'd in this manner, three of which are greater and more luminous, and one, to wit, that of the Western arm, is less and more obscure when the Cross is erect. The *Canopus* which is not visible in our Countries, we had here very high above the Horizon, and it appear'd in the beginning of the night.

January the fourteenth, Having procur'd a Lodging, about

H h

noon

noon I landed with my people, and went to possess it. In the Evening I visited the *Veador de Fazenda*, or Treasurer, Sig: *Nicolo da Silva* my Friend, and known to me many years in *Persia*; who at first not knowing me, was afterwards much pleas'd to see me here safe and sound.

January the fifteenth, I visited the Captain or Governour of *Mascat*, in whose House I found lodg'd Sig: *Don Francesco Contigno Covacio*, my Friend, at *Goa*, who upon some disgusts between himself and the Vice-Roy, came in the same Armada that I did to *Ciaul*, and from thence hither, in Order to go to the siege of *Ormuz*.

January the seventeenth, I was visited by the F. Provincial of the Augustines in *Manil*, whom I had seen, but not convers'd with at *Goa*, and who was going onely to *Bassora*. His conversation was very pleasing to me, because he was a person of much and various Erudition, both in Mathematicks and History; besides that he was also an excellent Preacher.

January the eighteenth, At noon I took the Altitude of the Sun, whom I found forty four degrees distant from the Zenith, being this day in the 27th degree of *Capricorn*, according to *Origanus*, and declining from the *Aequinoctial* towards the South 20 degrees 23'. 53". which taken from 44 degrees, leave 23 degrees 36'. 7". So that *Mascat* lyes 23 degrees 36'. 7". distant from the *Aequinoctial* towards the North; and consequently, hath the North-Pole so much elevated. The same day a Petache arriv'd from *Ormuz*, bringing News of the Arrival there of ten Ships from *Surat*, namely, six European Men of War, and four Merchant Ships of *Moors* and other people; so that with those formerly arriv'd, there were at *Ormuz* between English and Dutch ten Ships of War, and the *Portugal* Armada not yet arriv'd. This Petache, they say, *Ruy Freira* sent to *Mascat*, to avoid falling amongst so many Enemies, being alone. He stay'd still there with his Vessels of Oars, yet with no hope of hindring *Ormuz* from being reliev'd both with Men, Ammunition, and Victual at their pleasure.

January the nineteenth, I went to see a Village of the *Arabians*, a little distant from *Mascat*, and call'd *Kelbuh*; it lyes without the Mountains that encompass the Castle and Houses of *Mascat* on the side towards *Sohar*; the way that leads to it, is a narrow passage, and because dangerous for the letting in of Enemies, the *Portugals* have wisely guarded it with a rampart, and some few pieces of Artillery. The Town is small, consisting onely of cottages or sheds made of Palm-boughs, and so low that one cannot stand upright in them, but onely sitting upon the ground after the manner of the *Moors*; yet for its bigness, it hath people enough; because this miserable sort of Men very wretchedly, but easily accommodate themselves to their own mode in any little place.

LETTER.

LETTER X.

From *Bassora*, May 20. 1625.

OUr Ship being ready to depart for *Bassora*, and being to touch by the way about *Ormuz*, in order to consign some things to the General *Ruy Freira*, pertaining to the service of the Armada; after all the rest that were to go were imbarqu'd, (amongst which were *Don Francesco Contigno Covacio*, who intended for *Ormuz*; two bare-footed *Carmelites*, who were for *Bassora*; and the F. Provincial of *Maniglia* in the *Philippine Islands*, who was passing into *Europe*) I went aboard with my people at night, *January* the six and twentieth. Yet the Vessel went not off till the next day, and with no favourable wind we sail'd about six Leagues, casting Anchor at night not far from the shore.

January the eight and twentieth, Having sail'd a while, a contrary wind forc'd us to Anchor again; and indeed in this Persian Gulph, the wind is so inconstant, and with-all so strong, that if it happen to be contrary, there is little good to be done by contesting against it in this narrow Sea, but those that sail in it must in such case either cast Anchor, or be driven backwards. We anchor'd so near land, and in so little water, under a place call'd *Sibo*, about seven Leagues from *Mascat*, that the contrary wind increasing, and the Anchor not sufficing to retain the Ship, we were in great danger of being split upon the shore, to the loss of all our goods and perhaps lives too, the Coast being very craggy, and the Sea extremely rough. We were so near being lost, that the Ship almost toucht the ground; but a small sail, hanging on the rope which runs from the top of the Mast to the Stern, and is call'd by the Portugal's *Sabaco* sav'd us; which sail alone we could make use of, to keep off the shore; though it being small, and the Vessel heavy, it suffic'd not to move it much. The *Arabians* were already gathered together in great number upon the shore to get the booty, and perhaps also to take our persons in case the Ship should be split; for in these troublesom times of war they were here but little friends to the *Portugals* of *Mascat*. But at length, as it pleas'd God, by the help of Oars and the diligence of Sig. *Franc. Contigno Covacio* (who in many things supply'd the ignorance or negligence of other Officers of the Ship) we turn'd-about the Stern of the Ship to the Sea, and being deliver'd from imminent danger, had time to hoise the Trinket to the wind, as before we could not, because it was on the other side of the Mast, which they call Under-the-wind, and could not be brought about without more time then our sudden and present danger permitted. After which, because the wind so requir'd, and it was dangerous going ashore for water among the *Arabians*;

we determin'd to return to *Mascat*; and having pass'd the Island *della Vittoria*, (so call'd from a notable Victory obtain'd by the Portugals against an Armada of Turkish Gallies which came to make war upon *Mascat*) about evening we re-entred the port of *Mascat*; where our Ship falling foul upon another Ship that rode there at anchor, we became in a new danger of suffering shipwrack or at least, some considerable damage. Many went ashore to sleep there all night; but being our departure wasto be speedily, I only sent my servants to fetch me some refreshment.

January the thirtieth, The Ship having taken water, and all our company imbarqu'd, at four a clock afternoon we set sail again from *Mascat*, and about *Ave-Mary*-time repass'd the Island *della Vittoria* (which lies only two leagues from *Mascat*) sailing between it and the Continent: as we had done before.

- II. *January* the one and thirtieth, As we were sailing with a small wind, we descri'd a Sail a far off, which seeing us, discharg'd a Gun, as a sign for us to stay till it came up to us: whence we understood it to be one of *Ruy Freira's* Fleet; for by custom the Ships of war in *India* do thus, and other Merchant-Ships are oblig'd to stay and obey; if not, the War-ship may sink them. Accordingly we stay'd, and by the help of Oars it presently made towards us. Wherein I observ'd the little Military Discipline, and good order practis'd by the *Portugals* in *India*; for there was all the reason in the world, that, if we stay'd the coming up of this Ship, according to the custom, yet we should not have trusted it till we knew what it was; for it might have been an Enemy or a Rover, as there are many in these Seas, who being *Portugals* by Nation, and banish'd for some misdemeanors, betake themselves to carry Pepper, Arms, and other prohibited things to the Territories of the *Moors*. Wherefore to secure our selves from all deceit and damage, which such a Ship feigning to be of *Ruy Freira's* Armada might have done us, we should have stay'd indeed, but it ought to have been with our Arms in our Hands, Falcons, Corchabuses, and Muskets loaden; and, in short, in a posture of defence and fighting, as occasion requir'd. On the contrary, this good Discipline was observ'd neither on our part, nor by the Vessel which came to see who we were; which imprudent confidence, though it succeeded well in this case, yet was undeniably a great and perillous error; and had the event been ill, it could not have been excus'd otherwise then by saying, *Non putaram*, a word) (according to *Cicero*, very little befitting Prudent Men. This Vessel of the Armada demanded of us water and Mariners. Now amongst the *Portugals*, tis a custom for these War-ships to take from Merchants which they meet what they please, either by fair means or by foul; although 'tis but a disorderly thing, and many inconveniences happen by it. Of water we gave them two barrels, but no Mariners, because we had few enough for our selves, and they took them not by force, (as they would perhaps have done from others) out of respect to
- Sig:

Sig: *Contigno*, who was in the Ship with us; and the rather because we told them, we were going to carry Provisions to *Ruy Freira*, who, they informed us, was retreated into the Island of *Larek*, and that the Armada of *Goa* was not yet arriv'd, and also that themselves were going to *Mascat* for Provisions. In the Evening, we met a Terrada, or Bark of *Ruy Freira's* Fleet, going likewise to *Mascat*, by which we understood the same News.

February the first, The wind turning contrary, we cast anchor at distance from land for more security, the shore being all the way on our left hand.

February the second, Though the wind became somewhat favourable, we weigh'd not anchor, because we were to land an *Augustine* Fryer at *Sohar*, of which place he was Curate; and neither we nor the Pilot knowing whether we had pass'd *Sohar*, or not; nor yet what Land it was where we were, therefore we sent our Boat ashore to inquire; it brought word that *Sohar* lay a little more forward, and thereupon it was remitted to carry the said Fryer on shore, that so he might ride thither on a Camel by Land. This business took up all the day. At night we set sail, but with no favourable wind, so that we were constrain'd to anchor again a little further; till about midnight, the wind rising a little in our favour we set forwards. The land in this place is a low Plain, as the word *Sohar* signifies; yet we saw abundance of hills at a great distance from the shore. *Sohar* is four and twenty leagues from *Mascat*.

III.

February the sixth, Having by the help of Oars with much difficulty come to *Chursakan*, which is twelve leagues beyond *Sohar*, in the morning we sail'd under *Doba* which lies three leagues further. The *Portugals* had not so much confidence in the people as to think fit to enter into the Port, but resolv'd to go three leagues onwards to a secure place of friendly *Arabians* call'd *Lima*. The coast of *Doba* is mountainous, and the Town stands behind a Promontory which runs far into the Sea. Here we first discern'd the opposite coast of the *Persian* Gulph, from whence rather rowing then sailing, by Sun-set we came to an anchor under *Lima*. Many of our Ships went ashore, some to fetch provisions, of which they found but little store, and others to refresh themselves.

I was not in a condition to do the like, being in bed under deck by reason of an Ague; as also was *Mariam Tinatim*; so that neither of us could so much as look up to behold the Land.

February the seventh, We pass'd by the Cape of *Mosendom*, at the point of which stand two or three Rocks one further then another into the Sea. That nearest the Cape is greatest, and the remotest is the least, which they call *Baba Selam*; the Moorish Sea-men when they pass by it, salute it with many shouts of joy.

Having

- IV. Having pass'd by this Cape, (which is, as I believe within ten or twelve leagues of *Ormuz*) leaving *Ormuz* and *Bender di Kombra* on the right hand, (because we presum'd the Dutch and English Ships to be there) we directed our course towards *Larek*, hoping to find *Ruy Freira* there, as we had understood by the way; but a little after, we descry'd two Ships of *Ruy Freira's* Armada (as we suppos'd) in two several places towards the Land; each of which gave us a Gun; whereby we apprehended that they intended either to receive or give us some necessary Advertisement. Wherefore quitting our course to *Larek*, we turn'd the Stern to the coast of *Arabia*, towards which one of the said Ships about Sun-set seem to be retir'd. We approach't near the Land about Evening, and passing amidst certain Rocks, went to cast anchor within a little bay which was there; but in the narrow streight between a Rock and the Continent, a most impetuous current of the Sea hurri'd us away so furiously, that without giving us time to let down the sail, it had almost dash't us against the foot of certain high Rocks, where, if we had touch't, without doubt our Ship had been split in a thousand pieces, nor had any one of us escap't with life unless by miracle: nevertheless by plying our Oars stoutly, and at length letting down the sail, by God's mercy we were delivered from this imminent and manifest danger. Yet not so fully, but that we had like to have been cast upon another Rock, not so much through the violence of the Current, as the negligence of the Sea-men who did not govern the Sails and Helm well. But at length, being by the Divine Assistance freed from both dangers, we got to the place we design'd, and there found one of *Ruy Freira's* Ships which had given us a Warning-piece in the preceding day; and also an armed Bark of that sort which they call *Terrankim*, and are almost such as our *Caichi* or Shallops; which Bark *Ruy Freira* sent to the Rock *Baba Selam* there to wait for the Armada of *Goa*, and advertise him when it arriv'd. In the Ship was *Sig. Sancho di Toar*, who the last year had been sent from *Goa* General of certain Ships to assist *Ruy Freira*, and being weary of the war, now with his licence (obtain'd, as may be thought, by importunity) was returning to *Mascat*, and so to *Goa*, with seventy or eighty soldiers that accompani'd him. After we had cast anchor, although it was very dark, yet some of the said soldiers, and the Captain of the *Terranquim* came to our Ship to speak with *Don Francesco Cavacio*; so also did the Captain of the Ship, the above-said *di Toar*, next morning. *Don Francesco* dissuaded the soldiers from deserting the war in a time of so great need, and of so fair an occasion as would be at the coming of the Armada of *Goa*, which was approaching hourly; telling them that at *Goa* it would be held an action little honourable, and that the Vice-Roy would severely punish whoever return'd thither abandoning *Ruy Freira*: In short, he said so much to them, that being assur'd of the coming of the Fleet of *Goa*, (which

which before they believ'd and accounted only a report to keep the soldiers in suspense) almost all of them chang'd their purpose, and resolv'd to continue at the war, after they had been at *Mascat* only to provide themselves some necessaries. Of such moment to the publick good is the authority and prudent discourse of a worthy person amongst people. We had news from them, that *Ruy Freira* had quitted *Larek*, because the English at the instance of the Persians had gone thither with their Ships to drive him thence; whereupon having first destroy'd certain Shops of Provision, which he had made there for convenience of the soldiers, and a weak Trench, he remov'd with his Armada of Oars to a desert station of *Arabia* a little beyond the place where we were, and there we should find him; that if we had gone to *Larek*, we should have incurr'd the danger of falling into the enemies hands; and therefore, as soon as they saw us, they shot off a Warning-piece to recall us from that bad way. They told us moreover, that before the *Portugals* were driven from *Larek*, *Ruy Freira* going one day with the greatest part of his Ships to make an appearance about *Ormuz*, a great Tempest arose, by which four Ships which he left at *Larek*, were driven upon the Rocks of the Island, and lost, with the death of many people; and that it was a great mercy of God that *Ruy Freira* was not there with his other Ships, because they would have been all lost, although they wanted not a share of trouble too by the tempest in the place where they were. Hence I concluded that misfortunes every day increas'd upon the *Portugals* in *India*, so that I know not what good judgment can be made of their affairs for the future.

February the eighth, in the morning, We departed from the place where we were, and coasting along in less then an hour, we arriv'd at a little Island which they call *delle Capre* or *delle GAZELLE*, near the Continent of *Arabia*, almost within a Bay which affords an ample and secure Port for small Vessels. This place lies almost directly over against *Ormuz*, so that *Ormuz* will come to be sixty leagues distant from *Mascat*, and consequently eighteen from *Lima*. Here we found *Ruy Freira* with part of his Ships, of which some were mending; I say, Part, because he had sent some to the Cape of *Giark* to wait for the Armada of *Goa*, some to *Mascat* for Provision (of which he had but small store) and some to the Port of *Gnadel* to scout, and some about other services. As soon as we had cast anchor, *Ruy Freira* came in person to our Ship accompani'd by some of his Captains, and stay'd there between two and three hours receiving and distributing amongst them certain small provisions of Victual and Arms which were brought him reading the Viceroy's Letters and many other which came to him from *Goa*, and discoursing with *Don Francesco Contigno Cavacio*, and others, giving them account of all his successes, and inquiring concerning the Armada and other things which we knew. And because we assur'd him, the Armada could

could not be long before it arriv'd, since we came all together from *Ciaul* at the same time; he sent forth another Ship to meet it, with order to inform them where he was, and presently to return and advertise him of his arrival, that he might go out and joyn with it. I could not be present at all the Conversation, because I had my Ague and was in bed. Yet upon his coming, I arose and dress'd my self to wait upon him, as I did so long as I was able; but at length I was forc'd to retire, and only return'd to take leave of him when he departed. He made many complements to me, telling me that he had long since had knowledge of my person by fame, and should always be ready to serve me upon any occasion; with other like Civilities. I offer'd him to shew him the Pass I had from the Viceroy, because I had heard him say in discourse how strictly the Viceroy had charg'd him not to let any one pass into the Territories of the Turks without his licence; but he would not look upon it, and told me it needed not for me, re-iterating that he was ready to serve me; to which civil language I answer'd in the best terms I could, signifying to him how great a while I had been desirous to see his person, and to serve him; The fame of his actions testifi'd to me by the mouths of his very enemies, and how he was spoken of at *Goa* both by the Viceroy and all others; all which he receiv'd as kindly as I did his obliging expressions. At length he return'd to his own Ship, taking with him *Don Francesco Contigno Cavaccio*, the F. Provincial of *Maniglia*, and divers others, to be entertain'd there with him all the day; but I remain'd in bed with my Ague.

VI.

February the ninth, Having taken a *Persian* Pilot which *Ruy Freira* gave us, (because the *Portugal* Pilots are not very skilful in the *Persian* Gulph, by reason of the multitude of shelves, and the inconstancy of the winds, which make it needful to have a Pilot of the Country) at night we put off from the abovesaid Island steering our course outwards. Almost at the same time *Ruy Freira* went with some of his Ships, leaving order for the rest to follow him as soon as they should be repair'd; and by the inner way, to wit, by the channel between the Island and the Continent, went I know not where to take in water, intending afterwards to see how matters were at *Ormuz*, where there rode ten Ships of War, *Dutch* and *English*, partly under the Castle, and partly in *Bender di Kombru*, having already put what relief they pleas'd into the place.

February the tenth at evening, We arriv'd at a Bay which they call *de'i Limoni*, from the multitude of Lemons growing in a Village hard by. And on the fifteenth of the same Month, having pass'd the Island call'd *Tombo*, another call'd by the *Portugals* *Piloro*, that is, the Ball; and lastly that which they call *Cais*, once famous for its competition with *Ormuz*, both in War, and the Traffick of *India*, but now altogether desolated by war, we were by a contrary wind forc't to return somewhat backwards, and cast anchor under

under the said Island *Cais*, which is forty Leagues from *Ormuz*. Some of our people went ashore to refresh themselves, but found nothing except a few Herbs, and a fruit like Goof-berries; which yet to us that were ill furnish'd with Provision were not unwelcome. I must not omit here, that when we pass'd by the Bay of *Lemons*, we left the Coast of *Arabia*, and crost over to sail along the opposite Coast of *Persia*, which is the better way from from thence forward.

February the sixteenth, We departed from *Cais*, and at night certain *Armenians* who were in our Ship, were set a shore on the *Persian* side, in order to go to *Nachilu*, which was not far from thence, to meet certain companions of theirs who had gone before *Mascat* in another Ship with much common Merchandize.

February the seventeenth, A contrary wind repell'd our course backwards, so that we anchor'd under an uninhabited Island call'd *Andreve*, where we stay'd till the twentieth of the same Moneth, when the above-said *Armenians*, not finding their companions at *Nachilu*, return'd to the Ship, and brought two Letters from the Governour of that place; one to the Captain and all the rest in general, offering the Ship a free Port, and desiring us to sell our Merchandize there, because they had suffer'd much by war; that they would shew all good usage to the *Portugals* as Merchants; and in case we trusted him not so much as to go a shore; we might ride at Anchor in the open Sea, and they would send people and money to buy many things. The other Letter was directed to the Religious that were in the Ship, some of whom he had understood were minded to go to *Sphahan*; and therefore he promis'd them good and secure passage with all courtesie. But neither did the Ship stay to sell any thing, nor the Religious think good to land in that place, for all those promises.

February the two and twentieth, Being at Anchor in a certain place, at night we descry'd some Vessels afar off, which we knew not what they were; and therefore weighing Anchor, and putting our selves in a posture for fight, we row'd up to them. When we came near, we found them to be of those *Persian* Vessels, which they call *Terrats*, (a kind of great bark, frequent in these Seas) laden with Dates and Victuals. Yet because they neither stay'd for us nor obey'd, we discharg'd some Falcons and many Muskets at them, without doing any hurt, because of those that shot none knew how to do it as they ought, but all was done with great confusion and disorder, as is usual amongst the *Portugals*, especially in our Ship, which was a Merchant and not a Man of War. So that the *Persian Terrats* went away untouch'd, and we not onely took them not, as we might easily have done, had our Ships been well arm'd and well-govern'd; but it seem'd also, that, had those Vessels had armed people, and a mind to assault us, they might easily have taken us, considering the little order and preparation for fight that I saw in our Ship.

VII.

February the seven and twentieth, The wind not being good, our Marriners, who were *Indians*, but of the *Mahometan* Religion, ty'd a bundle of clothes, which they said was the Old Man (but I know not what Old Man they meant) to one of the Ropes of the sails, and there fell to beat it vehemently, crying out to it, to give them a good wind; in the mean time, other Mariners desir'd him that beat it, to desist, saying that it would give them a good wind. This superstitious Ceremony, not unlike that above-mention'd of the *Portugals* binding *S. Anthony of Padua*, I was willing to insert for its strangeness; although through the ignorance of the Mariners themselves, who could give no other reason for it but that the custom was so; or because they would not tell us; I could not understand what Old Man it was that they beatt, under the figure of a bundle of Clothes, or from whom they demanded a good wind.

February the eight and twentieth, We were minded to take in water in the Country of *Verdistan* (a part of *Persia*), of which we had great need; but the people of the place prohibited us, repelling the boat from the shore with many Musket-shots. And being we had not Souldiers to land and take water by force, it behov'd us to have patience and depart without.

March the first, We put out to Sea, to avoid certain shelves that were neer the *Persian* shore, which here we found low and flat, whereas hitherto it had been all mountainous; at night, we came under *Risfel*, a Port of *Persia* in the state of *Siraz*, but no good one.

March the second, A little before night we came to an Anchor under the Island of *Charg*, which lyes distant from *Cais* 24 *Giam*. (A *Giam* is a measure us'd by the *Arabian* and *Persian* Pilots in the *Persian* Gulph, containing three leagues; so that from *Cais* to *Charg* we had sayl'd 70 Leagues.) From *Charg* to *Bassora*, they told us, there remain'd eight *Giam*, and as many from *Charg* to *Bahhaerein*: The part of the Continent nearest *Charg*, is *Bender Rich*, belonging, as I conceive, to the Country of *Loristan*, from which this Island is distant two *Giam*. We cast Anchor between *Charg* and another little Island which lyes to the North-west, and is call'd *Chargia*. *Charg* is a little Island having a Town of forty or fifty Houses, wherein there is a *Meschita* with the Sepulchre (venerated by the *Moors*) of one *Muhhammed Anessa*, who, the people of the Island say, was one of the Descendents of *Muhhammed*. Because the Sea was very rough we did not go a shore; but a *Portugal* Ship belonging to the Captain of *Ciaul* and bound for *Bassora*, put in at the same Island.

March the fourth, We went on the other side of the Island to get water, of which we stood in great need; and my Ague having left me, I landed with the rest upon the Island, where I saw little besides the above-said Sepulchre, and others less venerable, which they said were of some of the familiars of him that was buried in the greater; there was also a *Grotta* cut out by hand in stone, which

which by some carv'd work of the Frontis-piece, and the form within, seems to have been made for a Temple or place of burial, but now 'tis used onely as a stall for Cattel. The Island it self is low and plain; the Peasants sow it with Corn, Onyons, and a few other such things; but 'tis poor enough, the wealth of the Inhabitants consisting for the most part in the fish which they take. They speak the *Persian* Language, and indeed are Vassals of *Persia*, though by reason of their poverty they pay no Tribute to the *Persians*. They told me, that they are govern'd by a Chief, called, according the custom of the *Arabians*, *Sceich*, which dignity descends from Father to Son; that in the war between the *Persians* and the *Portugals*, the former had intended to have built a Fort here, whereby to hinder the *Portugal* Ships from watering, here as they pass'd by; but the Inhabitants excused themselves from it by their poverty; and by treating all parties alike friendly, they have escap'd unmolested by any, and enjoy their sweet Liberty upon no other account but their poverty. They told me also, that free Trade was granted to all the Inhabitants of this *Persian* Coast between *Charg* and *Bassora*, both by the *Portugals* and the people of *Bassora*, so that they were not molested by any party; the ground of which I take to be, because *Bassora* hath not sufficient Victuals, the greatest part being brought thither from these Lands of *Persia*; and on the other side, the *Portugals* need Provision for their Fleet which they keep at *Bassora*, to assist the place against the *Persians*. At night we return'd aboard, having exchanged the *Persian* Pilot, which *Ruy Freira* gave us for one of *Charg*, it being the custom so to do. It rained in the night, and the Sea grew high; wherefore for more security, we put off from the land further to Sea.

March the sixth, Very early in the Morning we departed from *Charg*, together with the other Ship of *Ciauk*, yet each taking its own way; and we proceeded coasting along *Persia*, which lay on the right hand: The next day the wind failing we cast Anchor, so far from the *Persian* shore that it was out of sight; yet we found no more water than about ten fathom; and indeed, we were fain to sail when the wind arose, with plummet constantly in hand, by reason of the shallow which are hereabouts.

March the eighth, We sail'd still out of sight of land, yet had but four fathom of water; and because the shallow is equal in this place for a great way together, the *Persian* Pilots call it *Meidan*, that is, the Plain. The next day we sail'd a little, but most of the day lay at Anchor, because the Pilots could not find the mouth of the River of *Bassora*, although it seem'd to us to be very near; and indeed, 'tis no easie matter to find it, the shore being so low that it is not discerned, unless very near hand; and to approach so near the shore as to discern the River, is not safe by reason of the shallows.

March the eleventh, In seeking the mouth of the River, opinions

VII.

were so various, and consequently the Ship governed with such confusion, that the rudder strook on ground, not without some danger; but at length with much diligence we freed the Ship, and got into more water (the Ship of *Ciaul*, which, as lighter, drew less water, going before us as guide, and entring into the River's mouth before we knew it.) The River of *Bassora* (which is *Euphrates* and *Tygris* joyned together) is call'd by the *Arabians* *Sciat d' Arab*, that is, the *Arabian River*, and falls into the Sea with two great Mouths about twelve Leagues distant one from the other. The most Easterly, which is the biggest and securest, lyes on the side of *Ormuz* and *Persia*, whose name it borrows: The more Westerly, and less frequented by great Ships, lyes on the side of *Buhbreim*, or *Cutifu* of *Arabia*, from whence it assumes a name. And because the division of the River into two Branches happens within the land a little below *Bassora*, I know not how many leagues from the Sea; hence it forms a no small Triangular Iland, called at this day *Cheder*; which I hold to be the gift of the River (like the *Delta* of *Egypt*) and that it will increase every day by the sand brought down by the River, considering the many flats and shallows, which as I said above are found in these places. Now we being entred by the Eastern mouth, and having failed a good way against the stream, at length came to the place of the division; and leaving the more Westerly branch on the left hand, continued our course amongst the verdures of Date-trees and cultivated Fields, which on both sides the River down to the Sea are very fertile. At length we came to the place from whence up to the City of *Bassora*, (which lies on the west bank a good way from the River) is drawn an artificial Dike capable even of *Portugal* Galliot, which pass up to the *Dogana* or Custom-house, where a bridg of planks laid upon boats, and fortified with Iron chains crosseth the Dike; on the South-part of which bridg stands a Castle, and strong Bulwark for guard of the City and passage. The water of this trench ebbs and flows with the Sea, and at high Tide runs up I known not how far beyond the bridg; yet Ships go no further then the bridg, where they ride as in a secure Haven. From this trench are derived some other little channels on either side to several places of the City; and in some of them they make use of small Boats, which they call *Donnee*, with great convenience to the houses; besides that they want not little bridges upon the said channels to walk over on foot.

IX.

The City of *Bassora* is large and populous, but ill built, and till of late without walls; for by reason of these wars with the *Persians* they have almost inclosed it with an earthen Rampart; within which is the *Bazar* of Goldsmiths, and for linnen Cloth, and all the best things that are sold. Before the Castle is an indifferent large *Piazza*, where there are some great Pieces of Ordnance, amongst which we saw certain *Portugal* Pieces which had been taken many years ago by the *Turks* of *Bassora* from *Maf-*

cat

eat when they infested the seas with their Gallies, which afterwards were destroy'd by the *Portugals*. Another Piazza there is before the Basha's House, which is always full of heaps of Corn, Rice, and other Fruits, which are to be sold here; being kept night and day without other shops or inclosure then ordinary mats, without fear of stealing in regard of the strict justice exercis'd by the *Turks* in matter of Theft. The people are *Arabians* with some *Turks* intermix'd, so that the *Arabian* Language is most spoken, although the *Turkish* and *Persian* are not unfrequent. As for Religion, the *Moors* are partly *Sonai's*, and partly *Scinai's*, with Liberty of Conscience to both; yet in the *Meschita's* the Service is after the manner of the *Sonai's*, and also all publick Ceremonies are perform'd after the Rite of the *Sonai's*, which is that which the Great *Turk*, who is King of this Country, observes at *Constantinople*. There are also some Houses of *Chaldean* Christians, call'd Christians of *S. John*, or *Sabeans*; though I believe they have little more besides the name of Christians; for they have no Church except the House of one single Priest, who was there in my time, and he a very Idiot; nor could I learn that they ever assembled there to be present at any Divine Service. They have no Fast or abstinence from Flesh, but eat every day alike. Nor have they any Sacraments, except some shadow of them; and 'tis a question whether their Baptism be such as it ought to be; and not rather the Baptism of *S. John* then of Christ. And because in this, and many other things, they observe *S. John Baptist* more then any other, and have him in greatest Veneration, therefore they are call'd Christians of *S. John*, with no small suspicion of being the remainder of those Jews whom *S. John* baptiz'd with the Baptism of Repentance, and who, without caring for any thing else, have continu'd in that Rite ever since. The Gospels, and other sacred Books, 'tis not known (at least) in *Bassora*, that they have or use; but they have a Book which they call *Sidra*, according whereunto they govern themselves in matters of Religion; but who is the Author of it, I know not. They speak a harsh *Chaldee*, besides *Arabick*, which is generally in use; which Language of theirs they call *Mendai*, as also for the most part amongst themselves they are styl'd *Mendai*, besides the two other names of Christians of *S. John* and *Sabeans*, by the first of which they are known to us *Europeans*, and by the latter to the *Moors*. What *Mendai* signifies, and whence it is deriv'd, I could not learn. They have also particular Characters different from the ordinary *Chaldaick* and *Syrian*, both ancient and modern, wherewith they transcribe their sacred Books, but commonly none can either read or write this character besides the Priest, who by an *Arabick* word is usually styl'd *Sceich*, that is, Old Man. I could not learn any thing more concerning them, because they are few and very Idiots; only I think they may be those *Sabeian* Heretick mention'd in Histories, and particularly in the *Elenchus Alphabeticus Hæreticorum* of *Gabriel*

brief, Prateolus, who relates their Original and Rites. Besides these of *Bassora*, there are other at *Hhaveiza*, which is neer *Bassora*, at *Durec*, *Sciuscter*, and many other places of *Persia*; amounting, as they say, to many thousand Families: yet in *Hhaveiza* there are more then in any place else, where they have a place inhabited only by themselves, call'd *Kiumalava*, or, as themselves pronounce it, *Chiumalava*, reading the Letter K with the sound of Ch. Here live certain of their chief Priests, Monks, and Bishops, whom they all *Chanzaba*, and by whom they are govern'd in Religion. I believe they have there some kind of Church, Sacrifice, and all other things better then at *Bassora*; yet because I cannot speak either upon my own knowledg, or any sufficient & credible information, I shall not relate any thing more of them; although I had once a servant of the same Nation, born in *Kiumalava* near *Hhaveiza*, who amongst them was call'd *Robeh*, but being afterwards re-baptiz'd by our Religious, was nam'd *Giovanni Robeh*. I shall only add concerning *Bassora*, that of late dayes the City hath been more frequented with the trade of the *Portugals* of *India*, (to wit, since the loss of *Ormuz*) five of whose Ships at my being there continually rode in the River to defend the place from the attempts of the common enemy the *Persian*. Upon the conflux of many *European* Christians hither, the bare-footed Carmelite-Fathers of *Persia* first, and afterwards the *Portugal Augustines* of *Goa* have built two Churches, either Order one, wherein the Catholick and *Roman* Rite is publickly observ'd. That of the Carmelites, the Seat whereof was partly given them by the *Basha*, and partly bought by themselves, I found already finish't with a small Cloister, and some Cells for the Fathers that live there: of its Dedication which hapned in my time, I shall speak below. The Church of the *Augustines* had not its foundation yet fully laid, and they were in suspense whether to go on with the building or no, for fear lest the *Persians* should one day take *Bassora* in these wars which were on foot. So that in my time the said Fathers lived in an hired house, which the *Basha* paid for; yet they had a Church, or rather an Oratory there, wherein Mass, and all Divine Offices were publickly celebrated. Of *Augustines*, there were two at *Bassora*; one with the Title of Prior, was also Vicar to the Archbishop of *Goa*; likewise an *Augustine* Fryer, who, for the sake of the *Portugals* that resort to the City of *Arabia*, pretends to a Jurisdiction, which he usurps not without some intrusion upon the Bare-footed Carmelites, notwithstanding the Briefs of most ample Authority which they have obtain'd of the Pope for that purpose; inso-much that in my time the said *Augustine*-Vicar publish't an Excommunication against all such as should not confess at Easter in their Church, although they did it in that of the Carmelites; and publish'd his Church to be the Parish-Church, and not the other, besides other like contentions between them; not without some prejudice to the Affairs of Religion. The *Basha*,
who

who for the assistance which he had of the *Portugals* in the war, us'd not only them, but all *Europeans* that came thither, very well; gave a Pension or Alms to either Church every Month sufficient for Provision; and he also well paid the five *Portugal* Ships which lay at *Bassora* for his service in the War.

Having entred the above-mention'd Dike, and cast anchor for fear of being carri'd back again by the violence of the ebbing water; we met with two of the said *Portugal* Ships at anchor, in one of which was the General himself: the other three were abroad in the great River near the place where the *Basha* had pitch't his camp to make head against the *Persian* Army, which was upon the Confines, and was rumor'd to intend an attempt against *Bassora*.

March the twelfth, Early in the morning, before we stir'd, I was visit'd in the Ship by F. *Basilio* a Bare-footed *Carmelite*, and by F. *Fra. Paolo di Giesu* an *Italian Franciscan* whom I had known at *Goa*, and who was now in his passage to *Italy*, lodg'd at *Bassora* by the *Carmelites*. At night, upon the coming in of the Tide, we tow'd the Ship up to the City. On either side of the Dike, were abundance of Houses and Gardens, which render the passage very delightful. Having cast anchor within the City, near the Southern bank, which is most inhabited, I went ashore after dinner to seek a House; but not finding one to my mind return'd back to rest all night in the Ship.

March the thirteenth, Not finding a House to my content, upon further search, I got one to speak to *Chogia Negem*, the chieftest Christian of *S. John* then amongst them, being also Scibender of the *Dogana*; who, as a Christian and a Person of much humanity, contracting an intimate friendship with me, did me a thousand courtesies whilst I staid at *Bassora*. In the morning his Wife in person went about seeking a House for us; and at night I accompanied her to see one adjoining to her own, which for that reason, and because it was somewhat better then the rest, although far from good, I made choice of, and she promis'd to get it prepar'd for me against the next day; whereupon I return'd aboard this night also. This day Proclamation was made in *Bassora* for every house to send out a man with Arms to the camp to aid the *Basha* in the War against the *Persians*, who were said to approach.

March the fourteenth, I took possession of the House prepar'd for me, and afterwards visited Sig. *Consalvo Martino da Castelbranco*, chief of the *Portugals* in *Bassora*, to deliver him a Letter which I had brought from the Viceroy of *Goa*, the effect whereof was only an earnest recommendation of me; upon which and other letters of friends which inform'd him of me, he very courteously offer'd me all his service. He told me good news (being one that might well know the same) of the affairs of *Bassora*, *Persia*, and *Hhaveiza*; namely, that *Manfur*, Brother to the deceased *Atnbarek*, being some years ago sent by *Sciab-Abbas*

Abbas to *Hhaveiza* as Prince thereof, after he was well possess'd of the State, became not well affected to the King of *Persia*, though his Benefactor, (and indeed the *Arabians* cannot indure to be subject, but desire liberty above all things.) Now in order to recovering his Liberty, he held much correspondence with the neighboring *Basha* of *Bassora*, the Turk's Vassal, and of a contrary faction to the *Persian*, who was then *Efrasiab Basha*, who from *Aga* of *Segmeni*, as he was at first in the same City his native place, had made himself *Basha* by force, and endeavour'd to establish the dominion of that State in his own House, being tolerated, and indeed favour'd by the Turk, although half a Rebel; both because he carry'd himself well in the Government, and because he might not proceed to deny him that little obedience which he gave him in words: Nor was it easie to chastise him in these Confines of the Enemies at such a distance from *Constantinople*, or to make any other change in the City of *Bassora*, where he was so powerful. The *Persian*, understanding the friendship which *Mansur* held with him, contrary to the custom of the other Princes of *Hhaveiza*, who us'd to make war against *Bassora*, and that (in short) *Mansur* was not obsequious and devoted to him as he desir'd; when he went upon the Expedition of *Baghdad*, he sent for him to come with his people to the *Persian* Camp to that war, and appointed *Imamculi Chan Sciraz* to march to *Baghdad* by *Hhaveiza*, and by all means to bring *Mansur* with him. The Chan perform'd the command of the *Sciah*, and coming near *Hhaveiza*, stay'd many dayes for *Mansur*, importuning him frequently to come forth and go along with him. *Mansur* put him off so long with words and promises, that at length the Chan thought good to go away without him; yet arriv'd at *Baghdad* so late, that the *Sciah* had taken the City before; but, in conclusion, *Mansur* stirr'd not. Thereupon the *Sciah*, after his return from the enterprize of *Baghdad* to *Sphaban*, sent several Messengers to *Mansur* to come to his Court; to all which *Mansur* answer'd that he would go speedily, but never went: Wherefore the *Sciah* being incens'd against him, sent him word to come speedily by all means, otherwise he would send to take off his Head. To which *Mansur* answer'd, that if the *Sciah* were minded to cut off his Head, he might come in person to do it; That he knew very well how to defend it with his sword; That he was resolv'd not to go into *Persia*; and, That if the *Sciah* was King in *Persia*, himself was King in *Hhaveiza*; and that he did not value him. Hereupon the *Sciah* commanded the said *Imamculi Chan* to march into *Hhaveiza* with a great power, taking with him *Mubhammed* the Son of *Mubarek*, who had been educated in the *Persian* Court, and establishing him Prince there, either to bring away *Mansur* Prisoner, or else to kill him: Accordingly, a little before our arrival at *Bassora*, the Chan enter'd *Hhaveiza* with an Army, and the said *Mubhammed*. *Mansur* apprehending that most of the *Grandeess* and the People would obey the *Sciah*,
and

and accept of *Muhamed* for their Prince, to avoid being taken or slain, fled with about 500 that were faithful to him to *Bassora*, where *Ali Basba* the Son of *Efrasiab*, (who had succeeded his dead Father, or rather intruded into the Government by force before his Father expir'd) receiv'd him courteously, and gave him a piece of Territory belonging to the jurisdiction of *Bassora*, in the Confines of *Hhaveiza*, where he might live with his followers. The people of *Hhaveiza* in the mean time agreed with the Chan, and receiv'd *Muhamed* for their Prince, being ready to obey the Chan in this, and what-ever else he should command; yet upon condition that no *Qizilbaschi* should enter into *Hhaveiza*, whereunto the Chan assented. Concerning Occurrences since our arrival at *Bassora*, News came that the Chan, after he had established *Muhamed* in *Hhaveiza*, was advanc'd forwards with his Army towards *Bassora*, and was already enter'd into the State by a place which they call *Qarna*; intending, perhaps, to take certain Garrisons in those borders, and also to make further progress: Whereupon the Basba went out against him with all his Forces, and three of the five *Portugal* Ships, which, as I said, he kept in Pay; the City of *Bassora* in the mean while being in great fear of the *Persian* Army.

As for other things more particularly pertaining to the State of this City, he told me, that after the taking of *Ormuz*, the *Sciab* sent an Embassy to the then Basba of *Bassora* *Efrasiab*, to tell him, that he requir'd no more from *Bassora* but onely to have his Coyn stamp'd there, his Name us'd in the Acclamations of the People, and in the Prayers of the *Meschita's*, as King of the Country, instead of that of the Great Turk; and that the People of *Bassora* should wear their Turbants after the *Persian* manner; that as for the rest he should leave *Efrasiab* to rule in that State as absolute Lord, have the same confirm'd to his Issue, and be protected against the Turk or any other, without paying any Tribute, but remaining in perfect Liberty. *Efrasiab*, who was a prudent man, well knowing the wayes of the King of *Persia*, made no account of these offers, and thought not fit to adventure the safety of the State which he possess'd, upon uncertain hopes; but trusting in the aid of the *Portugals*, whose Ships might be of great use to him in that place, which the *Persians* in order to offend *Bassora* must pass by force, namely, either the Sea, or at least the great River, (the *Persians* having no Vessels fit to contest with such Ships) he rejected the Proposition of the *Sciab*, and presently re-manded the Ambassador with a strict Order immediately to depart both the City and the State, lest he should secretly corrupt some of the *Grande'es*, who might afterwards pervert the people, who are half *Sciani's*, of the sect of the *Sciab*; telling him in brief, that he was the Great Turk's Vassal and so would die, and that he was prepar'd for War, if the *Sciab* pretended any thing from him. The *Sciab* finding he could do nothing upon *Bassora* by fair means, commanded the Chan of *Sciraz*,

XI.

as his nearest Minister to that Country, and the most potent, to march thither with an Army, and attempt to take the same by force. Accordingly the Chan's Army came, (in which I know not whether himself was in person, or some other General) and by the way of *Scinsler*, and other places belonging to the *Sciah* near *Hhaveiza*, enter'd into the State of *Bassora*; which entrance was the year before my arrival there, to wit, 1624. Yet he did not besiege the City, (as it was reported at *Goa*) nor yet come near it, but only besieg'd a Garrison in the Frontiers call'd *Qaban*, which was in danger of being lost, to the great hazard of all the rest of the Country, and the fear of *Bassora* it self; for the *Persians* fought valorously, and slew many of the Defendants; but at length, by the help of the *Portugals*, who from the adjoining River did great mischief with the Artillery of their Ships to the *Persian* Camp, the *Qizilbaschi* were repuls'd with loss, or rather, of themselves, (being wearied with the length of the attempt, or else re-call'd into *Persia* for other services) they drew off and departed. Nor did they return again till the following year, as I have said, about the time of my arrival at *Bassora*, upon the occasion of displacing *Mansur*, and establishing *Muhhammed* the Son of *Mubarek*, Prince of *Hhaveiza*; when I found the new *Ali Bascha* abroad with his Army, and three *Portugal* Ships to with-stand them, and the City of *Bassora* not without fear, because the *Persian* Army much exceeded theirs, both in number and quality of Souldiers.

XII.

March the sixteenth, News came to *Bassora* that the Armies were very near, and almost fac'd one another; and Sig: *Consalvo de Silveira*, Chief Commander of the *Portugal* Squadron of Ships at *Bassora*, told me, that having heard that the *Persians* intended to bring seven pieces of Artillery by Sea to *Durec*, (a neighboring Port of theirs to *Bassora*) to be imploy'd in the War, he had sent forth two of his Ships, and one of those lighter Frigots which they call *Sanguisei*, to meet and intercept those Gunns, which would be a notable piece of service.

March the seventeenth, *Chogia Negem*, (who might well know things, as he that was imploy'd in much business by the Bascha) inform'd me that the *Persian* Army consisted of 30000 men, and that there were seven Chans in it; which to me seem'd not probable, because if the Chan of *Sciraz* with his people was not sufficient, 'twas possible his Brother *Daud* Chan, whose Government is near him, and the Chan of *Locistan*, might be come; but that others more distant should be there for the sole war of *Bassora*, there was no necessity, and consequently, no ground to believe. He told me further, that now the waters were high there was no danger, nor could the *Persians* make much progress, by reason of the great River which they were to pass, and many over-flow'd Lands and Trenches full of water, wherewith *Bassora* was now fortified: But when the waters came to be low, as they would be within three moneths, then *Bassora* would be in danger:

danger: that as for defence by the *Portugal* Ships, the *Persians* might pass over the great River by a Bridge much higher and further from *Bassora*, either at *Hbella*, which is in their Hands, or at *Baghdad* it self, or some where else, without the *Portugals* being able to hinder them; that if they came but with Provision for a few dayes, the Country on the West side of the River on which *Bassora* stands, was not so desert but they might have forrage enough for a great Army: If this be true, as it may be, then considering the power of the *Persians*, their manner of warring, the situation, strength, and forces of the City of *Bassora*, I am confident, that at the long run it will not scape the *Persians* Hands, so long as he holds *Baghdad*, although in case of need the Grand Emir of the Desert (who is now *Mudleg*, surnamed as all his Predecessors were, *Aburisc*, (that is, he of the Plume or Feather) should come to assist the Basha; who can now hope for no aid from the Turk, since the taking of *Baghdad*. He also related to me concerning *Baghdad*, that the place was betray'd to the *Sciah* by *Bekir Subasci*, call'd otherwise *Dervise Mahammed*, whose Father (who pretended to render himself Tyrant thereof) the *Sciah* caused publickly to be slain upon his entrance into it, but kept the Traynor with him, and us'd him well: That besides *Baghdad*, he took *Kierkuc* and *Monsul* by his Captains, and march'd beyond *Hbella* into the Country of Emir *Aburisc*, even to *Anna* and *Taiba*, within a little way of *Aleppo*, which was thereupon in great fear; and that he left a Garrison at *Anna*. But after the *Sciah*, and the main of his Army was retir'd into *Persia*, Emir *Aburisc*, who was alwayes confederate with the Turk, making an excursion with his People about the Desert, recover'd *Taiba* and *Anna*, killing seventy *Dizilbasci* whom he found there in Garrison; after which he turn'd his arms against Emir *Nasir ben Mahanna*, Lord of *Mesched Hussein*, (but not so great a Prince as himself) and made great destruction of his People and Country. Finally, He added, that a potent Army of Turks had since fallen upon *Persia* and *Baghdad*, and had already recover'd *Monsul* and *Kierkuc*; which last News I rather suspect to be dispers'd to animate the People of *Bassora*, then hold for true; because, on the other side, it was reported for certain, that the *Sciah* was reposing his Fortes at *Ferhabad*, which could not consist with the so near approach of the Turks against him.

March the nineteenth, An eminent man of *Bassora*, nam'd *Scaich Abdassalam*, muster'd a great company of his kindred, friends, and followers, with whom he intended to go to the assistance of the Basha. Amongst them were muster'd about 200 Christians of *S. John*, arm'd with Arquebuzes, and other weapons like the rest; but all, in my judgment, as much Moors as Christians, little Souldiers, and of no esteem in comparison of the *Dizilbasci*.

March the two and twentieth, In the Piazza before the Basha's House, I saw a wild As, or little Onager, which was

kept there for pleasure. It was of the shape of other Asses, but of a brighter colour, and had a ridge of white hair from the head to the tail, like the mane of a Horse; in running and leaping, it seem'd much nimbler then the ordinary sort of Asses.

March the three and twentieth, A *Portugal* came from the *Basha's* Camp to *Bassora*, bringing News that the *Qizilbaschi* were return'd home to their own Countries, and that in such haste that they had left much Cattel, Goods, and Meat ready dress'd in the Camp where they had quarter'd: Which so unexpected departure of the *Persian* Army, could not happen through any disturbance given them by that of the *Basha*; but, perhaps, they were re-call'd for some other war, or service of greater necessity, as that of *Ormuz*, or against the *Turks*, or against the *Moghol* at *Candahar*, which the *Sciah* had lately taken.

March the four and twentieth, I took the height of the Sun in *Bassora* at noon, and found him decline 28 degrees 48 minutes from the Zenith. He was this day, according to the Ephemerides of *David Origanus*, in 4 degrees, 4 minutes, 57 seconds of *Aries*, and according to the Meridian of the said Ephemerides, declin'd from the *Æquinoctial* North-wards-----degrees; but according to our Meridian of *Bassora*, calculating by proportion-all parts, 1 degree, 38 minutes, and 32 seconds, which, added to the 28 degrees 48 minutes of the Sun's Declination from the Zenith, amount to 30 degrees, 26 minutes, 32 seconds. So that the Zenith of *Bassora* is distant from the *Æquinoctial* 30 degrees, 26 minutes, 32 seconds, to which the Elevation of the North-Pole at the same is equal.

March the one and thirtieth, Return'd the two *Portugal* Ships above-mention'd to have been sent abroad by the General to intercept the *Persian* Artillery; of which design they fail'd, because the *Persians* having notice thereof, stirr'd them not of the Port. Yet they took three *Persian* Barques call'd *Terrats*, with much wealth in them; and a rich Moor, who offer'd a thousand *Patacches* for his Ransome, but they would not accept it. All the other Moors in the Vessels they killed, with two young children, left, as they said, if they should have carry'd them into a Country of Moors, the *Basha* would have releas'd them: However, in seem'd to me a great Cruelty, although it be no new thing among the *Portugals*, who upon all occasions commit the like and greater in *India*.

April the seventh, The *Basha* return'd with all his Army to *Bassora*, the fear and danger of the war being now over by the departure of the *Persians*. He enter'd into the City betimes in the Morning with great pomp, and the salutations of the Artillery.

April the thirteenth, F. *Basilio di San Francesco*, a Bare-footed *Carmelite*, having finish'd the building of the little Church and Convent of his Order which he had founded at *Bassora*, made a solemn Feast, adorning both the Church, and the whole Orato-

ry of the Covent very sumptuously : and with a great concourse of Christians both Europeans and Orientals of several Nations, he celebrated the dedication of the said Church, intitling it *Nostra Signora de 'i remedii* : The evening before, he had caused many Bone-fires to be made, all the Portugal Soldiers contributing to the joy with many volleys of Arquebusses. Moreover, to honour the said Father, the Bascha sent about five hundred Moorish Soldiers to the Covent to do the like, and caus'd many great Pieces to be shot off at the Castle; so that the Feast was celebrated generally by the whole City, both Christians and *Moors*, with great concourse and applause. The next night, the Bascha himself with all his Court went to see the Church and the Covent, where also at his departure he left an Alms; the Father receiv'd him with all due honour, and gave him a sumptuous Banquet; with which, both as to the manner and ceremonies according to the fashion of the Country, both the Bascha and all the rest were much satisfi'd. The General of the *Portugals*, with all the Captains of Ships, and most principal Persons of the Fleet, and (in short) all the *Europeans* then in *Bassora*, were present at this entertainment : only I, by reason of an indisposition, had the displeasure to be absent. Mass was sung by the F. Prior of the *Augustines*, who assisted all the day to honour the feast; and the F. Provincial of *Maniglia*, who was a Passenger with us, preach'd. The same day there came to *Bassora*, to the Bascha a *Capigi* from the *Serdar* or *Vezir* of *Constantinople* newly created (whose Predecessor was said to have been put to death by the Great Turk for having us'd little diligence in the affairs of *Baghdad*.) The said *Capigi* brought the Bascha a Robe or Vestment (as their custom is) as a Present from the *Vezir*, and news that the Turkish Army was already moving towards *Baghdad*, and was very near it, having re-taken *Monzul* and *Kierkuc*, which are open places, and expos'd to the force of any Attempter. But that this should happen so soon, to me seem'd very strange; especially, if the new *Serdar* was sent from *Constantinople* the same year, as he could not be before *May* or *April* at the soonest; and being of necessity to pass by *Aleppo*, and get together not only much provision, but also Soldiers from very remote Countries, and wait for them (besides, providing grass and hay for the horses, as every year they are wont to do in *May*) it was not possible that he should be so foward by this time. Considering too, that in all the Expeditions of late years, it hath been seen that the Turkish Army never arrives at the Confines of *Persia* the same year that it is dispatch't from *Constantinople*, but must always winter the first year either at *Aleppo*, or in *Mesopotamia*, or, at most, when it is nearest in *Erzirna*; the second year it arrives at the confines of *Persia* to make War; yea it oftentimes arrives there so late in the year, and so near Winter, that it scarce do's any thing. Now that this new *Serdar* was dispatcht from *Constantinople* the same year, and not the preceding, seem'd credible, because I never heard of his wintring

wintrring at *Aleppo*, or any where else ; 'twas likely that the new *Serdar* lately created at *Constantinople* (as he uses to be in *March*, and sometimes sooner) understanding the danger of *Bassora*, presently dispatch't the said *Capigi* to confirm the mind and courage of the *Basha* ; which *Capigi* travelling by the shortest ways, and with great speed, as the business requir'd, might well arrive at *Bassora* from *Constantinople* by the time above-mention'd. In brief, I suspected the credit of so near approach of the Turkish Army, waiting till effects should manifest the truth of the matter.

X V.

April the twenty third, News came to *Bassora*, that the King of *Persia* had straitly charg'd the *Chan*, who governs *Bagdad* for him, and also his friend in the Desert *Emir Nasir*, by all means to intercept the *Casila* which was preparing at *Bassora* to go to *Aleppo*, or at least to hinder its going. This intelligence so terrifi'd the Merchants who were upon the point to depart, that they deferr'd their journey, and in their own name dispatch't a Messenger to *Emir Nasir*, to know whether it was true, and whether he would permit them secure passage or no. That it was true, on one hand I conceiv'd not unlikely ; for it being of great importance to the *Sciah* to have the trade of *India* by Sea brought into his own Country, (which, since the taking of *Ormuz*, he hath lost) and the said trade being diverted to *Bassora*, where (for want of Ships to contest with the *Portugals*) he cannot hinder it (which is the reason why he was so desirous to take *Bassora*, namely, that so the *Portugals* might be depriv'd of all ports and passes, and be necessitated to come with the traffick of *India* to some place of his Territories, without his rendring *Ormuz* to them) I say, it seem'd likely that he should endeavour to hinder the traffick of *Bassora* to *Aleppo* by land, which would amount to the same thing : for the Merchandises of *India* cannot be all absum'd at *Bassora*, but remaining there little or nothing must be from thence dispers'd to *Aleppo* and elsewhere : Upon this account the *Sciah* rais'd a great War both against the *Portugals* and the people of *Bassora*, whose chiefest subsistence is from this trade. On the other side I conceiv'd it might not be true, because *Emir Nasir* draws great profit from the *Casila*'s which pass from *Bassora* to *Aleppo* ; and though at the taking of *Bagdad* he sided with the *Sciah* for some end of his own, yet I believe, that as an *Arabian* and a free Prince he is not so devoted to the *Sciah* as to serve him with the prejudice of his proper interests ; and the rather because at the same time he keeps some Agents and Ministers at *Bassora* to receive the said Imposts, and without the *Emir*'s assistance the *Sciah* can do nothing in those Desarts. Moreover, this *Emir Nasir* hath lately been much mortifi'd by the losses he receiv'd from *Emir Aburisc*, and 'tis likely would rather endeavour to re-nigriate with *Aburisc* and the Turk (from whom he may suffer much) for avoiding a total ruine, than expose himself to new dangers

dangers for the *Sciab*, from whom he can hope little good or hurt so long as he is not Master of all as far as *Aleppo*; which is not a thing to be brought to pass suddenly or easily. But of this also time will show the truth.

XVI.

May the ninth, Another *Capigi* arriv'd at *Bassora* from the *Serdar*, and was receiv'd with great solemnity and salutations of Artillery. He brought a Robe to the *Basha*, and intelligence that he had left the *Serdar* at *Mardin*, which lies within a few dayes journey of *Baghdad*, confirming the recovery of *Monsul* and *Kierkuc*; (whereof, supposing the *Serdar* at *Mardin*, I made no scruple) and adding that the *Serdar* was then upon removing from *Mardin*, and by this time had march't much forwards. This is what was given out; for more intrinsick and secret news I could not know, having no acquaintance with any considerable Turk from whom to learn the same: nor was any more then this signifi'd to the chief Commander of the *Portugal* Ships. Only I judg'd that the Turks well considering the danger wherein *Bassora* was of being lost, might possibly by these successive Messengers, and good tidings endeavour to confirm the minds of the *Basha*, and the people, as much as they could.

May the eleventh, The *Casila* design'd for *Aleppo*, which had many days waited some leagues, without the City, at length set forth and departed; either because they had receiv'd a good answer from *Emir Nasir*, or rather, (as I believe) because they rely'd upon other fresh tidings, how that *Emir Nasir* was reconcil'd to *Emir Aburisc*, and return'd into the favour and devotion of the Great Turk, so that the Desert was all in peace; and perhaps also they trusted to the common report of the nearness of the Turkish Army. I purpos'd to depart from *Bassora* the same way and upon the same day (though alone, and not with the *Casila*) having hired Camels and certain *Beduni Arabians* to conduct me. But *Ali Aga*, the chief Captain of the Militia, gave notice to my Camelier that I must not depart within three days. Whereupon being desirous to go with all speed by reason that the hot weather came on, I got *Sig. Consalvo Martins*, a *Portugal* Father, to speak to the said *Aga* to know wherefore he detain'd us, and if there were no cause, to dispatch us and let us go. The *Aga* answer'd that I must by all means have patience for this week, that so the *Casila* might have time to get a little more onwards; and that he did this because he mistrusted my Camelier as a *Beduin Arabian* (although he had a House and Wife at *Bassora*) lest for some interest of his own, departing at the same time with the *Casila*, he should out-go it, and by other ways of the Desert (wherein he was well skil'd) give notice thereof to *Emir Nasir*, or else to some other *Beduin Arabians* who might rob it, or perhaps also to the *Qizilbaschi* themselves. Wherefore since my going so soon might prove to my own damage, he desir'd for my security, and the publick good of the *Casila*, that I would stay those few days; to the end that the *Casila* advancing before out of all suspected places, my Camelier

melier might not have time to do any villany either to it or to me. The truth is, I did not conceive my Camelier likely to do any such thing, having had good information and assurance of him from *Chogia Negem*, to whom he was well known, and who recommended him to me: Nevertheless, since he that govern'd would have it so, I had patience to wait as long as he desir'd. Yet from hence I gather'd that the above-mention'd news, now that the *Persians* and *Emir Nasir* conspir'd against the *Casila*, was not altogether vain; being *Ali Aga*, a man of so great place in *Bassora*, had such apprehensions about it. And it might consist well enough with the *Casila's* departing; for perhaps it went out upon a venture, the Merchants being unwilling to suffer longer delay, (for it was above eight months since this *Casila* began to unite) I say, at a venture; because the Desert is like the Sea, where 'tis a chance to meet or not meet enemies; and as men forbear not to sail upon the Sea through fear of Pirates or Enemies, so neither do they cease to pass through the Desert. The F. Provincial of *Maniglia* with his Companion, (a Castilian too but not a Fryer of his Order) *Marc' Antonio Lanza* a Venetian (who came with me from *Goa* to *Bassora*) and I know not how many other Europeans, went along with the *Casila*: I alone would not, but staid with my Servants to go by my self, and to travel more hazardously indeed, but yet with more speed, and undoubtedly with more convenience than they.

May the thirteenth, Another *Capigi* sent from the *Serdar* to the *Basha* arriv'd at *Bassora*, bringing a Robe and a Scimiter as Presents, and the confirmation of the Government of *Bassora* in his person, which hitherto he had not had. As for news, 'twas dispers'd amongst the people that the Turkish Army was very neer, and almost upon *Baghdad*; yet Letters from our *Aleppo* Merchants to the *Carmelites* brought by a Moor of the company of the said *Capigi*, inform'd us for certain that according to my above-mention'd Prophecy the *Serdar* was not yet come to *Aleppo*. 'Tis true, they writ that perhaps to make his voyage more compendious he would not come to *Aleppo*, but march directly to *Mesopotamia* and *Baghdad* by another way; which yet was uncertain when the said Letters were written: whence 'tis clear that one way or other he could not be further then *Aleppo*, and perhaps, according to my opinion, was scarce departed from *Constantinople*. So that it was not possible for *Baghdad* and *Persia* to have wars this current year 1625; since it would have been no small Summer's work to have march't to the Frontiers: yet that war will follow the next year, unless some other chance intervene, I no-wise doubt. The said Letters further told us news from *Turkie*, namely that the Emir of *Saida*, anew rebelling against the Turk, had taken and sackt *Tripoli*, driving away the *Basha* that was there: but afterwards the *Basha* of *Aleppo* marching out with his people, had recover'd *Tripoli*, and restor'd the said expell'd *Basha* to the government. From Christendom,
That

That *Italy* was all in wars about the *Valtoline*, which the French had surpriz'd out of the hands of the Pope's Officers, wherewith his Holiness was much offended. That the Prince of *England* was to marry a Sister of the King of *France*: That the *Dutch* had taken an important City from the Portugals in *Brasile*: That Marquiss *Spinola* had lay'd siege to another considerable one of the *Dutch* in *Flanders*; that the Emperor's affairs in *Germany* proceeded very prosperously; and other particulars of less moment, which for brevity I omit.

May the twentieth, Upon the return of *Emir Zambur*, owner of the House where I liv'd, I resign'd the possession to him, and withdrew to the Covent of the *Carmelites*, till my departure, in which the *Capigi* intends to accompany me, we having provided us arms and resolutions not to fear meeting Arabian Thieves. I declin'd the *Casla*, not only that I might go as I pleas'd, but also to avoid prolonging the voyage by the slowness of the Carriages in the Desert, which affords nothing but bare earth, void of water and grass. If it please God, I will write to you again at *Aleppo*, from whence you shall receive the next.

LETTER XI.

From *Aleppo*, August 5. 1625.

HAVING obtain'd licence of the *Aga* to depart, on the one and twentieth of *May*, in the Evening I caus'd my goods to be carri'd to a Field without the City, call'd *Masraqa*, where the Camels were to take their burdens; and having order'd a little Tent to be pitcht there, I repair'd thither with *Marian Timatin*, and all my servants.

I.

May the twenty second, Having in the day dispatcht some small business which remain'd for me to do in order to my departure, and paid a Custom, usually demanded of such as go out of *Bassora*; about midnight I departed the City, and travell'd all night (having presently enter'd into the Desert, which is altogether level) first in clayie and something dirty ways, and afterwards in dry with very little grass for Camels.

May the twenty third, After we had travell'd about six leagues, we arriv'd at a Town of the *Arabians* call'd *Cuvebeda*, where an Arabian *Sceich* resides, who receives a Gabel of the Caravans and Burdens that pass that way; at my time he was call'd *Sceich Abdullah*. Here we pitch't a tent in a field without the Town in expectation of our chief Camelier, who was to follow us with one of those *Capigi*'s that had been sent from the *Serdar* to the *Basha* of *Bassora*. But on *May* the twenty fifth, because he came nor, and it was tedious to me to abide longer in that place where the wind and the dust much molested us; in the Evening I dispatcht

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my servant *Michel* to *Bassora*, with Letters to *F. Fra: Basilio*, Sig: *Consalvo Martins de Castelbranco*, Factor of the *Portugals*, and *Chogia Negem*, earnestly entreating them to procure that the chief Camelier might come away forth-with; or, in case he must stay yet longer for the *Capigi*, that he would give order to his under-Cameliers to conduct us forwards, and I would go without him; if not, I would return to *Bassora*. Two dayes after, my Servant return'd from *Bassora* with this account, That the *Capigi* would come away the next day without fail; and that *F. Fra: Gregorio Orsino*, a Dominican, formerly known to me, and Vicar General at *Constantinople* ten years before, was arriv'd at *Bassora* from *Armenia*, (where he had been Apostolical Visitor) in order to go speedily into *Italy*; and hearing of my being upon the way to *Aleppo*, intended to come along with the chief Camelier: Which last News was so welcome to me, that I accounted all the time of my pass'd, and yet future, waiting at *Cuvebeda* well spent; for I imagin'd the *Capigi* would not come so soon as they said, because the Moors never speak truth.

May the thirtieth, At dark night the above-said *F. Fra: Gregorio Orsino* arriv'd with the chief Camelier *Hbaggi Abhamed*. I receiv'd him with such contentment as you may imagine; and, though he civilly declin'd it, caus'd him to lodg with me in my Tent. The *Capigi* came not; and though they said, he would come presently after, yet I conceiv'd we were to wait for him yet a good while; and, perhaps, till the New Moon; it being the custom of the Moors almost ever to begin their journeys at the New Moon.

June the third; Early in the Morning the *Capigi* arriv'd at the place where we waited for him; whereupon, in order to our further progress, we discharg'd such duties of Gabels or Customs as were to be paid at this Town.

I I.

You must know that in the whole way of this Defart, we were to pay four Tolls or Customs, (if he that conducted us did not deceive us) namely, to *Sceich Abdullah*, Lord of *Cuvebeda*, for every Camel's load of fine Merchandize, valu'd at the rate of Indian Cloth, five Piastrs; for every like load of any other Goods whatsoever, valu'd at the rate of Tobacco, a much lesser sum, but I know not how much. Another Gabel was to be paid to a Chieftain of the *Arabians* of the Defart, whom they call *Ben Chaled*; he takes for every load, be it what it will, five *Lari*, which amount to one Piastre and a *Sciahi* besides, of which eight and a third part go for a Piastre at *Bassora*, but at *Aleppo* onely eight. The third Gabel was to be paid to another Head of the *Arabians*, surnamed *il Cieco*, who takes for every load what soever, six *Sciabi*; and lastly, six other *Sciahi*, were in like manner to be paid for every load to another Captain of *Arabians*, Cousin to the fore-said *Cieco*. *Scich Abdullah*, Lord of *Cuvebeda*, said, he would take nothing of me, in regard of two Letters which I brought him; one from the *Basha* of *Bassora*, and

and the other from the Factor of the *Portugals* his Friend; both of them having much recommended me to him. The other three were not themselves at *Cuvebeda*, but had their Agents or Officers there, to whom we paid what they said was due; and they gave us an Acquittance for it, that it might not be demanded of us again by any other of their Officers in the Desert.

June the fourth, *Sceich Abdullab*, it seems alter'd his mind concerning the Gabel which he had remitted, and requir'd the same of me, taking for my two Trunks ten Piaſtres; which was a most rigorous rate. I mention this to give notice of the manner of proceeding, and little punctualness observ'd by these Barbarians.

June the fifth, We departed very early from *Cuvebeda*, and before noon arriv'd at certain Wells or Pits, which they call *Ganemiat*, (importing their use for Cattel) where we found many *Arabians* lodg'd. At a distant view of them, we betook our selves to our Arms, against what-ever should happen; but upon nearer approach, we perceiv'd them to be poor peaceable people; whereupon we lodg'd all together in that place. Yet here we had News that a band of *Arabian* Thieves had way-lay'd us at another Pass a little further off, with intent to assault us. For discovering the truth whereof, our chief Camelier went to *Cuvebeda*, where the Spies of these Thieves use to reside; and at night he brought us word that it was true, and that therefore it behov'd us to go back again. Whether it was true, or onely an Invention of his for some end of his own, I cannot affirm; but the next day early we return'd to *Cuvebeda*, and lodg'd without the Town at some distance from the place where we had been before. Two days after, we were perswaded to lodg within the Town, for more security from the Thieves, and to deceive their Spies, by making shew as if we resolv'd not to go further, which might divert them from their design. The same did the two *Capigi* that were with us; for, besides the former, whose Name was *Scervanli Ibrahim Aga*, there came another with him call'd *Mahhmad Aga*, who had been sent by the preceding Serdar to *Bassora*, *Labbfa*, and divers other adjacent places, and had not dispatch'd his business in order to his return before now.

June the thirteenth, After a long contest with our chief Camelier, about hiring certain *Arabian* Guides, which he pretended necessary, (to get money of us) and I refus'd as superfluous; since we knew the way without them, and they could do us no good against the Thieves: At length, the business resting half undecided, being, I said, if he would not go without those Guides, I would return back to *Bassora*, (which he was loth to hear of, because of restoring my money) without speaking a word more about it, he determin'd to proceed from *Cuvebeda*; and travelling all night we pass'd by the Pits of *Ganemiat*.

June the fourteenth, Three hours before noon, (having

travell'd till then). we rested a while near certain Pits; and setting forwards again in the Evening, travell'd till mid-night, and then we rested. The next day rising early, we travell'd till about noon; till coming to a little bitter water, we stay'd there to repose. Here the great wind, which blows continually in the Desert, allaying the great heat of the Season, having before much shatter'd our little Pavilions, now broke them all in pieces, so that we could no more make use of them: Which indeed, was a great inconvenience; but for the future, we had no other remedy but when we rested, to ward off the Sun-beams with little sheds made of our Cloths, fastned upon three Chairs wherein the Women and I were carry'd, though they scarce suffic'd to cover three or four persons: Yet in the night, when there was no need of shadow, we slept more pleasantly and coolely under the fait Canopy of the Starry Heaven. After noon, we proceeded further till an hour before night, and then took up our lodging near another water.

June the sixteenth, Having travell'd from break of day till noon, and then rested two hours, we proceeded again till night, lodging in a place where the multitude of Gnats suffer'd us to sleep but little. The next Morning early, we pass'd by a great dry Lake, (which yet seem'd to have water in it at sometime of the year) and an hour before noon rested in a place full of Hornets, very troublesome both to Men and beasts. At the usual hour we set forwards again, and journey'd till night.

III.

June the eighteenth, Rising before day-break, we pass'd by, at a distance (leaving it on the right hand), a place inhabited by *Arabians*, which they call *Argia*, govern'd by one *Hbasan Aga Curda*, a Fugitive from his own Country, and, by Alliance with the *Arabians*, become great amongst them. The *Capigi Ibrahim Aga*, had a Robe to present to him from the *Serdar*; but being we could not go to *Argia*, by reason all the Passages were then overflown with water, and the Cameldiers had no mind to it in regard of a Gabel which would be requir'd there of us, we repos'd ourselves about noon in the place where we were. Having pass'd *Argia* a good way, the *Capigi* got one to swim over the waters, and to advertise *Hbasan Aga* of the *Serdar's* Present which he had for him, and would have deliver'd himself, had the way been passable; he also desir'd some *Arquebusiers* to accompany us over the Desert. In expectation of an Answer, we stay'd in this place all day; where I saw upon the ground abundance of Sea-shells, shining within, like Mother-of-Pearl, some whole, and some broken; I wonder'd how they came there so far from Sea. I saw also many pieces of *Birumen* scatter'd up and down, which is produc'd in that brackish soil by the overflowing of the water at some time of the year: I have a piece of it by me to shew.

IV.

Being suspicious of some Arabian *Mked's*, that is, Vagrants or Vagabonds, (so call'd because they abide with Drovers of Buffles, sometimes in the Desarts, and sometimes in Cities, and are different

ent from the *Bedavi*; or *Bedawi*, that is, *Deserticola*, who are the noblest amongst them, never residing in walled places, but wandering about the Fields with black Tents; as also from the *Hbadeff* who live in Cities and Stable-houses, and are therefore accounted by them the ignoblest and meanest, but indeed are of a middle condition between both the other sorts, for more security we remov'd a mile further; and took up our station under a little Hill near some ruins of building, which we discover'd afar off, and I walkt on foot to behold near hand. In the revolutions of *Baghdad*, the above-said *Hbasan Aga* Lord of *Arza*, was visited by the *Persians*, the *Sciah* sending a Tag to him, as he uses to do to great Persons whom he intends to invite to be, or declare themselves of his Party: and he carri'd himself in such sort that his fidelity became something suspected to the Turks; insomuch that a *Basha* had an intention to kill him, but did not do it, perhaps because he knew not how to effect his purpose: wherefore to keep him still faithful, as I believe, since it was not possible to punish him, the *Serdar* sent him by this *Capigi* the above-mention'd Present.

June the nineteenth, Our removal hence being still deferr'd in expectation of the answer of *Hbasan Aga*, I went in the forenoon to take a more diligent view of the ruins of the above-said ancient building. What it had been I could not understand; but I found it to have been built with very good Bricks, most of which were stamp'd in the midst with certain unknown letters which appear'd very ancient. I observ'd that they had been cemented together in the Fabrick, not with lime, but with bitumen or pitch, which, as I said, is generated in these Deserts: whence the Hill, upon which these ruins are, is call'd by the *Arabians*, *Maqeiser*, that is, Pitchy. In the evening two men came from *Hbasan Aga*, to the *Capigi* with Letters and an Answer that he would send him some provisions; but they departed discontented because the *Capigi* gave them nothing.

June the twentieth, Surveying the above-said ruins again, I found on the ground some pieces of black Marble, hard and fine, engraven with the same Letters as the Bricks; which seem'd to me to be a kind of Seal like what the Orientalls use at this day: for their Seals are only letters or written words containing the name of him whose Seal it is, together with some Epithet of humility and devotion, Titles of Honour, or other words according as every one pleases; not being perpetual to the Family, as ours are. Amongst other letters which I discover'd in that short time, two I found in many places, one of which was like a jacent Pyramid thus, \triangleright , and the other resembled a Star of eight points in this form *. Of the Provisions promis'd to the *Capigi* by *Hbasan Aga*, some few came this day; but he sent no more; and they said, he was angry that the *Capigi* had not sent him the *Serdar*'s Present, which he forbore to do, because he knew he had absolutely declar'd himself of the Persian Party. Wherefore

fore, doubting lest he might send to do us some displeasure, although it was night, we remov'd our Quarters, and travell'd in haste till midnight.

June the twenty first, We set forth by day-light, and journied till Noon, and after two hours rest, continued our way till night over Lands sometimes moorish with abundance of little canes, sometimes whitish with salt, and sometimes cover'd with thickets of Shrubs.

June the twenty second, We travell'd again till Noon; and as we were reposing in these Plains which were all cover'd with small dry grass, a little sparkle falling from some of the Cameliars, who, according to their custom, stood sucking the smoke of Tobacco, set this grass on fire, and the flame increas'd so suddenly that we had much ado to save our Goods from burning; but at length we extinguish'd it by casting cloths and thick coverings upon it; for water the place afforded none, and we had only enough for drink. Departing thence two or three hours before night, we quarter'd in another place call'd *Ebathuer*, where two or three men whom we met with their laden Camels, inform'd us that the great *Casila*, which went so many days before us from *Bassora*, had incounter'd many difficulties, and was stopt by *Emir Nasir*, who, besides taking a great sum of money from them, also constrain'd many of the people to go to *Mesched Hbusein* to fight with the *Qizilbaschi*, with whom he was now at enmity; in which conflict, which prov'd little successful to the *Arabs*, the chief Leader of the *Casila* was slain, his Son succeeding him in his Charge; with other like news, which made me doubt of the good estate of our *Francks* who went along with that *Casila*.

V.

June the twenty third, the twenty fourth, and the twenty fifth, We travelled and rested at our usual hours, during which dayes, we had the Iland *Genazir* of the Chaldean Lake on our right hand; and on the last of them, we reposed at a place wherein grew certain low and thin plants, which to me seemed to be Juniper.

June the twenty sixth, We travelled from day-break till two hours before Noon, and then rested near certain Pits, where we had on the right hand afar off *Mesched-Ali*, the place where anciently stood the City of *Kufa*, and where *Ali* the Son-in-law of *Mahammed* was slain; the name *Mesched-Ali* signifying the place of the Martyrdom of *Ali*, whom they hold a Martyr. And though the City of *Kufa* is no longer in being, yet, upon account of the said Sepulchre, venerated by Mahometans, and adorned with a noble Fabrick, the place is frequented and inhabited: when we passed by, it was in the power of the *Qizilbaschi*, whereas it used to be in that of the Turks whilst they were Masters of *Baghdad*. From hence we continued our Journey till two hours within night.

June the twenty seventh, We set forth by day-light, and at Noon

Noon rested near a water, which rising out of the ground, runs under a thicket of Canes, where we stayed all day. The next day setting forth, and resting at our accustomed hours, we passed over many dry Lakes, which seem'd to have had water in them at some time of the year.

June the nine and twentieth, Two or three hours before Noon, we rested by a water near the ruins of an ancient great Fabrick, perfectly square with thirteen Pillasters, or round Columns on each side without, and other compartments of Arches; within which were many Chambers, with a Court of no great bigness, and uncover'd. The Arabians call this Fabrick *Casr Chaidar*. I could not conjecture whether it had been a Palace, or Temple, or Castle; but I incline to believe it a Palace rather than any thing else. In this place we had within half a dayes journey on the Right Hand *Mesched-Hbusssein*, which signifies the place of the Martyrdom of *Hbusssein*, and where *Hbussan* the Son of *Ali* and *Fatima*, *Muhhammed's* Daughter, was slain, and buried by his Emulators; which place, in the Country call'd *Kierbela*, being inhabited and adorn'd with the said Sepulchre, which the Moors visit as Holy, (a very sumptuous Fabrick after their mode) was now in the Hands of the *Dizilbasci*, into which it fell with the other Territories of *Baghdad*, which is but a little distant from thence. Here we stay'd to pay a Gabel to *Emir Nasir-ben-Mahhanna*, Lord of these Desarts, or rather, to *Sceich Abitaleb* his Son; for *Sceich Nasir* being now old, and devoted to a Spiritual Life, (as he that had been in pilgrimage at *Moka*) had resign'd the Government to his Son; and both of them were now remaining in Tents about a League from the place, where we rested towards the North-East.

June the thirtieth, In the Morning the two *Capigi's* that were in our company, went separately to carry their Letters and Presents from the *Serdar* to the *Sceich*; namely, *Ibrahim Aga* to the present, and *Mahmud Aga* to the preceding *Serdar*; who, as they said, was poyson'd either by others, or by himself for fear of worse, because he had not been diligent enough in the war of *Baghdad*; yet this his *Capigi*, having been sent to several other places, could not come hither sooner to the *Sceich*. After dinner, in the absence of the *Capigi*, the *Sceich's* Men came to demand a Gabel; and after I had pay'd them as much as they requir'd, to wit, twelve Piaftres, for onely two Chests, and two or three more Piaftres of free-gift; nevertheless they open'd all my Trunks, breaking some for haste, turning all things topsie-turvy, and taking away for the *Sceich* and themselves some things of value which they lik'd, a rich Persian Turbant of Silk and Gold, a piece of fine checker'd Silk to make Cassocks withall, after the Persian Mode; many dishes of rare Porcellane, beautif'd with Gold and colours; an Harquebuse belonging to my Servant; much curious Paper of *Japan* and *India*; besides, many other toyes which I rememb'r not, telling me that they would

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would buy them; notwithstanding that I told them that they were not things to be sold, but onely such as I carry'd for my own use and service. Moreover, they made me by force (that is, refusing to hear any of my Reasons to the contrary, but saying, that the *Sceich* commanded so, though, in truth, I ought not) pay twenty Piaſtres to my chief Camelier their Friend, alledging that the same were for the Guide which he would have hired at *Cuvebeda*; which Guide, I neither hir'd nor made use of; and if I had, I ought to have pay'd onely half at most, the said Camelier having other Carriages besides mine, and all of Merchandize. But they were resolv'd to do a kindness to the Camelier, who was an Arabian, and a Thief like themselves, and gave not this money to any Guide, but kept it for his own use. Hereby the Readers may observe, how we Christians are us'd by these Barbarians in their own jurisdictions. At length, they would have taken for the *Sceich* a Sword, and Changiar or Arabian Ponyard, the hilts and garniture whereof were Silver-gilt, and which belong'd sometimes to *Sitti Maani* my Wife: Whereupon being no longer able to suffer so many insolencies, I resolv'd to go to the *Sceich* my self, and present him a Letter from the Basba of *Bassora*, which he had writ to him in commendation of me. Accordingly leaping upon a Mule of *Ibrahim Aga's*, who was already return'd, and highly angry with the proceeding of the Arabians, both towards me, the rest, and himself; I rid in haste with the Notary of the *Sceich*, and our cheating Camelier, (who was partly the cause of this bad usage, although I dissembled my resentment thereof to him.) By the way I found many black Tents of his Arabians dispers'd in several places, and an hour within night I came to the Tent of *Sceich Abitaleb*, a little distant from that of his Father *Sceich Nasir*; which Tents differ'd from the rest, neither in colour nor stuff, (being all of coarse black Goats-hair) but onely in bigness, which shew'd them to be the principal. We enter'd not into the Tent, because we saw many of his chief Arabians sitting in a round on one side thereof, upon certain colour'd and coarse woollen clothes spread on the ground; and the *Sceich* was not there. Yet he came presently after, and we all rising up at his coming, he went and sat down in the midst of the circle, and so also did we in our places round about him. Then a Candle-stick with a light being plac'd before him, he perform'd his Orisons according to their manner; after which, sitting down again, he began to read and subscribe certain Letters, giving dispatch to several busineses; and, amongst others, to the Capigi *Mahmud Aga*, who was there, and waited for Licence to return. These things being over, I arose and presented him the Basba's Letter. He ask'd, whether I was the *Frank*, (or Christian) of the *Casila*? Whereupon the Camelier answer'd that I was, and declar'd to him the cause of my coming; whereunto I added in Arabick what I thought fit. He desir'd to see my Hat nearer Hand, and caus'd it to be brought before him; and being inform'd

inform'd that I understood the *Beduin*-Language, he told me, that I must excuse what his Officers had done, for he had great need of Arquebuzes for war; that the Turbant and piece of Silk much pleas'd him, but he would pay for them; whereto I answer'd, that I did not value his payment, but would give him both the one and the other. Then he call'd for the Turbant, and having view'd and highly commended it, though I told him it had been us'd, (as indeed I had worn it several times in *Persia*) he enter'd into the Tent with it where his Women were, and from whence was heard a great noise of Hand-mills, where-with to make Meal for Bread; it being the custom amongst the Arabians, for even the noblest Women to do such services: By and by he came out again with the Turbant upon his Head, where-upon his people congratulated him for his new bravery, saying to him, *Mubarek*, that is, Blessed, to the same purpose with our *Ad multos Annos*. Then they set before him a brass dish full of Grapes, and we being all call'd about him, he began to eat and give us some of the said Grapes, which were very sweet and good, and the first that I had eaten this year. This ended, we retir'd to our places, and after a short stay, I took leave and departed with *Mahmud Aga* to the *Casla*; one of his servants and the Camelier remaining behind by the *Sceich's* Order, who said he would send a dispatch for his own and my business the next day by them.

July the first, The Camelier return'd with an Answer, that the *Sceich* would not take the Sword, and the Changier or Ponyard from me; and for the Turbant and piece of Silk, he sent me 29 Piaftres, whereof the Camelier said he had expended five; to wit, two to the Officer that pay'd him, and three to I know not who else, so that he brought me but 24; which were not a third part of what the things were worth. However I took them, because the barbarous dealing of the *Sceich* deserv'd not that I should correspond with him with better courtesie. I have related this Adventure, that thereby the dealings of these uncivil Barbarians may be known.

July the second, We departed from this Station early in the Morning, continuing our journey, but were detain'd near two hours by certain Arabian Officers of a Brother of *Sceich Nasir*, who also would needs extort some payment upon each Camel. We arriv'd late to bait near a water, where we found many Arabian Tents, from which, and a neighbouring Village, we had plenty both of sweet and lower Milk, and also of Grapes. Here we stay'd all day, and upon a hasty quarrel between *Batoni Mariam*, and *Eugenia* my Indian Maid, at night the said Maid ran away from us in these desarts, yet was so honest as to leave even all her own things and ornaments behind; so that it was rather despair than infidelity that occasion'd her flight. I had much adoe to recover her again, and was in great danger of losing her, in case she had fallen into the hands of any Arabian,

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who, undoubtedly, would have hid her ; and, perhaps, carry'd her afar off, and made her a slave for ever. I mention this, to the end Masters may learn not to drive their Servants into despair by too much rigor, which may redound to the prejudice of themselves, as well as of them.

VIII.

July the third, Setting forth early, we baited before noon near a Lake of Water, streaming there amongst certain Reeds and verdant Fields, about which flew many *Assuetæ ripis Volucres*, some of which we took and eat. F. Gregorio Orsino, who was with me, bathing himself here, (as he was wont often to do for the heat) and being unskilful of swimming, was in great danger of being drowned ; hapning unawares to go into a much deeper place of the Lake than he imagin'd. We travell'd no further this day, but onely at night went to joyn with the *Capigi's*, who had pitch'd a Tent a little further from the Water, to avoid the Gnats there, which were very troublesome both to Men and Beasts. The two next dayes we travell'd but little, because of some difference between the Arabians and the chief Camelier, who went back to the *Sceich* about it.

July the sixth, We travell'd this day over Lands full of a white and shining Mineral, which was either Talk, or Salt-petre, or some such thing. I brought a good quantity of it away with me.

July the seventh, We travell'd from day-break till noon, passing over a clayie and slippery ground, where the Camels went with much difficulty. We rested at a place full of prickly shrubs, the leavs whereof are less than a Man's naile, and of the shape of a heart ; the fruit was round and red, like small coral-beads, of taste sweet, mixt with a little sharpness, having little stones in them ; it was very pleasant to the taste, and afforded no small refreshment to us in these Desarts. The Mahometans celebrated their *Bairam*, the Fast of *Ramadhan* being now ended.

July the eighth, We came to several places of stagnant waters, and baited at one, two or three hours before noon ; but the water was sulphureous and ill-tasted, as most of the rest were also, in regard of the many Minerals where-with the Earth of the Desart abounds. We departed not from this place at night, because we were to pay a Gabel to *Emir Mudleg Aburisc*, whose Territory here-about begins. *Emir Aburisc* is the greatest Prince of the Arabians in *Arabia Deserta* ; and this Prince, (whose proper name is *Mudleg*) succeeded his deceased Uncle *Feiad*, who was living and reign'd when I went from *Aleppo* to *Baghdad* nine years before, having usurp'd the Government from *Mudleg*, who was very young at the time of his Father's decease. At night we were visited by some pilftring Arabians, who finding us prepar'd with our Arms, betook themselves to their heels, and escap'd unhurt from us, though we pursu'd them a while.

July the ninth, The Morning was spent in paying Gabels : I pay'd for my part for a load and half of portage, as they reckon'd it,

ir, fifteen Piaſtres, and two more towards the abovemention'd Gabel of the Camels to *Emir Naſir's* Brother, beſides other fees. They open'd my Trunks, and took away two Velvet Caps, much good Paper, and ſeveral other things; and had it not been more for the *Capigi Ibrahim* entreaties than authority, they would alſo have broken open the Cheſt, wherein I carri'd the Body of *Sitti Maani* my Wife. Three hours before night, we put our ſelves upon the way, and travell'd till about an hour before night, when we came to a place of water.

July the tenth, We travell'd till Noon, and reſted in a great Plain ſurrounded with certain Hills, in the miſt whereof ſtands erected a Stone, faſhion'd at the Top like the bowl of a Fountain. After which, we proceeded till an hour after Sun-ſet, and came to a place where we found good water between two little Hills. Here we ſtaid to reſreſh our ſelves and our Camels till three hours before night; the *Capigi's*, who were to go by the way of *Anna* to find the *Serdar* at *Mardin*, or elſewhere, departing before us: but we, who intended to go to *Aleppo* without touching at *Anna*, for compendiouſneſs of the way, and for avoiding payment of ſome kind of Gabel there, left the way to *Anna* on the right hand, and took that within the Deſart more Southward. We travell'd all the remainder of this day, and all the night, with part alſo of the next day, without ſtaying; to the end we might the ſooner arrive at water, of which we had no leſs deſire then need.

July the twelfth, About three hours after Sun-riſe we baited, being weary, at the foot of certain little Hills, without finding water; ſo that we were fain to drink that little which remain'd in the Goat-skin borachoes which we carri'd with us. About three hours before Sun-ſet, we proceeded again till almoſt Noon the next day, when we arriv'd at water, to wit, the famous River *Euphrates*, lighting upon a place of the ordinary way to *Aleppo*, where I had formerly paſs'd when I went from thence to *Baghdad*, and where the road between the River and certain little Hills full of that Talk or ſhining Mineral is very narrow. Our further ſtirring at night was prevented by the ſupervening of ſome Soldiers, ſent by the Officers of *Anna*, (whom the *Capigi's* had inform'd of our paſſage) to demand thoſe Tolls or Gabels which we had ſought to avoid, although we paſs'd not through that City.

July the fourteenth, Moſt part of this day was ſpent in paying the ſaid Gabel. I paid for my part ſix Piaſters, and gave two more as a gratuity to the Soldiers; beſides which, I was oblig'd to pay twenty to the chief Camelier, whoſe money was all gone; and in this manner I was conſtrain'd both to profit and pleaſure him who never did me other than diſprofit and diſpleaſure. But for all this, they afterwards open'd the two greateſt Trunks I had, and tumbled all my Goods about, treating me with all rigor and diſcourteſie. Only I took it well (and upon that account wil-

lingly pardon'd them all the rest) that seeing the Chest wherein the body of *Sitti Maani* was, and understanding what it was (for I was glad to tell them, lest they should have broken it open) they not only gave me no trouble about it, as I thought they would, (being a thing contrary to custom and their Laws) but rather accounted it a picce of piety that I carri'd her with me to bury her in my own Country, both pitying and commending me for it: which hapning beyond all expectation I attributed to God's particular favour, and to her own effectual prayers, which undoubtedly helpt me therein.

IX.

This being over, about three hours before night, We set forth and travell'd till night. Some of the above-mention'd Soldiers return'd to *Anna*, but others, who were carrying I know not what moneys to their *Emir Mudleg*, accompani'd with us. In the Evening the Leader or Chieftain of these Soldiers made me open my Trunks once again, (namely the two little ones which they had omitted in the day) and putting all my Goods in disorder, took away many things, as a Mantle of *Sitti Maani* of deep azure silk, according to the mode of *Assyria*, a Ball of Amber, an Alabaſter Vessel curiously wrought, and consign'd to me in *India* by Sig. *Antonio Baracho*, to present in his name to Sig. *Francesco del Drago* at *Rome*; many exquisite Porcellane Dishes miniated with Gold; an Arabick Book, though of little importance; a great watchet Cloke or Mantle to keep off rain after the Persian mode; much paper besides other such things. At night we staid to rest, but the Soldiers went onwards; before their going, I redeem'd from them the Mantle of *Sitti Maani*, and Sig. *Francesco del Drago's* Alabaſter Vessel, giving them in exchange two Abe's, or Arabian Surcoats which I bought of one of our company for seven Piaſtres; the Amber and other things I could not recover, but they carri'd them away; for they would neither restore them freely, nor take money for them, and our *Casila* was so small that I could find nothing to give them instead thereof which pleas'd them. It was no small good luck that I sav'd the Sword and Ponyard of *Sitti Maani*, with many of her jewels, bracelets, & other ornaments of Gold from their rapacious hands; hiding them under a trunk: for, if they had seen them, 'tis ten to one but they would have taken them from me. I relate these things that it may be known what Tyranny these Barbarians exercise in their own Countries towards us, who in ours very often, with ill-employ'd courtesie, are wont to be undeservedly careſs'd and honour'd when they come thither.

X.

July the fifteenth, We travell'd from Day-break till Noon, and three hours after till night, when we took up our Station not far from the River, amongst many shrubs which to me seem'd to be Juniper, or else that plant which in *Persia* they call *Gbiez*. The next two days we travell'd and rested at our usual hours, and on the latter, we rested near a Pit or Well of bitter and stinking water in a mineral Soil, all full of Talk, of which I brought away

away a parcel with me. In like manner we proceeded the two next days; and on the twenty first, we pass'd by a ruinous Castle call'd *Hbeir*, which I had formerly seen only by night when I went from *Aleppo* to *Baghdad*. I took a better view of it now, and found it to be a great Building, all of good and large white Marble Stones; the form of it is a long Square, with walls round about, here and there distinguish'd with small round Turrets; within are many contrivances of Rooms, all likewise of white stone, but so ruinous that it cannot be known what they were. From hence we travell'd about three hours further, and at night arriv'd at *Taiba*, a Town which I had formerly seen, and lodg'd in a by-place amongst the walls of the Houses near the Gate.

July the twenty second, This day was spent in paying the usual Gabels, which every day are enhaunc'd in these Countries, and are now become insupportable. Though I had nothing of Merchandise, but only goods for my own use; yet I could not come off under twenty Piastrs between Gabels and Donatives to the Officers, which they demanded as equally due. Here I found an Arabian nam'd *Berekiet*, who spoke a little *Italian*, and pass'd for Factor or Procurator of the *Franks*, saying, he had authority so to be from the Consuls of *Aleppo*. He presently offer'd himself to speak to the Officers in our behalf, gave us an Entertainment, and invited us to lodg in his House, and, if we had been so minded, would have conducted us thither; but his services tended only to get some money of us, and by his speaking with the Officers to make us pay more then perhaps we should otherwise have done.

July the twenty third, Two hours after Sun-rise, we departed from *Taiba*, whence the said Officer sent an *Arabian* with us, to conduct us first to *Emir Mudleg* (who they said was at *Hbamah*, between *Aleppo* and *Damascus*) and afterwards to *Aleppo*; they having done the same to the great *Casila* of *Bassora* which had pass'd by *Taiba* a little before us. This going to the *Emir*, was a troublefom thing, both in regard of the great diversion out of the way, and the inconveniences we imagin'd the *Emir* himself would put us to, after all the Tyrannies we had hitherto met with in the Desert. We travell'd till past Noon, and after a short rest till Sun-set, having a continu'd ridg of little Hills always on the left hand.

July the twenty fourth, We travell'd again from day-light till past Noon, and two hours more in the Evening, taking up our Quarters an hour before Sun-set.

July twenty fifth, We set forth an hour before Sun-rise, travelling till Noon, when the Arabian, assign'd to us by the Officers of *Taiba* to conduct us to the *Emir*, being so perswaded, as I believe, by the Cameliers, who alledg'd that the Camels were very weary (as indeed they were, and ovet-laden, in regard that many of them dy'd by the way, so that they could travel but gently) resolv'd to go alone before us by a neerer way over the

the mountains, and leave us to follow him leisurely, as the Cameliers said they would. I was glad of his going, and intended to take a different course from what the Cameliers imagin'd; but because it was not yet seasonable, I held my peace. After two hours rest, we travell'd till an hour before night, when we took up our Station neer certain Pits, a little distant from the reliques of certain ancient Fabricks call'd *Siria* by me formerly seen and describ'd in my journey to *Baghdad*.

July the twenty sixth, Setting forth by day-light, we came to rest after Noon near a water which springs up in a place full of small Canes, whence we remov'd not this night, partly, that ourt ir'd and over-laden Camels might recover themselves a little, and partly, because the Cameliers were minded to eat a Camel there conveniently, which falling lame of one leg they knockt on the head in the morning; and indeed they had eaten all the others which fail'd by the way, either through Disease or otherwise. Of this, which was not infirm, I was willing to take a trial, and lik'd the roasted flesh well enough, only it was something hard.

July the twenty seventh, Setting forth early, we wav'd the directest way to *Aleppo*; (which was by the Town of *Achila*) and took another more Southwards, and to the left hand, which led to the place where the *Emir* resided; intending to leave the Camelier at a certain Town upon the way, from whence he was to go alone to the *Emir*, to carry him a Present, and excuse our going to him by alledging the death and weariness of our Camels. Hereby we endeavour'd to avoid (if possible) the troubles and disgusts which we were likely to meet with from the *Emir* and his Arabians, in case we should have gone to him our selves. At Noon, we came to the design'd Village, call'd *Haila*; they account it a *Mezar*, that is, a place to be visited, and of devotion, in regard of some persons buried there whom the Mahometans hold for Saints: yet it consisted only of four poor Cottages, and those un-inhabited and abandoned, as is credible, by reason of the Tyrannies which the Arabians of the Desert, especially the Soldiers, exercis'd in these troublefom times upon the poor Peasants. The Camelier, because he could not leave us here, by reason the Village was without people, purposed to carry us to the *Emir*; doubting, lest if he did otherwise, it might turn to his prejudice. Whereupon, considering what disgusts and perhaps dangers too I might meet with there, both by reason of the women whom I carri'd with me, and of whom the Mahometans use to be very greedy; and also by reason of the body of *Sitti Maani*, and upon other accounts; I set my foot against the wall, and resolutely told the Camelier, that I would by no means go to *Emir Mudleg*, with whom I had nothing to do, now I had pay'd all his Gabels; I would go directly to *Aleppo*; whither if he would not carry me with his Camels, I would go on foot with my people, leaving all my Goods there on the ground to his

care,

care ; of which, if any were lost, he should be responsible to me for the same at *Aleppo* : And, indeed, had the Camelier been obstinate, I was resolv'd to do as I said, having little heart to trust to the mischievousness of the *Emir*, (which was very infamous) ; or to expose to so great danger, not onely the few goods I had, but also the body of *Sitti Maani*, our lives, and the Women's both Liberty and Souls (which was a great consideration) ; and little caring to present to the *Emir* the Letter which I had for him from the *Bashia of Bassora* in my recommendation, because I had found by experience what little good the two former did me, which I had presented to *Sceich Abdullab* at *Cuvebeda*, and to *Sceich Abitaleb* the Son of *Nasir* in the Desert. The chief Camelier try'd a good while to prevail with me to go with him to the *Emir* ; but at length seeing me obstinate, and some other Cameliers of his companions of the same mind, he resolv'd at last to leave the Camels with me to carry my Goods directly to *Aleppo*, together with some few other companions of the journey, and to go himself alone with all his loads to the *Emir*, purposing also to tell him, that we by force, and against his will, had freed our selves from going to him ; with which I was very well contented.

After he was gone his own way, we took ours directly to *Aleppo*, and after two hours travel, took up our station in a bare champian place, where night had over-taken us.

July the eight and twentieth, From Sun-rise we travell'd almost till noon, but the Camels being few, weary, and over-laden, made no great progress. After three hours baiting, we journey'd again till almost night, and lodg'd by a water near the Tents of some Arabian Beguin shepherds who were there.

July the nine and twentieth, Setting forth early, we saw some number of Horse cross the way before us at a good distance, and finding the place a Plain inclos'd with Hills, and consequently, fit for Ambuscades and Treacheries, we suspected that they were Thieves, and that they went to wait at some Pass to assault us. Wherefore we put our selves in order, and march'd a good while on foot with our Arms ready to defend our selves by fight: But at length these suspicions vanish'd, and we met no body ; and, peradventure, they were people that were afraid of us, and fled. Such encounters we frequently had in the Desert, and many times betook our selves to our Arms ; some times too in the night we were visited by Pilferers, who attempted to steal something clandestinely ; but, God be thanked, no mischief ever befell us, and the Thieves finding us upon our guard, went away always frustrated ; and sometimes too, either hurt or terrify'd by our Arms. On this occasion I will not omit, (now we are near the end of this journey), that the Desert between *Bassora* and *Aleppo*, is a great Plain with very few inequalities ; and some of the soil is dry, some saltish and full of other Minerals, little stony, and less moorish with Reeds ; but the greatest part was green
with

with grafs at the time of my passing through it, yet with grafs most commonly thorney, and good onely for Camels to eat. The heat, even in these Summer-months, was alwayes supportable, and, provided a Man were shelter'd from the Sun, the wind was continually so great and constant that it caus'd coolness, though sometimes it molested us with the dust. The nights were always sufficiently cool, and, to avoid catching cold, it was requisite to be very well cover'd. But to return to my purpose, on the day above-said, a good while before noon we stay'd to rest in a little Village of Arabians, (not subject to the *Emir*, but Vassals of *Aleppo*) call'd *Ludebi*, lying in a fertile Valley irrigated with a running water. From hence I dispatch'd my Servant *Giovanni Rubehh* with a Camelier to *Aleppo*, which was about a League off; and I writ Letters by him to the most Illustrious Sig: *Aluyse da Ca*, the Venetian Consul in that City; and also to Doctor *Luigi Ramiro* his Physitian, a Roman both by Birth and Education, (upon which account I hop'd, that though I was unknown by sight, he would nevertheless be favourable to me) giving them account of my coming, and desiring the Doctor to provide me a convenient residence for my self and the Women with me. The Consul sent some of his servants to introduce us into the City, without disturbance from the Turks or Custom-Officers; which to me, in regard of the Coffin wherein I carry'd the Body of *Sitti Maani*, was a great happiness; for if it had been seen, I might have found much trouble from the Turks; as also by reason of the Books which I had in their Language, some about matters of Religion, which, (as it had hapned to some others at *Aleppo*) 'tis likely would have been taken from me. After my Servant was gone, we follow'd him till within a mile of *Aleppo*, where we stay'd his return in a *Meschita* or Sepulchre, upon the way, of one *Sceich Saadi*, venerated for a Saint; and because either the Consul's Servants mis'd of me and took another way, or else my Servant arriv'd there late; therefore hearing of no Answer, we remain'd in this place all night.

XII.

July the thirtieth, In the Morning I writ again to the Consul, and to Sig: *Giovan Maria de Bona*, his chief Interpreter, and my ancient Friend, to whom I had not written the day before, because I beliv'd him dead, as was falsely reported at *Bassora*; but understanding in the said *Meschita* by certain Women that he was alive and well, I would not omit to write to him also. I gave account both to the Consul and to him where I was, and desir'd of both the same favours of being met and provided of a habitation, as I had done the day before. As soon as my Letters arriv'd at *Aleppo*, the Consul sent several persons to fetch me, who the Evening before had sought me a good while, but in vain, and went to look for me at the Town of *Ludebi*, whence I sent the first advice. There came from the Consul's House Sig: *Andrea Buonanimi* his Factor, some Janizaries, and other servants; with whom came also some Officers of the *Doganier*, or Chief-Customer

Customer *Abedik*, an Armenian Christian; the Consul intending by their means to render my entrance more facile, and less suspected. All of them conducted us to the Consul's House, where by all means he would have me lodg, having invited me so to do by a most courteous Letter, which he had written the day before, and his Factor presented to me before my entrance, with many good Reasons now urging the same; whereunto I knew not in civility how to gain-say. The Customers came to search my Goods, and to see whether we had any jewels conceal'd; which they did civilly enough: As for the Chest wherein the Body of *Sitti Maani* was, and the Books; partly, by the authority of the Consul, and the good management of my Friend Sig: *Giovan Maria de Bona* his Interpreter; and, partly, by a Present to the *Doganier Abedik* of fifty Piasters, and a vestment of Damask, worth thirty Piasters more to the Searcher, (who onely open'd the outward Chest, wherein the Coffin lay under many Indian medicinal Herbs, and saw nothing else but them) and above thirty Piasters to several other Officers, it was brought about that the Turks knew not what it was, and nothing was spoken of it. The Consul at first intended to receive my Women into his House; but afterwards being told that it was not convenient by reason of the churlishness of the Turks, who were now become more exorbitant than ever, he thought to lodg them in another decent place; but Sig: *Giovan Maria de Bona*, was pleas'd to take them to his House, where-with I was very well contented, because they could not go to a better place whilst separated from me: They were receiv'd there, and treated by the Women of Sig: *Giovan Maria*, with very great kindness. *F. Orsino* and I remain'd in the Consul's House, being entertain'd with the greatest Love and Courtesie imaginable: And indeed he hath been extreamly obliging to me, not onely in this particular, but in all other matters occurring about my departure from *Aleppo*; which we have determin'd to be, shortly, in some of the Dutch or French Ships, which are now in the Port of *Alexandretta*, ready to set sail upon the next fair wind; and, perhaps, together in consort: which, in regard of the many Pirates now infesting the *Medeterranean*, would be the securest way.

LETTER XII.

From a Ship-board in the Port of *Della Saline*
of *Cyprus*, Sept. 6. 1625.

During my stay at *Aleppo*, from whence I writ my last to you, on the seventh of *August* I took the Altitude of the Sun with an Astrolabe, and found him decline Southwards from the Zenith, 19 degrees, 20 minutes. He was that day, according to the Ephemerides of *David Origano*, which I

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much esteem but have now with me in the ----- deg. -----

August the twelfth, The great Caravan of *Bassora* arriv'd at *Aleppo*; it set forth a considerable time before us, but had encounter'd so many difficulties in the Desert, that our sufferings were pleasures in respect of theirs.

August the sixteenth, I was inform'd by Sig. *Gio. Maria de Bonna*, of many passages of the Turkish affairs, which as appertaining to things before, or hereafter to be mention'd in these Letters, and to the full knowledge of the history of things in my time, I will not omit to relate in this place. He gave me certain intelligence how *Sultan Mustafa*, Brother of the deceased *Sultan Ahmed*, who reign'd in *Constantinople* at my being there, reign'd, and was depos'd for an Idiot (as really he is) twice; namely once before, and once after *Sultan Othman*. How *Othman*, who was a Prince sufficiently odd humor'd, being ill-bent against the Christians, and very desirous to make an Expedition against *Rome* after the bad success befallen him in *Poland*, was slain by his own Grandees, who would not suffer his government, which was somewhat rigorous and violent: and that, as a sign of his being slain, he that slew him, carri'd one of his ears to *Mustafa's* Mother, who was yet living, and was likely to be well-pleas'd therewith. That it was not true that the said *Othman* in the beginning of his Reign had put to death *Qizlagarasi* of so great authority in the time of *Sultan Ahmed* his Father, because he had too much power, having been the man that depos'd *Mustafa*, and plac'd *Othman* himself in the Throne; but indeed he banisht him from *Constantinople*, sending him into a kind of exile to live privately in *Egypt*; from whence he was afterwards recall'd by the present Emperor, and restor'd to his ancient favour, and at length dy'd of a disease at *Constantinople*. How the present Emperor was *Sultan Murad*, Son of *Sultan Amed*, and *Sultana Chiose*, of whom in the time of *Amed* I have elsewhere in these made long mention; And that *Murad* was not the eldest Son of *Chiose*, who was seen at *Constantinople* in my time, and was of the same age with *Othman*; but was a Son much younger, that elder having been put to death by *Othman*, when he design'd to go into *Poland*. How the said *Sultana Chiose* was still living, and of more authority then ever, her Son *Murad* now reigning since the death of *Othman*, (wherein perhaps she had a hand, because he was not her Son but the Son of another Woman) after the second deposition of *Mustafa*; and indeed I fore-saw many years ago, that the said *Chiose*, having one day remov'd all other pretenders would at length by her wisdom and the power she had in Court bring the Scepter into the hand of one of her sons, as accordingly she hath done. How the Government of the Turks was very ill-manag'd in this nonage of the Emperor and all their affairs grew worse and worse; because there being no head, there was likewise no obedience; all the Ministers did what they pleas'd, every one more or less according as he had
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more or less power, without any regard of the Prince, whom as a child they not only esteem'd kept remote from the Government, but endeavour'd to keep always so by educating him only to delights and pleasures. Lastly, how the *Serdar* or *Grand Vizier* lately sent to the War of *Persia*, was *Hhapidh. Mahammed Basba*; that he was not sent from *Constantinople*, but created *Serdar* or *Grand Vizier* whilst he was at *Amid* or *Diarbekir*, as *Basha* or Governor; from whence, without being seen to pass by *Aleppo*, or spending much time by the way, he hapned to be the same year in *Mesopotamia*; which, I said above, that I much wondred at, and could not believe, in case he had come from *Constantinople*, as ordinarily it uses to be. He told me, that indeed he was still at *Amid*, and had not pass'd further, because he continually waited for the coming up of the Army, which was not yet gather'd together. Whereby it appears to be true what I had always affirm'd at *Bassora*; namely, that nothing would be done this year in the War of *Baghdad*, because it would scarce suffice for the uniting of an Army, the expedition being begun, and the same year, and the *Serdar* who was to be General being newly created. Sig. *Giovan Maria* added to these relations concerning the Turks some news about the affairs of the European Tartars, pertaining also to the former; namely, that the Tartarian Princes of *Casa* were three Brothers; Chan, who first reigned, a man of spirit and valour; Chan who was a hostage at *Constantinople*; and a third Chan, an enemy to the two others but a Vagabond from his own Country, and a fugitive at the Court of the *Persian*, on whom he depends, and where he was seen by me in the year 1618. when we marcht against the Turkish Army. Now of late years I know not upon what occasion the first Chan being sent for to *Constantinople*, was there detain'd Prisoner, and his Brother Chan their Hostage, a person of little valour and age establish'd in his stead; under whom the affairs of his State proceeded very ill, and the forces were very feeble; by which occasion the Chan that was in *Persia* being invited, by the help of the *Persian*, and many Tartars of the same State devoted to him, he enter'd with an Army into his paternal Territories, and driving his Brother from the Throne, made himself Lord thereof by force; continuing also to possess himself of all that Country by the help of the Cossacks of *Poland* with whom he confederated in despite of the Turks; a thing indeed of very prejudicial consequence to them.

August the second, I saw at *Aleppo* a Mahometan of the Country, who writing in the right hand of a Child or Woman of any Age whatsoever, certain words and characters, (which again he presently defaced by making a great blot of Ink in the palm of the hand, and pouring Oil over it) caused by the power of incantments and words which he spake fast and bravingly, that the said Child or Woman saw in the Oil in their hands whatever was desir'd; yea certain Spirits spoke to them, and answered to questions, although the By-standers heard and saw no-

thing but only the Woman or Child related what he or she saw and heard. He also caused two persons to sit upon the ground one opposite to the other, and giving them four Arrows into their hands, which both of them held with the points downward, and, as it were, in two right lines united one to the other. Then a question being put to him about any business, he fell to murmur his enchantments, and thereby caused the said four Arrows of their own accord to unite their points together in the midst (though he that held them stirred not his hand) and according to the future event of the matter, those of the right side were placed over those of the left, or on the contrary. I know well that such things are not difficult to be done by the art of the Devil, nor yet to gain belief, the Devil being naturally a Liar; but because the severity in our Countries makes such pranks very rare, I therefore mention these here.

August the nineteenth, Being ready to depart from *Aleppo* to *Alexandretta*, there to go aboard a small *French* Ship which was ready to set sail (the great *Dutch* Ships being already gone before I could be ready), though I hoped to find them in *Cyprus*, and perhaps to imbarque in a *Flemish* Ship called the *Neptune* for more security with a Caravan of the same *French*. When I sent my Goods aboard, I hid the Coffin of *Sitti Maani* in a great Ball of Cotton Yarn; and as such it passed at the Customhouse, being seal'd wit this mark P † V, N 6. the Letter denoting my Name, and the figure signifying the number of trunks and bundles that I carri'd with me, being set upon every one of them, after the Mercantile fashion. By this means the said Coffin was happily convey'd both in and out, without being understood what it was either by the Turks, or Mariners of the Ship, who otherwise would undoubtedly through their vain Auguries have scrupled to carry it.

August the twenty second, I was visited in the Consul's House by *Metran Iscivaiah* or *Isciva-jabab*, Archbishop of *Musarquin*, a Syrian Nestorian, who had been sometimes a great intimate to *F. Fra. Tomaso de Novara*, and joyn'd with him in the reduction of that Nation to the obedience of the Catholick Church. He told me, he was very desirous to go to *Rome*, and in a manner offer'd himself to accompany me, though I was to depart the next day: but because he said, he had not his Patriarch's Letters for that purpose, but expected them shortly, therefore (according to the prudent judgment of other persons who had inform'd me of his affairs, namely, that there was little likelihood of his having Letters of much importance from the Patriarch, and that his desire of going to *Rome* was chiefly upon hope to get something there) I counsell'd him by no means to get to *Rome*, without his Patriarch's Letters, inasmuch as the same would render his reception undoubtedly more favourable. He came to be of my opinion, and said he would follow me as soon as his Letters arriv'd; but in the meantime he desir'd me, that I would carry with me two men of his Nation,

Nation, who were honest persons, and would serve me in the voyage. Whereunto I readily consented, both to do him a kindness, and because I wanted Servants, having but two; and not knowing where to get others that were trusty and fit for my purpose. I offer'd him also my House at *Rome*, and my Person likewise in what-ever it might be useful to his service; remembering the Obligation I had to his whole Nation for the sake of *Sitti Maani Gioerida*, my dear and esteem'd Wife, who was of it. With these and other the like Complements to him and the Priest *Rezgallah* who brought him, and who was Son of the Priest *Joseph Elbani*, a *Maronite*, (who read Arabick to me when I was before at *Aleppo*) he departed, giving me many benedictions after their manner, and leaving a great Friendship establish'd with me.

August the third, In the Morning I went to see the Synagogue of the Jews at *Aleppo*, fam'd for fairness and antiquity. Their Street is enter'd into by a narrow Gate, and lyes so much lower then the rest, that it is descended to by a considerable number of steps. After I had gone through many of their narrow Lanes, which they contrive so, purposely to hide the goodness of the Building from the Turks, I came at length to the Synagogue; which is a good large square uncover'd Court, with cover'd Walks or Cloysters round about, upheld by double Pillars dispos'd according to good Architecture. On the right hand of the entrance, is a kind of great Hall, which they make use of for their Service in the Winter, when it is cold or rains; as they do of the Court in Summer and fair weather. In the middle of the Court four Pillasters support a Cupoletta, under which in a high and decent place, like our Altar, lyes the volume of the Law, and there also their Doctor and principal *Rabbi* stands reading in a kind of musical tone, to whom all the people alternately answer. They stand in very great number dispers'd in the Court, Cloysters, and Hall, with their bonnets on their Heads, and promiscuously like us in our Churches, Men and Women together (though I have sometimes seen it otherwise in *Italy*); yet they are mixt in such order that those of one family Men and Women stand all together; and, I believe too, they have their peculiar places and benches to sit upon. Moreover, the right side of the Synagogue was fill'd with Jews originaries of the Country from ancient time; but the left with European Jews, who although inhabitants, and marry'd at *Aleppo*, yet are originally adventitious; and these are all Spaniards, and speak *Spanish* for their natural Language; yea, many of them were born and bred up if not *Spain* or *Portugal*, at least in *Italy*, *Germany*, or other Countries of Christendome. I was carry'd to see this Synagogue by a Jew nam'd *Baruch*, or in our Language *Blessed*, whom I had known at my last being at *Aleppo*; He was born and bred in *Mantua*, a man well qualify'd, danc'd, play'd, and fung competently well; and upon these accounts

III.

came

came to my familiarity. We sat together a good while in the Synagogue amongst his fellow-Jews, beholding their Ceremonies; and, after I had seen enough, I went away and left *Baruch* at his devotions. As I went home I pass'd by the *Carvanferai*, (or Market) of Silk, as they call it, because in times past, Silk and other Persian Commodities were brought thither more then to other places, but now it is little frequented. Here buying some few things of certain *Uzbekhi* Tartars, newly come to *Aleppo* with a Caravan; I enquir'd concerning their Countries, and they told me, that no Tartars are call'd *Uzbekhi*, but those of the Countries of *Balch*, *Buchara*, and *Sarmacand*, who, at this day, are divided under two Princes, Brethren; one whereof hath his Seat at *Balch*, and is call'd *Nedhir Mubhammed Chan*, on whom depends an inferior Prince, nam'd *Bahadar*, (which signifies Gallant or Stout) and surnam'd, *Jelan Tusc*, from his spoiling and killing his Enemies in war; for in their Language *Jelan* signifies to-Spoil, and *Tusc* to Kill. The other Brother nam'd *Imanculi Chan*, hath under him *Buchera*, *Sarmacand*, *Tosc-Kiend*, *Endigian* or *Endigan*, with other Territories, and both of them border upon those of the Persian Empire, and reign in the Countries, anciently call'd *Sogdiana*, *Bactriana*, and perhaps also *Hircania*; but by the Moderns, *Giagata*, *Maurenuch*, and *Turkistan*. The same day after dinner I took leave of the Consul, with all my other Friends, and was by his Servants, and many others of the Italian Nation, accompany'd out of the City.

IV.

Before we mounted our Camels, I was desirous to see, in the Suburbs of *Aleppo*, the Churches of the Oriental Christians, which stand in a Street call'd *Giudeida*, not from the Jews, as some who skill not of Languages erroneously imagine, but from the Arabick word *Gedida*, which signifies *New*; perhaps, because this place of the Suburbs was built more lately then others. Here, a little out of the Street on the right hand, I found four Churches all together, led unto by one Gate onely from the Street, but (the place being spacious enough within) conveniently divided and separated about the Court or Yard: Two of them belong'd to the *Armenians*, the greater (a fair one indeed) call'd *Santi Quaranta*, or the forty Saints; and the less, *Della Madonna*, or our Lady. One of the other two call'd *San Nicolo*, belong'd to the Greeks; and the other, which is the least of all, to the Maronite Catholicks, call'd *Sant' Elia*. In another place a good distant from this, I saw alone by it self another Church, handsome and large for the Country, built after our manner, with three Naves or Isles upon Pillars; it belong'd to the Syrian Jacobites, and was call'd *Sitaa Affedi*, or *Santa Maria*. This Church hath adjoyning to it a good House, with a little Garden and other conveniences according to the use of the Country, wherein lives the Patriarch of the Jacobites, call'd *Heda*, for whom I had brought from *Bassora* a Letter of *F. Basilio di San Francesco*, a disaffected Carmelite, wherein he invited him to a mutual friendship

ship and correspondence, from which he might draw some benefit to the service of God, by reason of his skill in the Arabick, and his residence here in behalf of the Christians of the Country. This Letter I had gotten presented to the Patriarch, and transmitted his answer to F. *Basilio*, but had never visited him as the Father desir'd me in order to second his Letter, and settle a friendship between them; because he liv'd far from the Venetian Consul's House where I resided; and all the while I remain'd in *Aleppo*, I was lame of one foot by a hurt caus'd by walking in ill shoes that day when we were in danger of being assaulted by thieves; so that I could not walk, and was not wholly cur'd when I departed. Nevertheless hapning to be so near his Church now, I would not omit to visit him. I found him a very compleat, civil, and courtly man according to the mode of the Country: he had not the fame of being learned, but yet was accounted wise and generous. He told me, he was glad of F. *Basilio*'s Letter, and residing at *Bassora*, and building a Church there so peaceably, and with so much favour of the Turks, as he advertis'd him; and that he would continue correspondence with him. He also shew'd me two fair Books of the Gospels written in large Parchment-sheets, with excellent Syrian Characters, one of them, (as I remember) written four hundred years ago; the Letters whereof were all either of Gold or Silver: and this Book, they say, was found by the Turks in *Cyprus* when they took the Island, and carri'd to *Constantinople*, from whence it was afterwards redeem'd with money, and brought hither. Indeed no Manuscript could be more goodly or rich with gold and miniature; it had also a velvet Cover adorn'd with Silver gilt, but made by themselves; the ancient Cover, which they said was set with jewels of great value, being taken away by the Turks. 'Tis the custom of the Orientals to make great account of Books so fairly written and richly adorned, as likewise S. *Jerom* reports they us'd to do in his time; though himself, being a Scholar, was better contented, as he saith, with his schedules of a less fair Character, but correct. The other Gospel which the Patriarch shew'd me, was more ancient, namely, four hundred and fifty years old, but written with ordinary ink and few miniated Figures; this, he told me, they bought lately at *Cyprus* for two hundred Piaftres. He added, that the Church of *Aleppo* was not his Patriarchal See, although under his jurisdiction; but it was near the City of *Mousul*, which is in the place of the ancient *Niniveh*. After much more discourse, he caus'd very good Sherbets of Sugar with snow, to be given us to drink as the custom is; and offer'd us a Collation of fruits, which we receiv'd not because it was already late and time to be gone. At last, at my taking leave, he pray'd me to do reverence to his Holiness in his name; and so when he had given me many benedictions, as their manner is, I left him and departed.

Being come to the place where the Camels with the Women waited for me, I took leave of all those friends that had accompani'd

pani'd me thither, and chose not the direct way to *Alexandretta*, which the Caravans commonly use, but one somewhat longer hard by *Antioch*, out of a desire to see the remains of that ancient City, which I had not yet seen. After a short travel, we rested till the Moon arose, and then proceeded all the remainder of the night in bad and uneven ways.

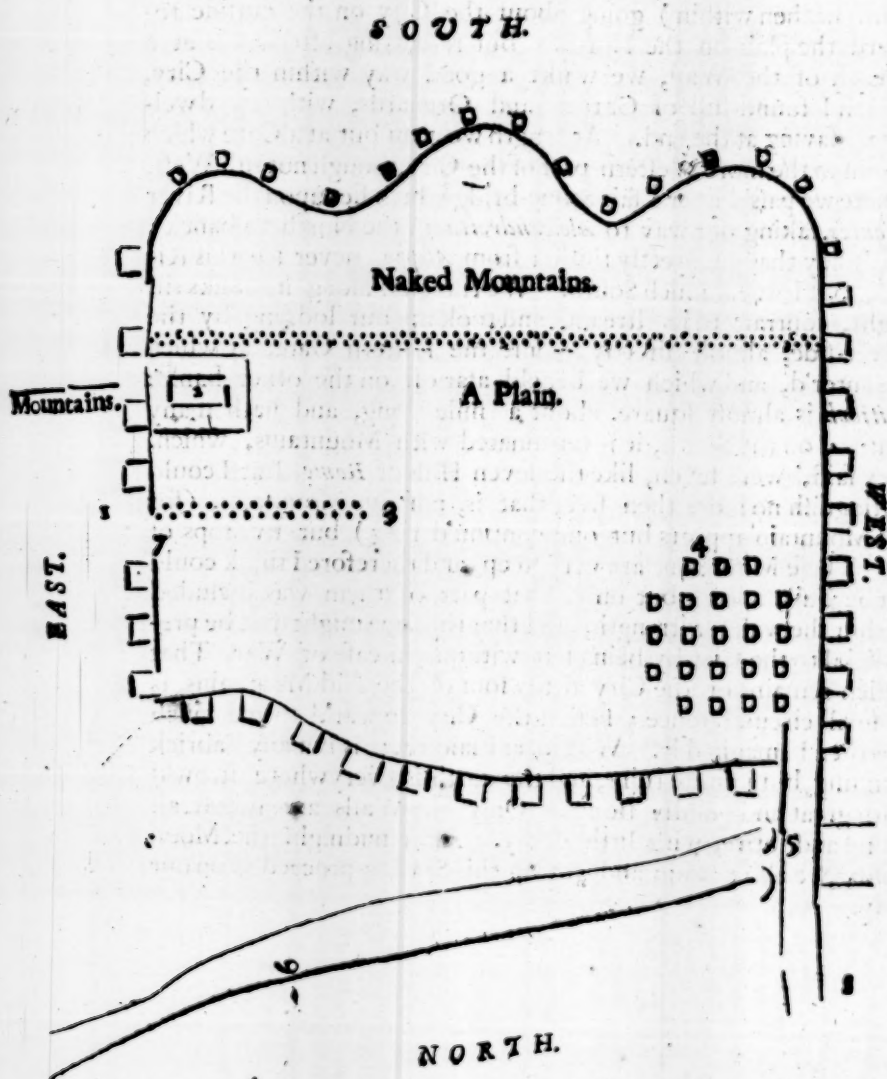
August the twenty fourth, We pass'd by some Villages and places cultivated with Olive-trees, which I was joyful to see, not having beheld any for many years. About Noon, we rested amongst certain ruins of Stone-buildings which had once been very magnificent, and seem'd to be the remains of some noble City in ancient times. Here the Archbishop *Isiwa-jahab's* men, the one nam'd *Abdisciwa*, and the other *Hendi*, overtook me with his Letter: I receiv'd them, and carri'd them with me as I had promis'd. The said place is call'd *Hbalqa*, which signifies a Circle, because 'tis a great Plain almost surrounded with Hills. Three hours after Noon we set forth again; we pass'd by another Village belonging to the Territory of *Hbalqa*, and at night took up our Quarters near a running Water under another Village call'd *Harta*. At midnight the Moon rising, we set forth again, and travell'd all the remainder of the night.

August the twenty fifth, Continuing our journey we came in to a great Plain, and travelling along the River *Orontes* according to the stream, (which we had found at day-break) we cross'd over the same upon a good Stone-bridge. Here the Plain is contracted, being streightned on the right hand with high, and on the left with lower mountains; travelling in which Valley about Noon, we arriv'd at *Antioch*, which is fronted with high mountains almost on the North beyond the River *Orontes*, and back'd with lower toward the South, the walls of the City being extended over the same. We enter'd at the East-gate, and took up our Quarters near a great Cistern which is on the left hand of the Gate, divided only by a wall from the Street, and pav'd round with white Marble: it is fill'd by a running-water, and stands in a shady retir'd place, very delightful and convenient for travellers to rest in. On the right side of the said Gate; in one of the Towers of the wall, was a large and fair room, as high as the wall, with few windows besides low and half-fill'd loop-holes for defence; so that it was very cool, and would not be inconvenient in hot hours, were it in good repair; but 'tis now all ruinous without a pavement, being made only a Stall for Cattle. The walls of the City were still standing, all of Stone, magnificent, and built with Turrets after the ancient mode. At the Gate where we enter'd, began a Street not very broad but of great length, extended within the City, and pav'd all with white Marble. *Antioch* is now inhabited by few people, who live in little cottages patcht out of the ruins amongst Gardens, of which the City is all full; for of the ancient houses and structures, saving the walls of the City, there is none standing. Near the place where we lodg'd,

lodg'd, The Turks shew'd us I know not what, which they call'd *Paulos de' Christiani*, which perhaps had been some Church of Saint Paul; but every thing was so destroy'd, that I neither saw nor understood it well. There being nothing else remarkable to be seen, we went away three hours before night, by the same Gate we had enter'd at (perhaps because the way was better without then within) going about the City on the outside towards the plain on the North. But re-entring afterwards at a breach of the Wall, we walkt a good way within the City, which I found full of Gardens and Orchards, with few dwellings, saving at the end. At length we went out at a Gate which stands in the more Western part of the City, though not full West, where we pass'd over a fair Stone-bridg which lies upon the River *Orontes*, taking our way to *Alexandretta* on the Northern bank; for, they that go directly thither from *Aleppo*, never see this River, but leave it much South. We travell'd along its banks till night, contrary to its stream, and took up our lodging by the River-side, almost directly against the Eastern Gate, at which we enter'd, and which we beheld, afar off on the other bank: *Antioch* is almost square, about a mile long, and hath many Gates; on the South, it is terminated with Mountains, which, they said, were seven, like the seven Hills of *Rome*, but I could distinguish no more then five, that is, not five Mountains, (for the Mountain appears but one continu'd ridg) but five tops of it. These Mountains are very steep, and therefore I think could not be built upon; but only, that part of them was included within the wall for strength, and that the same might not be prejudicial to the City by being left without, in case of War. That which remains of the City at the foot of the said Mountains, is of small circumference; so that the City appear'd to me much less then I imagin'd it. Within, as I said, there is not any Fabrick standing, but infinite ruins, and the earth is everywhere strow'd with great and goodly stones. Only the Walls are almost all sound and intire, with little decay. After midnight the Moon arising, we also got up; and leaving this Station, proceeded on our way.

END

A Platform of ANTIOCH.



1. The Eastern Gate, at which we enter'd.
2. The Cistern.
3. The Street pav'd with Stone and extending within the City.
4. A few Habitations in the end of the City.
5. A Bridg over *Orontes* without the City, and contiguous to the Gate.
6. The River *Orontes*.
7. A Turret with a room within it.

August the twenty sixth, Continuing our Journey, at day-break we came to an end of the Plains, and began to ascend the mountains which we were to cross over in order to get to the Sea; and, if I am not mistaken, they are part of the Mountain *Amano*, which, because at a distance it appears black, is called by the Turks *Cara Aman*, that is, *Black Aman*; whence also they now corruptly call the Province which is comprehended in the said Mountain, (and was, according to some, the ancient *Cilicia*) *Caramania*. We refresh'd our weary Camels with two hours rest in a place amongst the Mountains, where, though there were no Houses, yet we wanted not Water and wild Figs. After which being arriv'd to the highest part of the Mountain, and re-enter'd the common road from *Aleppo*, we discover'd the Mediterranean Sea afar off, which to me was a welcome sight, in regard I had not seen it since my departure from *Gaza* in the year 1616. We descended down by a way where the Precipices are secur'd with good breast-works of earth sometimes for a Mile together; and at length came to the Town of *Beilan*, from whence the mountains are here denominated *Montagne di Beilan*. A little beyond this Town, we repos'd in a by-place near a running-water, and under the shadow of abundance of Nut-trees; for the Town it self and places adjacent were all taken up by a great Caravan which came from *Aleppo* to *Constantinople* by land.

August the twenty seventh, An hour before day we began to descend amongst the streights of these Mountains, where we met a great Caravan of Merchandise which had lately come in two Venetian Ships, and was going to *Aleppo*: After two or three hours travel we came to *Alexandretta*, call'd by us Europeans *Scanderoon*, but more correctly in Turkish *Eskander*, that is, *Alexandro Græco*, because they will have it denominated from *Alexander* the Great. It was sometimes a noble City, but by reason of the bad air (for it is situated upon the Sea in a Moorish Plain, and inclos'd with Hills which keep off the wind) it was never much inhabited; and the year before my being there, it was wholly destroy'd by the Pirates of *Barbary*, who spare none either of a different or of their own Religion, nor yet bear any respect to the States of the Great Turk himself, though their Lord;

so that I found onely four small Houses, scarce re-edifi'd this year, wherein the Lieutenant of the place (for the right Governour remains at *Aleppo*) the Vice-Consuls of such European-Nations as trade into *Soria*, and a very few other people resided. Sig: *Antonio Grandi*, the Venetian Vice-Consul, having notice of my coming by a Messenger whom I sent to him from *Beilan*, receiv'd and lodg'd us in his own House with much Courtesie, upon the recommendation of his Consul, from whom I presented him a Letter. And when I had acquainted him with my desire to depart as soon as possible, and shewn him the Governor's Pass for my self, goods, and people, which I brought with me from *Aleppo*, together with other commendatory Letters to his Lieutenant and other Ministers; the said Sig: *Antonio* went presently to present the same, and, by the authority he had here obtain'd, much more easily then I expected, that I might imbarque when I pleas'd; yet upon promise, according to the custom of *Turkie*, of a small Present to the Governor, and also to a Jew his Minister; which was afterwards given to them both. After dinner Captain *Fort*, Commander of the French Ship *S. Anne*, wherein I was to imbarque, came a shore, and I agreed with him to go aboard that night, though he purpos'd to stay two or three dayes longer, in expectation of more lading before he set sail. Accordingly after I had written to *Aleppo*, and supp'd in the House of Sig: *Antonio Grandi*, I was carry'd aboard by the said Captain with all my people, and onely those few goods which I had brought with me from *Aleppo*; leaving all the rest to be first receiv'd by the said Sig: *Antonio*, and then convey'd to me by Sea more at leisure. Thus after many years I quitted the Continent of *Asia*, with a certain Resolution never to set foot upon it again unless arm'd, and began my Voyage towards my desired *Italy*; there being with me of Women, *Batoni Mariam Tinatin*, a Georgian Virgin, and faithful Companion of most of my Peregrinations; *Eugenia* an Indian Maid of *Scilan*; and of Men, *F. Fra: Gregorio Orfino*, Vicar General of *Armenia*; and my Servants, *Michel di Bengala*, commended to me at *Goa* by Sig: *Antonio Barraccio*, *Giovan Robehh*, a Chaldean of *Kiumalava*, and the two Syrians recommended to me by that Arch-Bishop, namely, *Abdisciva*, and *Hendi*, Nestorians.

August the nine and twentieth, All my other goods, together with the Coffin of *Sitti Maani*, (conceal'd in a ball of Cotton yarn) were imbarqu'd, (thanks be to God) without any disturbance. The next day I took the height of the Sun in the Port of *Alexandretta*, and found him decline at noon from the Zenith 28 degrees. He was that day in the-----degree of *Virgo*. The same day, by the advice of Sig: *Antonio Grandi*, to prevent all further troubles which might arise from new searching of my goods, and payment of half Gabels, in case I should exchange the Ship wherein I was, for a Flemish Vessel call'd the *Neptune*, as I had formerly intended to do at *Cyprus*; I determin'd

to continue in the same Ship till I came either to *Malta* or *Sicily*, and the rather because the Captain was a Person to my liking, and all his people honest Catholicks, with whom I promis'd my self most satisfaction. Besides, though the Flemish Ship was greater, better arm'd, and accompany'd with two others, and consequently, as to danger of Pirats, more safe; yet 'twas known too that the Flemmings were at Truce with the Pirats, and sometimes will not fight with them, but being secure not to lose any thing of their own, use to submit to them, and let them take all the goods of other people that they have in their Ships without the least contest: So that I had some reason not to trust my self with them, (although much perswaded thereunto by the Master of the Ship) because, perhaps, in such case they would not have much car'd for securing me, whom they hated upon the account of Religion. On the other side, though the French Ship wherein I imbarqu'd was small and unprovided of Artillery, yet it was an excellent Sailer, and safe enough from being overtaken by any Pirate, provided it descry'd him first at a little distance, and had but the least advantage: For which purpose a Man was constantly plac'd upon the main-sail to make discoveries; and as for being surpriz'd by the Pirats without fore-seeing them, as 'twas possible we might be in a Morning at day-break, falling among them unawares; so, we hop'd, God would preserve us from such misfortune. Of this change of my Resolution, I gave account in my Letters to *Aleppo*; and I mention it here, to the end, that it may appear that my passing into *Italy* in so small and disarm'd a Ship, was not folly or rashness, (as, perhaps, it may otherwise seem) but a considerate determination prudently made upon weighty and important Reasons. Accordingly, after Sig: *Antonio Grandi* had presented us many refreshments for the Voyage, the same Evening a little before night we set sail.

September the first, In the Evening we pass'd by *Capo Chanzir*, or, as 'tis now commonly call'd, *Capo Porco*, lying thirty miles from *Alexandretta*, and the next Evening we discover'd the Island of *Cyprus*, where we were to touch and stay some dayes.

September the third, In the Morning we doubled the Cape of *S. Andrea*, on the South of the said Island, being to put in at *Porto della Saline*, or the Port of the Salt-pits, which is now the principal and most frequented landing-place of *Cyprus*.

September the fourth, We enter'd the said Port, which lyes on the South part of, *Cyprus* in a large Bay, surrounded with Land, spacious and secure enough for all sort of Ships. It lyes two hundred miles from *Alexandretta*, and is the Port where the Turkish Army landed when they took the Island. As soon as we had enter'd, we were visit'd in the Ship by Sig: *Dimitrio Todorini*, a prime Greek Merchant, but not a Cyprior, who offer'd me his House; and Sig: *Giovan Francesco Parente*, a Venetian, my ancient Friend and correspondent in *Aleppo*, (from whence

VI.

whence, upon certain discontents befallen him there, he had betaken himself hither) who visited me not onely upon his own account, but also in the Name of Sig: *Alessandro Goneme*, the Venetian Consul in that Island, who excus'd his not coming in Person, for that he was just then call'd away by the *Cadhi*, upon a certain businels.

September the fifth, The said Venetian Consul with Sig: *Parente*, and some others of his House visited me in the Ship: And though I intended not to go ashore notwithstanding all his intreaties and invitations, yet he resolutely refus'd to depart till I went with him. Wherefore I obey'd him, and went onely with one servant, leaving *F. Orfino*, and the Women in the Ship. On the seafide I found some few dwellings, and magazines or storehouses, which are those that they properly call *delle Saline*, from the Salt-pits hard by; where the Turks have a small square Castle, with a Plat-form, and Artillery to guard the Sea, but of little importance. Here taking Horse, we rode a little mile within Land, to another Village call'd *Larnaca*, where the *Franks* live for the most part, and there we alighted at the Consul's House. And because it was yet early, after a little repose, we went to the *Franciscan's* Church, call'd *Santa Maria*, and there heard Mass, which was sung with the Office *pro mortuis*, for the Soul of Sig: *Giovan Maria Parente*, Brother to Sig: *Francesco*, who the day before pass'd to a better Life. In the Evening, I visited Sig: *Dimitrio Todorini* in his own House, and lodg'd in that of the Consul. I will not omit that the Venetians have alwayes a Consul at *Cyprus*, who is not of the Nobility, but of the Order of Eminent Citizens, whereof many Secretaries of the Republick use to be; so that though the Consul of *Cyprus* be not dependent upon him of *Aleppo*, as Vice-Consuls are; yet he of *Aleppo*, as noble, and a more principal Minister in these parts, hath something of superiority over this of *Cyprus*.

VII.

September the sixth, This Morning I am return'd a Ship-board, where I conclude this Letter, and commit it to *F. Fra: Giovanni di Segovia*, a Spanish reform'd *Franciscan*, who came hither in the same Ship with us from *Alexandretta*, and is the same Person who, disguis'd in a secular and Souldier-like garb, for fear of being hindred in his passage by the *Portugal* Ministers, came (in company of *F. Fra: Roderigo di San Michele*, a Discalceated *Augustine*, and Provincial of *Manila*) in the same Ship with us from *Mascat* to *Bassora*, passing under the name of *l'Alfiere*, or Ensign, till he arriv'd safe at *Aleppo*, where laying off his disguise, he resum'd his proper name and Fryer's habit; and because the Provincial of *Manila*, with whom he came into *India*, could not dispatch his affairs but stay'd behind at *Aleppo*; therefore he being desirous to arrive speedily at *Rome* and *Spain*, in order to the affairs of his Religion, is just now departing, and hath promis'd me to deliver this to you, and to salute you in my name, as I do most heartily.

LETTER

LETTER XIII

From Malta, November 4. 1625.

When I was thinking of finishing the small remainder of my Travels, with the same Prosperity which God had hitherto afforded me; and speedily arriving at those desired shores, I have been here arrested at *Malta* by a little kind of misadventure, sufficient to temper the course of so many good Fortunes. In regard of the formidable Pestilence still continuing in *Constantinople*, and other places of *Turkie*, we have not been able to get admittance to anchor, and land in this Island without undergoing a Quarantine. Wherefore finding my self at leisure enough here in a House assign'd me, as a favour, by the Lords of the Council, and separated from the little Island whither all the rest are sent, I have thought fit to pass my time in writing to you what Adventures have befallen me since my last, which was dated from a Ship-board at *Cyprus*, *September* the sixth. Be pleas'd therefore to know, that on *September* the seventh, I went ashore again to hear Mass; after which, I return'd a visit to Sig: *Rocco Andreani*, a Venetian Merchant, in whose House I saw alive a *Camelion*, which a Boy of the family, kept very tame, ty'd with a little string for his Recreation. They are frequent in *India*, and are seen leaping amongst the Trees; but I never saw any but at distance, and so did not well observe them. Here therefore holding it in my hand, (for 'tis a gentle and pleasing Animal) I observ'd it to be as big as a Lizard, and almost of the same shape, but more unhandfom to behold, having an ill shapen head, divided feet, and two paws, in the middle whereof the leg ariseth; each of which paws, is divided into two toes or nails, yet so as the fissure is very small. Its colour was grey, but with some variety, like a dapple. They told me, that it sometimes chang'd colour, (not, as is vulgarly reported, according to that which is lay'd before it, but) according as it hath more heat or cold, takes pains or repotes, with other like Accidents: Which event I saw not, though I try'd several wayes to procure it.

September the eighth, The Consul carry'd me to another Village about two leagues, or six miles distant from *Larnaca*, and call'd to this day, *Kiti* and *Citinum*, anciently a City and Bishoprick; but is now all destroy'd saving a few Cottages. We went, particularly, to visit a Greek Doctor, nam'd Sig: *Alnise Cucci*, who liv'd there, and had the fame of much knowledg, and spoke Italian well; as also to see his Garden, which, though half ruin'd, (as all things are in the Island, since it fell into the Turk's hands) is yet one of the goodliest places in those parts. Here dy'd *Cimon* the most valorous and vertuous Athenian Captain;
Son

Son of the no less famous Captain *Miltiades*. You may see *Æmilius Probus* in the Life of the said *Cimon*, where he saith, *In Oppido Citio est mortuus*, after he had conquer'd most part of the Island *Cyprus*. Two or three hours before-noon, we pass'd by the place where the Salt-work is, which, though through the negligence of the Turks, who do not cleanse and empty it well, it decays and fills up every day; yet in my time it yielded yearly about 10000 Piasters, and almost all Ships make ballast of Salt; particularly, those of *Venice* are all oblig'd to take as much as will serve for that purpose; and many times they take more, which at *Venice* is a good commodity, and a Trade reserv'd to the Prince. Then we pass'd through a Village call'd *Bromolaxia*, and at length arriving at *Kiti*, which lyes a little distant from the Sea, (the Coast of the Island running West-ward from the *Saline*) we visited Sig: *Aluise Cucci*, whom (indeed like a Philosopher, as he professes to be) we found living in a House, which had sometimes been great and fair, but was now half ruin'd; the Garden had a small Brook, with structures of Fountains and such like things, but all out of order, and reserving no other beauty besides a great number of Orange-Trees, planted regularly, and of equal height, and making a goodly and delicious Grove. I discours'd with the said Sig: *Aluise*, and he seem'd an intelligent Person; but because he was sick, or at least recovering, and so weak that he could scarce speak, I could not benefit by him as I desir'd. I ask'd him concerning *Cadmia* and its species, and other Minerals, which you writ me word that you desir'd from *Cyprus*, and I accordingly sent to *Nicosia*, (the chief City of the Island, and the place of the *Basha's* residence); as also concerning the Book of *Galen*. He told me, there was some at this day, but 'twas hard to meet with any that knew it, or could tell where to find it, the people being very Ideots, and the Mines intermitted heretofore by the Christians, for fear of alluring the Turks thereby to invade the Island, as also since by the Turks through ignorance. After this and such other Discourse, we return'd to *Larnaca* by a different road, about the midst whereof we found another Village, call'd *Mene-go*; but all these Villages in former times well peopled, are now almost wholly destroy'd and uninhabited.

11.

September the ninth, Being return'd to the Ship, the next day I took the height of the Sun with my Astrolabe in the Port della *Saline* of *Cyprus*, and found him decline Southward from the Zenith 29 degrees, 29 minutes, 50 seconds. On which day he was in -----degrees of-----.

September the thirteenth, I went ashore in the Morning to *Larnaca* again, from whence, upon the Consuls instance, I was accompany'd by Sig: *Gio Francesco Parente*, two other Venetians, a Greek nam'd *Mejer Manoli*, my servant *Michel*, and a Janizary for our guard, to a delicious place of Devotion, call'd by the Greeks, *Agia Nappa*, that is, *Holy*, about eight leagues from
Larnaca,

Larnaca, upon the Eastern Sea-coast near *Capo della Greca*, where there is a Church built in a *Grotto*, wherein a miraculous Image of our Lady was found. Having rid all day almost continually by the Sea-side, we lodg'd at the Village *Ormidia*, and the next day early, passing through the Village *Xylofago*, and the Cape *di San Giorgio*, where many Ships, especially *Pyrats*, use to put in for water at a River which falls into the Sea on the East of the said Cape, we arriv'd at the Village *Agia Nappa*. We found it like all the rest that I saw in *Cyprus*, almost wholly destroy'd; partly, by the ordinary tyrannies of the Turks, partly, by the Pestilence which a few years before had swept away most of the people. The Church being built almost like a little square Castle, (perhaps for fear of the *Pyrats*) is still standing; and being under ground, is descended into by many stairs. A *Papas*, or Greek Priest, who officiates there, hath charge of it, together with certain *Calogrie*, or Nunns, who having renounc'd the world, have addic'ted themselves to God's Service, and are modestly cloth'd in black, though they be not Recluses. In the middle of a great Court or Yard, stands a marble Fountain not ill built, over which they have lately built a great Cupola, upon four Pilasters with seats round about; where we not onely entertain'd our selves all day, but slept at night; the murmur of the water rendring the place sufficiently pleasant. The next Morning, Mass was sung in the Church after the Greek Rite, and I was present at it till the end of the Gospel. On one side of the Church in a place apart, is an Altar, where our Latine Priests say Mass when any comes thither. In summ, the Church is an indifferent large *Grotto*, the Image ancient, and the Altar adorn'd after the Greek manner, without any thing else remarkable. Here we eat a great quantity of *Becca-fichi*, or Fig-snappers, (a sort of Birds call'd by the Greeks *Sicalidia*) which are so plentiful in *Cyprus*, that abundance of them are sent sows'd in Vinegar to *Venice* and else-where; but those at *Agia Nappa* sometimes are not good, by reason of their having eaten Scammony, which is not known to be found thereabouts, but probably, they feed upon it in some other place.

September the sixteenth, We departed from *Agia Nappa* to return to *Larnaca*, and passing through the Village *Xylofago*, we alighted there to see the Church of *San Giorgio*, wherein amongst other Saints, I saw one painted whom they call *Agios Mapeas*, that is, *San Mama*, much venerated by the Greeks; who say, He was a Martyr, and bury'd in *Cyprus*; but I know not according to what History, they paint him between a Horse and a Lyon.

September 17th Returning a Ship-board, by the way I visited a Church of the Greeks, (but heretofore of the Armenians) call'd, *S. Lazaro*, some of the stones whereof I observ'd engraven with Armenian Letters: 'Tis a very ancient stone-structure of an extravagant form, though us'd by the Greeks in sundry places,

Pp

namely,

namely, consisting of 3 Nave's or Isles, supported onely by 4 Pillasters, with three Cupola's on a row in the middle Nave; the place within amongst the Pillasters serving for men, and that round about for women by themselves. Behind the Altar they shew a Subterranean Sepulchre, like a little *Grotto*, and enter'd into by a square hole like that of a Tomb; they say it was the Sepulchre of *Lazarus* rais'd by Christ, and that he built the Church whilst he was Bishop here, and at last dy'd here; from whence his Body was afterwards transported first to *Constantinople*, and then to *Marseilles*: The truth whereof, they affirm, is prov'd by the Miracles done every day in the said Sepulchre, as healing the sick, and the like; but this is repugnant to the History we have in the *Bréviary*, *Martyrologie*, &c.

September the twentieth, The Consul gave me a piece of *Ladano-Vergine*, that is, pure, without any other mixture, as it comes naturally; whereof there is plenty in *Cyprus*: and some intelligent persons of the Country whom I consulted purposely, told me, 'tis generated of the Dew which falls from Heaven, just as *Manna* is, and that 'tis gather'd off the leavs of a plant no higher then a span and half, or two spans; which matter they boyle, and being viscid like wax, form into rolls like little Candles, which they wrap afterwards round together. The said *Ladanium* is black, hath a good quick Aromatical Smell; and, in our Countries, mixt with other things, makes a good Perfume; and, perhaps, serves for Medicinal Uses, as you know very well.

September the one and twentieth, Sig: *Cicach* gave me some of the stone *Amiantus*, a sort of stone that may be spun, of which the Ancients made the Cloth which, they say, was incombustible, and the fire onely cleans'd it, as water doth other Linnen; in which Cloth they burnt dead bodies, and so preserv'd the ashes thereof from being mingled with those of the wood. At this day none knows how to make the Cloth, or to spin the matter; although a whitish matter like Cotton is clearly seen to issue out of the stone, not uncapable of being spun. The colour of the Stone, when intire, is greenish, inclining to black, but shining enough, almost like Talk; yet when 'tis broken or spun, the matter that issues out of it is white. I remember I once saw some of this Stone, and the Cloth woven thereof, in the Study of *Ferrante Imperato* at *Naples*, amongst other Curiosities.

September the twenty fourth, The Consul invited us to dinner in the Venetian Ship *Cacciadiavoli*, where we stay'd not onely to dine, but also to sleep all-night, being entertain'd with Musick, and the good conversation of Sig: *Parente*, *Flatro*, & *Rocco Andreani*, who were there. The next day, we return'd to our own Ship, and the Evening following I went ashore again. A new man was expected to come to govern the Island, the old being already departed upon the arrival of an Officer of the new, who, as their custom is, was come with the Title of *Musselem*, to prepare

pare the place for his Master : But before this New Elect arriv'd at his Residence in *Nicosia*, News came that by a fresh command of the Grand Signior at *Constantinople*, the new *Basha* was recall'd, and depriv'd of his Office before he possess'd it, unto which the old was restor'd; besides the changing of the *Defecodar*, and other Officers. These sudden and unexpected changes of Ministers, have many years ago begun to be practis'd in the Court of *Constantinople*, occasion'd chiefly by the ill Government, and the selling of those Offices, without any limitation of time, to who-ever gives most; which disorders are more prevalent now then ever : Which I mention, that it may be known in what an ill State the Common-wealth of the Turks is at this day, which indeed seems to be tending of its accord to manifest ruine.

September the eight and twentieth, After another treatment given us by the Consul in the Ship of *Viaro*, he accompany'd us in the Evening to our Caravel, which was to set sail forth-with, and there, with many Complements and expressions of Courtesie, we took leave one of another; the Consul returning ashore, and we remaining in the Ship.

About three hours after Sun-set, we hois'd sails towards *Limiso*, another Port of the Southern Coast of *Cyprus*, but more Westerly, where we hop'd to find, and joyn company with the Dutch Ships. We had but little wind in the night, and the next day no good one; so that it was but a while before mid-night when we arriv'd at *Limiso*, where we anchor'd at a good distance from Land, because for so short a time as our Ship was to stay there, it would not be subject to pay Anchorage.

September the thirtieth, Sig: *Gio: Francesco Parente*, who arriv'd at *Limiso* the night before by Land, came in the Morning to invite me ashore in the Name of Sig: *Pietro Savioni* a Venetian, who hath a House at *Limiso*, and is Vice-Consul in *Cyprus* for the Dutch; he receiv'd me with very much Courtesie. And being it was yet early, I walk'd about the Town, which is of indifferent bigness, where I saw a great *Meschita* of the Turks standing in a goodly street near the shore, where I saw great plenty of *Carrubes*, or Capers, where-with whole Ships are laden from hence for *Venice* and other parts. More within the Town, I saw the Castle which is small, of a round form, representing rather a low thick Tower or Turret then a Fortres; yet it hath some small pieces of Artillery, and is built of stone. Thert I came to the Church of the Bishoprick; for *Limiso* hath a Greek Bishop, who commands four Eparchats, (as they speak) to wit; this of *Limiso*, that of *della Saline*, and two others; the whole Island being divided onely into four Bishopricks, each of which hath several Eparchats under them. This Cathedral Church is small, and dedicated to our Lady *S. Mary*; of Building, like the rest of the Country; and because 'tis the Cathedral, they call it, according to custom, *La Catholica*, i. e. *Universal*. Here I

IV.

found one *Didascalo Matteo* a Greek Monk, who spoke *Italian* well, as he that had liv'd many years at *Venice*, and profess'd skill in Minerals, Chymical matters, and the like. To him, whilst he was at *Nicosia*, I had gotten a friend to write from *Larnaca*, to desire him to procure me the *Cadmia* and other Minerals which you desir'd. But the Letter found him not in *Nicosia*, for he was departed from thence to go to Mount-*Sinay*. Finding him here, and asking him about the business, he told me, There was to his knowledg abundance of those Minerals, particularly, *Sori*, *Myf*, *Melanteria*, and *Cadmia*, to be had in some places of *Cyprus*, and that he would have procur'd me some, had he known my desire in time; but now he could not by reason of his present departure; and the place where to have them was very remote. He gave me certain little pieces of Silver and Gold found in *Cyprus*, and promis'd me to use exquisite diligence for the rest at his return from *Monte Sinay*, which would be within three Months; whereupon, I writ to the Consul of *Larnaca*, that at his going to *Nicosia*, where he was shortly to salute the new *Basha* (for by vertue of a third command from *Constantinople*, the new *Basha* was once again confirm'd, and the old again depriv'd, with more strange inconstancy of government then ever) he would consult by the way with a renegado *German*, who practis'd Physick there, and, as *Didascalo Matteo* told me, knew where to find the said Minerals for me. Whilst I was discoursing thus in the Church-yard with *Didascalo*, the Bishop an ancient man with a white beard pass'd by, together with another Monk, who was going to Church to rehearse his hours. I, understanding who he was, saluted him, and pass'd many complements with him in the Greek Tongue; for he understood not *Italian*.

October the first, The *Hollanders* invited me a Ship-board to see their Ships which were in the Port: whereupon, after dinner, I went accompani'd with *Sig. Parente* aboard of two, the *Neptune*, and the *S. Peter*, in both which we were oblig'd to drink several healths, particularly, that of their Prince *Henry-Frederick* of *Nassau*; every Cup we drank being solemniz'd with a Great Gun, and also at our departing from the Ships, they discharg'd three Pieces, which were answered by those of all the rest.

October the second, By Letters from *Constantinople* to certain Greek Monks, the news I had heard at *Aleppo*, concerning the progress of the Tartar of *Casa*, united with the Cossacks of *Poland* against the Turks, was confirm'd, and that about seven hundred of their Ships sailing to the Confines of *Constantinople*, had done inestimable damage, and put the City it self in fear. They said also that a violent Pestilence rag'd at *Constantinople*, and that the Grand Signor had been grievously sick, having had in his own person seventy Plague-sores, of all which notwithstanding he was cur'd: which indeed is a strange thing, and happens but rarely.

October

October the third, The *Dutch* entertain'd us at a dinner in their greatest Ship which was bound for *Venice*, and call'd *Il-Naranciero*, or the *Orange*, where many healths were drunk to the Doge of *Venice*, and the Prince of *Nassau*; each Cup, as also our departure out of the Ship, being honor'd with many Guns. Which ended, I would not go ashore any more, being our Ship was to depart the night following, but repair'd to it; the *Dutch* continuing their drinking and shooting all night in augury of a happy voyage.

An hour after midnight we all set sail, five Ships together, namely four *Dutch*, the *Orange*, *S. Peter*, the *Neptune*, and the *Unicorn*; and our *French Caraval*, *S. Ann*, wherein I was imbarqu'd. I will not omit, that being our *French Ship* did not pay anchorage at *Limiso*, though person alone were suffer'd to go ashore, yet they were not permitted to buy any thing there to carry aboard; for had it been known that we had shipt the least thing, even but a little Water, or a single Lemon, they would have demanded the whole Anchorage-money; wherefore I was fain to get a few fruits and refreshments convey'd into the *Dutch Ships*, without being known that they were for us.

V.

October the fourth, We continu'd sailing Westwards along the South coast of *Cyprus*, our Caraval which was swifter than the rest, having but half the sails display'd, whilst they spread all.

October the ninth, Having hitherto hover'd about the shores of *Cyprus*, and advanc'd little, a more favourable wind now carri'd us out of sight of the Island, and we sail'd directly on our voyage with various winds till the thirteenth day, when we discover'd the gulph of *Settaglia*. The next night, some rain laid the contrary wind and rough Sea; but we remain'd almost in a calm, with great trouble of the Ship, which by the weight of the sails was made to rock to and fro continually like a cradle. On the fifteenth day at night, we were surrounded with thick clouds, and amongst them with many spouts of water, call'd in Latine (if I mistake not) *Typhones Vortices*, but we pass'd through them without any hurt or damage.

October the twenty first, After many days of contrary wind which driv us in vain about the gulph of *Settaglia*, at length it becoming favourable, the Pilot, and other Mariners said they descry'd land afar off, which some took to be *Candia*, others *Rhodes*; but, whatever it was, we soon lost sight of it again, and the same night the wind growing strong, we were separated from the other Ships which were in our company. Nevertheless we continu'd our Voyage alone, and at evening descry'd land on the North-west, which the Mariners said was the Island *Scarpanti* subject to the *Venetians*, and that, the good wind continuing, we should soon discover *Candia*: but about midnight the wind fell, and we remain'd becalm'd.

VI.

October the twenty third, The Wind turning favourable, we discover'd land, which they said was *Candia*, at the prow of the Ship:

Ship; but at night, lest the increasing South-wind should drive us too much to Land, we put forth to Sea Southwards, and left *Candia* on the right hand Northwards, so far that we could not see it. The next day, the Sky being very cloudy, we discover'd *Malta* whilst we were at dinner, very near-hand, (the thick Air having intercepted it before) and, a good while before night, we cast anchor just without the Port of the said Island, soon after which a Guard-boat came to see who we were, and whence we came (in order to inform the Grand Master thereof:) the Officer demanded our Bill of Health, which we had from *Cyprus*, but would not touch it till it had been first dip't in Vinegar, in regard of the great suspicions there were here of the Plague, which rag'd much at *Constantinople*, and other parts of *Turkie*. But he not returning that night to us again with an answer, we remain'd all aboard, being suffer'd only to send for water without the City.

VII.

October the twenty ninth, Early in the Morning, the same Officer, nam'd Sig. *Desiderio Montemagni*, return'd and told us, that the Knights made a little difficulty concerning my Bill of Health made at *Cyprus* by the Venetian Consul, which was not so plain as that of the Ship which was made at *Cyprus* also the same day by the French Consul; wherefore he made an excuse to me in their name for the delay of expediting me so suddenly. I took all well, commended the diligence of the Knight, thank't them for their courtesie, and profess'd my self obedient to their commands. After which, I deliver'd the Messenger a Letter for Monsig. *Visconti*, Inquisitor Apostolical there; wherein I gave him account of my arrival, and desir'd him to favour me in order to a speedy exepetion. *F. Orsino* writ another to him, both which bath'd likewise in Vinegar. Sig. *Desiderio* promis'd to present with his own hand. The same day after dinner, the Sig. Commendator *Fra. Marcantoria Brancaccio*, a prime Neapolitan Cavalier, my ancient friend at *Naples*, and Sig. *Fra. Mandosfo Mandosfi*, a Roman Cavalier, both of the Religion of *Malta*, came to visit me in a Boat, which yet stay'd a little distance from our Ship (as the Guard-boat also did) and they offer'd me their persons to serve me with much courtesie. I received much news of them concerning some of my friends at *Naples* and elsewhere; after which they departed, giving me hope, that in a Council to be held that day about other weighty affairs of the Religion, my Expedition should be taken into consideration.

In the Evening, Monsig. *Visconti* sent me a Present of some refreshments, and signifi'd to me that he had earnestly mov'd the Grand Master concerning the business of my expedition; and when the Council broke up, I should hear the result thereof by his Secretary. A while after, the Secretary brought me word that the Council held very long, having determin'd a difference between two Spanish Knights, who pretended to the Priorate of *Navarre*, by giving it to one of them; and also created a new

General

General of the Gallies, which charge was also pretended to by divers, but fell to the Prior *della Roccella*, Son of the Prince *della Roccella*, who had a new instituted that Priorate in his Father's dominion; infomuch that by reason of so many and long businesses, ehlter the Grand Master had forgot or forborn to propose any thing else, to wit, our Expedition: but that he having spoken to him as he came out of the Council, the Grand Master told him that within two days another Council should be held purposely for our business, because it could not be done without a Council; and that in the mean time he gave order that our Ship should not depart from the Port, to the end I might have the convenience of waiting the resolution concerning Landing, without being carri'd away to my inconvenience to *Marseilles*, whither those of our Ship intended directly to go; and therefore we must have a little patience in the interim. I return'd my thanks to *Monf. Visconti*, and sent him word, that I should have patience, being secure of receiving all favour from his great courtesie. Soon after which *Sig: Desiderio* came to signify the order to our Ship that it should not depart out of the Port.

October the thirty first, Besides a Present of refreshments sent me this day from the *Sig. Commendator Braneaccio*, and frequent visits of *Sig: Desiderio*, and also of divers others, partly known, and partly unknown to me; a little before night, the *Commissarii della Sanita* (Commissioners of Health) came to see me, and to enquire what goods I carri'd with me; they told me, the next day a Council would be held for dispatch of my business; but hearing of the goods I brought, particularly of the Ball of Cotton-yarn (though they were not told what was within it; for then without doubt the difficulty would have been greater) they told me that by reason of the said goods I must have a little more patience; for they should give me the Quarantine a little longer then if we had had nothing besides our persons.

November the first, After dinner, the Captain of the Port brought us licence to go ashore, to wit, for me and my company, the Knights of the Council vouchsafing me this favour; yet upon condition that I should pass my Quarantine not in the *Ifoletto*, whither all others are sent, but at the Port where we were in the house of *Sig: Don Francesco Giantar* neer his Church of S. Saviour; which house the Inquisitor procur'd for me, and the Council as a particular favour granted me for my better convenience. They prefix'd no time of the Quarantine, but reserv'd it at their own arbitrement; however I resolv'd it should not be very long. The Caravel *S. Ann*, which brought me, desir'd to undergo the Quarantine also, that they might afterwards have Prattick, and sell their commodities perhaps more advantageously at *Malta*; but it would not be granted, but the next day the Vessel was dismiss'd away for *France*. The reason whereof I suppose was, either because the *Ifoletto* where Ships pass the Quarantine was already full of other people, or because the Island

was

was scarce of provision, and therefore they would not admit other new Passengers to consume it. However we, according to our licence, landed all our goods at the abovesaid place; and we were no sooner got ashore, but My Lord, the Inquisitor came in a Boat to visit me at the Sea-side. We discours'd together above half an hour; he in his Boat, and I upon the bank. He inquir'd of me several things concerning the affairs of the East, and inform'd me of many of *Europe*; and at last offering me his favour in all things, particularly, in getting the Quarantine shortned, which he intimated would last forty days or more, (including those which had pass'd by the way from *Cyprus* hither) departed, and I repair'd to the house, which the owner of it, and the Captain of the Port, *Desiderio*, came to assign to me; where all our Goods were spread abroad to be air'd in a large open room belonging to the said house; which indeed I found very handfom, and well provided with convenience of water, and other things, having a delicate prospect upon the Port, the Sea, the Country, the Town, the new City; and, in short, being the best, most convenient and delightful that we could have had for that purpose. By the Council's order a man was assign'd to guard the House, and a Boat both to guard us, and to supply us with provisions; both at our charge, as the custom is. Nor doth the Captain of the Port omit to visit us frequently, and to discourse with us at a distance. God be thanked, we are all well, and free from all contagious suspicion; so that I hope to surmount this difficulty happily, which I acknowledg to proceed from the Divine Providence, to which I heartily commend you.

LETTER. XIV.

From *Syracuse*, Decemb. 4. 1625.

- I. **A**fter two and twenty days confinement upon suspicion, behold me, my dear Sig: *Mario*, now at liberty and in health, ready to come to kiss your hands, having no other impediment to detain me. What things I have noted in the mean time, and what befel me at *Malta*, and how I am safely arriv'd at *Syracuse*, I shall now give you an account, in continuation of the Narrative of my Travels.

November the seventh, Early in the Morning four Galleys belonging to the Religion of *Malta*, arriv'd in the Port from *Sicily*; the new ones, which they were providing instead of two lost a few Months before, not being yet finish'd. They were colour'd all black in token of sadness for the death of their General, who dy'd of a Disease a few days before at *Naples*.

November the eleventh, The Commissioners of Health came to visit us, and enter'd into the House to see our Goods, whether

ther we had us'd such diligence as was requisite in opening them to the Sun and Wind, that they might give account thereof to the Council.

November the thirteenth, My Lord the Inquisitor came to visit me, and discours'd with me about an hour without the Gate; for seeing we had no Licence of Prattick, it was not lawfull for me to give him so much as a Chair out of my House. He promis'd me to speak to the Grand Master the same day, and to procure our expedition.

November the sixteenth, In the Morning before day, three of the said Gallies set sail from *Malta* towards *Licata*, or *Alicata* in *Sicily*, to fetch Corn, whereof there was great penury. The fourth Galley was so old that it could go no more to Sea, and the new which were preparing at *Malta*, *Palermo*, and *Naples*, instead of those that had been lost, were not yet finish'd. After dinner, the Commissioners of Health return'd again to see my Goods, bringing with them a Physitian to view and make relation of the Coffin wherein they understood I carry'd the Body of *Sitti Maani*; but because the ball of Cotton yarn wherein it was wrapt, was not quite loosned for fear of spoyling, though I had open'd and air'd it, they not onely refus'd to give me Prattick, but would not suffer the Physitian to touch or view the said Coffin, and told me, I must first loosen and air the Cotton yarn well, and then they would return to us another day to resolve about Prattick. After which they made many excuses to me for this strange treatment, alledging that the subsistence of *Malta* depending upon other parts abroad, they were forc'd to use the most rigorous courses in case of suspicion of Infection; to the end *Sicily* and the other Countries, on which their subsistence depended, might not deprive them of Prattick, as they would easily do, were it known that they proceeded otherwise, and were too easie in admitting suspected things which came from the Levant. Whereupon I knowing that they had reason for what they said, caus'd the Cotton Ball to be wholly unwound, as they desir'd, though I did not so at first, to avoid spoyling it, and the hazard of not making it up again so well as before.

November the twentieth, The Grand Spedaliere, (or Master of the Hospital) and two other Great Crosses came accompany'd with many people to give us another visit; and after many preambles, with majestick words in praise of their Order, and concerning the observance and respect justly due to it from all, upon the account of *Malta's* being the Bulwark of the Territories of the Catholick King and of all Christendome, he fell to blame me, (though civilly) in the Name of the Grand Master, that I had not at first declar'd my having my Wife's Body with me, (a very jealous thing, as they said, in times of suspicion) and ask'd me the reason of it. I answer'd, that whilst I was yet a Ship-board, I was ask'd onely in general, What Goods I had?

Qq

And

11.

And I truly answer'd, that I had one Ball, five Trunks, and some other bundles of goods for my use; and being not more particularly question'd, I did not specify what was within the Trunks and the Ball, conceiving it not necessary; and the rather, because I being yet uncertain, whether I should stay at *Malta*, or depart in the same Ship, I did not think fit to speak of the said Body in the presence of the Mariners, lest I should be troubled with the vain Auguries they are wont to conceive about carrying such things, in case I had been to go with them: That after I was landed, upon the first more precise demand concerning my goods, I forth-with declar'd it plainly, and afterwards us'd all diligence in opening the Cotton to the Wind and Sun, as those that had frequently visited me could testify. The Knights remain'd satisfi'd with my Answer, and also with my proceeding, which was not so bad as at first they apprehended. Then they view'd the Coffin, and caus'd the Physician to consider it, asking me Questions concerning all the particulars relating to it; which done, they consulted apart amongst themselves what to do, and the result was: That if I meant to have a clear and full Bill of Health, I must be contented to let the Coffin be open'd and air'd, not onely outwardly, (as had been already done) but also what was within it; otherwise, they would let the Coffin alone as it was, but could not give me a full Bill of Health; whence, perhaps, I might meet with more trouble in other places. Wherefore they desir'd me to consider of the business, for they left me to my choice: I remain'd in some suspense, and took time to think of it, as they courteously offer'd me; and so they departed without giving me Prattick, or resolving upon any thing. On one side I was unwilling to open the Coffin, because it was secure and could not be open'd without spoiling both it, and, perhaps, what was within it; and having brought it so far with me with so much diligence, onely to keep it intire and sound, I was very loath to lole my pass'd pains. On the other side, to go from *Malta* without a good Bill of Health, and so incur a greater trouble else-where, was no safe course: Wherefore I recurr'd to the wonted favour of my Lord the Inquisitor, giving him account in a Letter how the case stood, and earnestly entreating him to find some little shift how the Knights might be contented, without opening or spoiling the Coffin, to make me a good Bill which might serve me else-where; for which purpose I urg'd him with many good Reasons. The Inquisitor, according to his accustomed courtesie, undertook the business, and I remain'd in the same House without Prattick expecting the issue.

November the two and twentieth, Early in the Morning we saw the Gallies of *Malta* already in the Port, being return'd the Night preceding with some provision of Corn, but not much. The Council required of me a punctual Relation of the time, place, and manner of my Wife's Death; which I accordingly sent them in writing, attested by the Journal of my Travels, my

Book

Book of Expences, and a Latine Treatise of the Countries subject to the modern Empire of *Persia*; from which Books, where-in mention is made thereof, I extracted the said Relation. It was read in the Council, and they being satisfi'd with it, at length sent in the evening to give me Prattick; causing us first to swear that we knew not of any dead of the Pestilence in any place where we had been, nor yet in our Ship. Which truth we swore to; whereupon they granted us Prattick, and promis'd us a good Bill of Health at our departure.

November the three and twentieth, In the Morning my Lord the Inquisitor sent to congratulate with me for my Prattick, and to invite me to dine with him. After dinner, I went with his Secretary to the new City, call'd, *La Valletta*, and there in the Palace I did Reverence to the most Serene Grand Master, call'd, *Frat' Antonio de Paula*, a French-man, who receiv'd me with much courtesie, and offer'd me his utmost favour, both in order to my departure, or any other occasion. After which I accompany'd his Highness to Vespers in the Church of *S. John*, together with all the other Knights, and back again to the Palace; and after much conversation with the Commendator *Brancaccio*, at night I return'd to my own House, waving the favor of my Lord the Inquisitor who invited me to lodg in his; because I would not leave my own people alone.

III.

November the four and twentieth, I din'd with my Lord the Inquisitor according to his invitation, and in the Evening accompany'd the Grand Master to the Church of *S. Catherine*, where because the said Saint is their Patroness, and her Church is us'd for the Italian Tongue, the Knights of *Italy* solemniz'd a Festival.

November the five and twentieth, I went to hear Mass in the new City at the said Church, where I saw the Relique of the said Saint's Ring, wherewith she was marry'd by our Saviour; 'tis a Gold Ring, of very plain, antique, and coarse work, having a green stone, which, probably, is an Emerald, (a stone in those times much in request) but, whether it be ill polish'd, or be decay'd by time, 'tis a great Table for a Ring, but appears no very fair Jewel of it self.

December the second, Two Gallies of *Malta*, being ready to depart from *Messina*, I would not lose so good an opportunity of passing the channel securely; but having gotten my Bill of Health ready, (wherein though they mention'd my wife's Body which I carry'd, yet they made it to my satisfaction, and full enough to prevent trouble else-where) and dispatcht all things that needed; in the Evening I put all my goods aboard the Galley *Santa Maria*, whereof Sig: *Gio. Francesco Geronimo Salvago*, a Genouese was Captain. But because it departed not this night, I repair'd to lodg at the House of my Lord the Inquisitor, and left the Women in that of Sig: *Don Francesco Ciantar*, our Friend and Patron of the Benefice and House *del Salvatore*.

December the third, In the Evening we all went aboard the above-said Galley, after we had taken leave of the Inquisitor and all other Friends, with many Complements and demonstrations of true kindness; a little before mid-night we set sail, being accommodated with the other Galley, call'd, *S. John*, and four Ships of the Order laden with Flax; all which went under the mand of our Captain.

IV.

December the fourth, This Morning we found that we had already pass'd the channel, and were come to *Capo Passaro*, which is the ancient Promontory *Pachinum*. Before dinner, we enter'd the Port of *Syracuse*, where Sig: *Fra: Marcantonio Pericantato*, Receiver of the Order of *Malta*, came presently to our Galley to visit the Captain, and take his Letters and Orders of business. By this Knight, without making my self known to him, I understood that my great Friend, Monsignor *Paolo Faraone*, Bishop of *Syracuse*, being lately return'd from a visitation was now in the City; of which I was very joyful, through the great desire I had to see him. Wherefore after dinner I went ashore as all others did, and with Sig: *Frate Antonietto Costa* a Roman, presently repair'd to his Palace to visit him: But understanding he was saying the Office, and would not be disturb'd, I stay'd in the Antichamber till he had done, being entertain'd in the mean time by Sig: *Paolo Faraone* his Nephew, whom I had seen at *Messina*, in the year 1611, then a very Youth, but now grown a compleat young man; yet I did not discover my self to him. When the Bishop had ended the Office, we enter'd to kiss his hands; At first view, he said, he thought he knew me, but remember'd not who I was; and, indeed, he knew me not by my voice after I had spoken to him; although I knew both his voice and person, he seeming to me little or nothing chang'd from what I left him at *Rome* about twelve years ago when he was an Abbot. But when I discover'd my self to him, he seem'd amaz'd, and with much joy, for seeing me here at a time when he thought I was far enough off; and, perhaps, (as he said) not in this world, (for 'twas four years since he had heard any News of me) he receiv'd me with extream kindness and gladness. After we had given one another account of many things, and I had been complemented by Sig: *Paolo* his Nephew, and others that were with him, I told him that I had in the Galley *Batoni Mariam Tinatin*, my spiritual Daughter, and should be glad that before we departed, (as I thought to do with the same Gallies for *Messina*) that she saw the Church and something of *Syracuse*. The Bishop presently sent *Signora Maria* (his Brother's Wife, and Mother of Sig: *Paolo*) with two of her Daughters to fetch my Women from the Galley in a Coach; and Sig: *Paolo*, the Receiver of *Malta* and my self, went in another Coach to fetch them on Land. After these Gentlewomen had receiv'd them with many Complements, we all went together to the Nunns Church of *S. Lucie*, where we stay'd till evening; the Nunns being much delighted

lighted to behold the strange habits of my Women, and to discourse with them by Interpreters. In the mean time many people flock'd into the Church to see them, and several Cavaliers came to complement me, and make themselves known to me. It being late, we were accompani'd by many Gentry and people to the Palace, where my Women were receiv'd by the Bishop with much Courtesie. And being the Gallies were to depart for *Messina* this very night, I desir'd leave of the Bishop to return aboard again, but he would by no means grant it; saying that since I was come to see him, it was not fit that I should embitter his joy with so sudden a departure, much less when *S. Lucy's* day was so near at hand, for which those that are remote use to go to *Syracuse*; and that I was the more oblig'd to stay, because I had once promis'd him by a Letter, (as indeed I had) to come to *Syracuse*, and spend a *S. Lucy's* day with him; so that since chance had brought it thus to pass, I must needs make my word good. I answer'd many things, and did all I could to get away, but to no purpose; for the Bishop sent the Receiver to get all my goods out of the Galley, for which end was necessary for the gate of the City to be kept open a good part of the night contrary to custom: and besides, having caus'd a very noble Apartment to be got ready for me in the new building of his Palace, he would by all means have us all lodge there. Wherefore, seeing his pleasure was such, I thought fit to obey him, and accept the favour. The Gentlemen and Gentlewomen after some discourse departed, and we were conducted to our apartment, where, because the Bishop eats not at night, he left us to sup and rest. The two Gallies which brought us, depart this night for *Messina*, and with them *F. Orsino* my late Fellow-traveller, who will deliver you this Letter which I conclude this Evening, not omitting to acquaint you with my tarrying here for some days, to the end you may understand my deliverance, and the good issue of my health; and so praying God for the like to you, I very heartily kiss your hands.

LETTER XV.

From *Messina*, January 24. 1626.

I N continuation of my last to you concerning the favours I receiv'd from my Lord the Bishop of *Syracuse*, I must tell you in the first place, that on the fifth of *December* we were conducted by a great company of Gentry of both Sexes out of the City to several reliques of ancient *Syracuse*. We saw the Artificial Echo reported to have been made by *Dionysius* in a Prison where he kept many slaves, to hear what they talkt within; and, if I mistake not, *Archimedes* seems to have been the contriver of the Fabrick.

'Tis

I.

'Tis indeed one of the goodliest pieces of Art that I ever saw in the world, and perhaps was ever invented, imitating nature so exactly that the Echo returns words, sentences, sounds, and songs most intire and perfect; as was prov'd in our presence with sundry Instruments. If a man strike a thick extended cloth with a wand, it renders a sound like the shot of Artillery: which to be done so well in a Grotto form'd not by Nature, but by Art, is indeed a strange thing, and shews a prodigious wit in the Contriver. I must not omit, that the roof of this grotto is hollow'd in the form of a man's ear, from which probably the Artificer borrow'd the Invention; since just as the voice striking the ears which are so shap'd renders the sound audible; so 'tis seen by experience, that this great artificial Ear cut by hand in hard stone, being struck in like manner produces the same effect of augmenting a sound; although we know not but other Natural Echoes in Caves are fram'd after the same manner. Near the place of the Echo, we saw the subterranean Cavities wherein the slaves were imprison'd, and over them the place of *Dionysus's* Palace, in a very goodly situation, with a Prospect extending far both on Land and Sea. And near the Palace we beheld many remainders of his great Theater, which was not built up like other Structures, but cut and hollow'd out of the hard stone, all of a piece, very large and of excellent Architecture. As we return'd home, we saw contiguous to the City on one side the Port which they call'd *Marmoreo*, or the Marble Port, from its being built all of Stone, and differing from the other great one which lies under the City on the other side; for at this day the City stands wholly in the Peninsula *Ortygia*, which is almost surrounded by the Sea, saving where it joyns to the Land by a narrow *Euripus*.

11. December 8th, I accompani'd the B^p to the Church of *S. Francis*, whither because it was the Feast of the Conception he went to hear Mass, being attended by the Senate, and all the Nobility of the City. After which, I went with divers Gentlemen my Friends to see the Church of *S. Lucy* without the City in the place where she was martyr'd; which Church, though sometimes it belong'd to Priests, yet is now possess'd by reform'd *Franciscan* Fryers. Under the Church we saw certain grottoes extending to a great distance every way under ground and made I know not whether for Sepulchres of the Ancients, or for places of Refuge in times of danger.

December 9th, Two Galleys of *Malta*, which came from *Messina* with Provisions for the Island, enter'd the Port, in one of which was their present General Sig: Don *Francesco Caraffa* Prior *della Roccella*, and Son of the Prince *della Roccella*, who had lately founded this Priorate *della Roccella* at his own charge, always to remain in his own Family; though after his death, if I am rightly inform'd, it shall be no longer a Priorate or Grand Cross, but only a *Commendum*.

December the tenth, Accompani'd by Sig. *Paolo Faraone*, I visited

sited the said Prior *della Roccella* in his own Galley; having seen him several times, and contracted Friendship with him whilst I was at *Malta*, in which time he was created General of the Gallies upon the vacancy of the charge by the death of the former General.

December the twelfth, Being *S. Lucie's* Eve, Solemn Vespers were sung in her Church, whither the Bishop with the Senate and all the Nobility repair'd. At night bone-fires were made, and a Cavalcade of many Cavaliers rode about with Torches, but cloth'd in their ordinary habits; after whom follow'd the Senate likewise on Horse-back.

December the thirteenth, Being the day of *S. Lucie* the Patroness of *Syracuse*, a solemn Procession was made, wherein the Images of the Saint in Silver, as big or bigger then the life, were carry'd through the chief streets upon a goodly Pedestal of silver, all the Clergy and Nobility accompanying the same. The Procession set forth from the Cathedral, and as the H. Image came out of the Church-Gate, a certain man plac'd purposely on the top of the Steeple, came flying down (as they speak) upon a rope and fell in the midst of the Piazza, which was throng'd with people assembled to see the Shew. The Procession ended at the Church of *S. Lucie* without the City, where a solemn Mass was sung; after which in a little Chappel hard by, call'd *Sant' Agata*, I saw under ground the Sepulchre of *S. Lucie*, where She was buried first; for now her Body is not here, but was translated to some other place long agoe.

December the fourteenth, Many Races were run both by Footmen, Mules, ordinary Horses, and Barb or Ginetts as they call them in *Syracuse*, with the usual circumstances of throngs of people, Ladies at the windows, Gentlemen on Horse-back, and in Coaches about the streets.

December the fifteenth, A Mascherade of twelve Cavaliers on Horse-back, cloth'd by couples after several fashions, went about the City. In the Piazza before the Bishops Palace they ran *al Saraceno*, (*i. e.* at a wooden stock made like a Man; we call it a Turk) and at the Ring, making many Caracols (or quick Turns) at the end. Which divertisement continu'd till night; when the Maskers were entertain'd with a sumptuous Supper by the Bishop, together with the Senate and other Cavaliers.

December the sixteenth, In the Morning I went to view the Fountain *Arethusa*, which I had seen imperfectly many years before at my first being in *Sicily*. 'Tis in a Grove within the walls of the City, where issuing out of a cavern of a Hill, it descends to the Sea-side, forming an indifferent Pool before its going out of the walls, where the Syracusan Women use to go to wash their Clothes. In the afternoon going out of the City, to see many courses at the Ring in the field of *S. Lucie*, we went to hear an excellent natural Echo between the Sea and the Walls, which

which returned the sound of a Trumpet once or twice very pleasantly.

December the eighteenth, The General of the *Maltese*-Gallies set sail for *Malta*, and the next Morning two other Gallies of *Malta* arriv'd from *Messina* in the Port of *Syracuse*. This day we went to see the Capuchins Covent without the City, in whose Gardens are seen extream deep cavities and precipices; for the Soil being all stony, was in ancient times dig'd in that manner for stones; and one may see where goodly Pillars have been cut out all of a piece, as others might still be: nevertheless in those dark vallies and cavities there are Gardens and Trees planted, which bring forth goodly fruit; at which I wonder'd the more, because some of them are never seen by the Sun, the Soil is so low and closely surrounded with high Rocks. These are *Lapidicina*, or *Stone-Quarries*, where the Athenian Prisoners were put, who after the loss of many battels both by Land and Sea, at last yielded at *Syracuse*, as *Thucydides* relates.

December the twentieth, The Bishop made an Ordination according the custom of Four times of the year, and this Morning ordain'd above two hundred persons of several Orders; for this Diocess is sufficiently populous; and many, to avoid the numerous grievances impos'd upon the King's people, willingly put themselves into the Church.

December the one twentieth, Another Procession like the former was made in the Evening, wherein the sacred Image of *S. Lucie* was carry'd from her own Church, where it had been till now, to the Cathedral, in which it is usually kept in a little Chappel well guarded, and lock'd with many keyes. When the Image was come thither, and the Bishop standing at the Altar, first shew'd the Magistrate, and then the People the Reliques of the Saint, (to wit, a dark blew Mantle, and a Slipper like that of the Pope) holding the same to them to kiss, and distributing Cotton to them which the said Reliques had touch'd. After which the Bishop entertain'd the Senate with a Supper.

December the two and twentieth, The two *Maltese*-Gallies departed for *Malta*, and the next Evening the General of *Malta* return'd to *Syracuse* for more provision; the Island of *Malta* being in great want thereof.

December the four and twentieth, The said General ship'd all the Corn he could possibly, as well by stealth as openly, (because he had not Licence for so much) and in the Evening set sail for *Malta*. He inform'd us that the Prior of the Church was coming Ambassador extraordinary to the Pope, in order to pacifie his Holiness who was much offended at certain things which they had lately done ill at *Malta*: Whereof I shall give you this brief account.

IV. A while since two or three Commendams of *Malta* becoming void by the death of a Commendator, who held them all together,

ther, the Pope joyn'd them into a new Priorate, and gave the same to Sig: Don *Antonio Barberino* his Nephew. Hereupon the Order took distast that the Pope should give these Commendams to his Nephew, in prejudice of the Ancients who pretended to them, and making a great stir (as if the Pope were not Patron of their goods, as well as those of all other Orders) they tumultuously resolv'd to send Ambassadors to the Emperor, and to the Kings of *France* and *Spain* to complain thereof, and to intreat the said Princes to undertake their Protection that the Pope might not do them such Prejudices. This coming to the Pope's Ears, he commanded Monfig: *Visconti* his Inquisitor at *Malta*, to endeavor the hindring of those Embassies; and, in case of obstinacy, to prohibit them by a Publick Act in the Name of his Holiness, admonishing the Order that they had no other Superior besides the Pope, and ought not to recurr to any about their affairs but to him. The Inquisitor us'd his utmost diligence, but seeing it prevail'd not, he caus'd the Pope's Prohibition to be signifi'd to the Ambassador's Elect, by a fit Minister. One or two of them made no stir, but another fell into such a rage that he drew a Ponyard to assault the Inquisitor's Officer that gave him the Intimation: After which all the Knights banded together, and went tumultuously to the Grand Master, who was then in the Church at Vespers, and by furious menaces of a notable sedition, caus'd him to send some Grand Crosses to desire the Inquisitor to revoke the said Prohibition, otherwise a very great tumult and the ruine of the Order would ensue. The Inquisitor, mov'd with this and other effectual Instances which they made to him not without tumult, said; He had no Authority re-call a Prohibition made by the Pope; but, to prevent further mischiefs, he condescended to revoke the said Order, so far as his own Authority (which he judg'd none at all in this matter) could extend: Whereupon the Ambassadors presently departed. The Pope understanding this sequel, gave the *Maltese* Ambassador residing at *Rome* a great check, and testifi'd so great displeasure with the Order, that the Ambassador himself, who, perhaps, had been the first cause of these Tumults at *Malta*, by writing to the Knights there to defend their causes resolutely; that he now writ after a different manner, and so represented both to the Grand Master and the Order, the Pope's displeasure, and what mischief he might do them; That being terrify'd there-with they sent Posts after their Ambassadors to return, without negotiating at all with the said Princes. Some of them, who were not yet arriv'd at the places whither they were sent, upon this Order return'd back without doing any thing; others, who were arriv'd at the Courts of the design'd Princes, obtain'd their Letters of recommendation to the Pope, which were of little moment; but ever since this business, the Pope hath had but little good will towards the Order, and hath frequently declar'd a purpose to reform it in sundry things: As, that no Women

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should

should live in the new City, call'd *il Convento*, their Simoniack Elections of Grand Masters, and other things, of which the Knights were much afraid. To these old disgusts, another hath lately been added: Upon the loss of their Gallies taken by the Turks a while agoe, with the slaughter of many Knights, the Order, for repairing the same, thought, (and, I believe, had already resolv'd) to lay a Gabel, (whether perpetual or temporal, I know not) upon the Commendams and Possessions of the Order; which, without the Pope's leave, could not be done. The Pope extreamly dislik'd this course, conceiving no necessity of attempting it for that loss; since they had lost nothing but two pieces of wood; and as for the Knights, they might be recruited by the income of moneys which are paid upon the admittance of others to take the Cross; besides that as to interest, they had rather gain'd then lost, having by the death of so many Knights, gotten spoils enough to pay the charge pretended, without burdening the possessions of the Order with any imposition. All which Reasons consider'd, the Pope hearing that they were resolv'd to impose the said Gabel without addressing to him, became extreamly displeas'd with the Knights, threatening them with Excommunications and other punishments: Whereupon the Order dispatch'd this Prior of the Church, (who is also a Grand Cross and a Priest) Ambassador extraordinary to his Holiness, to pacifie him.

December the twenty sixth, We had news at *Syracuse*, that an English Fleet had landed some Forces at *Cadiz* upon the Coast of *Spain*, which were valorously repuls'd by the *Spaniards*. They are great amplifiers of their own Exploits, and writ word that the said Fleet consisted of eighty Ships, and landed twelve thousand men.

V.

December the twenty ninth, Being desirous to visit some Cavaliers of the Family of *la Valle* in the City of *Catania*, where there lives many, by all circumstances, deriv'd from the same Root with us of *Rome*; I set forth thither this Morning in the Bishop's Coach, accompani'd by Sig: *Paolo Satalia* a *Syracusian*. We travell'd not far from the Sea-side, leaving on the right hand a little fruitful Island, near the Continent of *Sicily*, now call'd *Manghesi*, but by *Virgil* with good reason *Tapsumque jacentem*; for it is all plain and very low. A little further we left on the right hand also towards the Sea, the City *Augusta*, sometimes call'd *Megara*; whence *Virgil*, making mention of it, saith *Megarosque Sinus*. In the Evening, we pass'd through *Carlo Lentini*, built upon high cliffs, and so call'd as if it were *Lentini di Carlo*, because *Charles* the Fifth, Emperor, built it, with intent perhaps to transfer the City of *Lentini* (which lies hard by) thither for better air. At length having travell'd twenty four miles from *Syracuse*, we took up our Lodging in *Lentini* at the house of Sig: *Flaminio Mollica* Baron of *Bagnara*, who a few days before had sent to visit me in *Syracuse*, and receiv'd me here with extraordinary civility.

December

December the thirtieth, Having heard Mass in *Santa Maria di Giesu* a little without the City, we went to the Church of the Saints *Alfio*, *Philadelfo*, and *Cirino*, three French Brethren, Martyrs and Protectors of *Lentini*; which City is styl'd *Fecundissima Lentinorum Urbs*, and gives for its Arms a Lion Rampant, the ancient badg of the *Leontines*, as appears by their ancient Medals, and I observ'd by the Bill of Health which they gave us; for by reason of the Contagion at *Palermo*, without taking a Bill of Health at every place, &c. After dinner we departed, and not far from *Lentini*, pass'd over a little River which they call *il fiume di Lentini*, and probably is the *Pantagia* of *Virgil*. Before night, we arriv'd at *Catania*, which lies but eighteen miles from *Lentini*, and lodg'd in the house of Sig: *Don Angelo Campochiano di Calatagironi*, who was then Vicar-General to the Bishop of *Catania*, and upon the recommendation of the Bishop of *Syracuse*, receiv'd and treated us here with much respect, being also something alli'd to the Sig: *della Valle* of *Catania*.

December the thirty first, I was visited by all the Sig: *della Valle*, and many other Eminent Gentlemen of several Families, their Alliances. They were so many that I shall not particularly name them; only I shall intimate that at this day there are in *Catania* five Chiefs of the Family of *la Valle*, all deriv'd from the same stock; namely, first Sig: *Don Franc. della Valle* Baron of *Miraglia*, who being newly come from abroad, was put upon his Quarantine in a Church without the City; secondly, Sig: *Don Gutierrez della Valle*, Brother of the above-said Baron, who was absent at *Palermo*; thirdly, Sig: *Don Diego della Valle*, whom I knew many years ago at *Messina*; fourthly, Sig: *Don Vincenzo della Valle*, Baron of *Schiff*, which they hold to be the ancient *Naxos*; and fifthly, *Don Franc. della Valle* who was in an Ecclesiastical Habit: with many of these Gentlemen, who did me the honour to accompany me, I went this morning to see the Mother-Church, where in a close Chappel the body of *S. Agatha* is kept. After which I was conducted to see the *Benedictine's* Monastery of *S. Nicolas*, (which is a handsom building,) and the Reliques kept there in the Sacristie; amongst which was shewn me a Nail of our Saviour's Cross, an Arrow of *S. Sebastian's*, a piece of *S. George's* Coat of Mail, some of *S. Peter* the Apostle's beard, and some of the beard of *S. Zaccharias* Father of *S. John Baptist*. I saw also the ruins of the Amphitheater and the Cirque, the Fountains without the Walls of the City by the Sea-side, which being so many Spouts on a row, make a pretty sight, near the place where *S. Agatha* was put into the fire.

January the first, 1626. Accompani'd by the same Gentlemen, who did me that honour at all hours, I went to see the prison of *S. Agatha* under ground, and her Sepulchre, where there is also another Church, and in that the place where *S. Lucy* appear'd to her; and a little further a little Chappel apart where her breasts were cut off. After which, I spent the day in visiting

such Gentlemen as had visited me, as also such Gentlewomen of the Family of *la Valle* as had sent to visit me. The next day I went to *S. Francis's* Church to see the Chappel and Tombs of the Family of *la Valle*, in whose arms I found some difference from my own as to the colours, (which was only the Error of the Painter) they giving the Lions and Stars, Or, in a field gules; but we at *Rome*, the Lions azure, and Stars, gules in a field Or. And being Arms are commonly taken from old Stone-monuments which have no colours, 'twas no hard matter for some Modern Painter to mistake, and put one for another. In the Evening, I was visited by the Magistrates of *Catania*, whom they call *Guirati* (Jurats); and news came that a Proclamation was publish'd at *Palermo*, whereby as many as were oblig'd either by Tenure, or otherwise to military service in *Sicily* in times of need, were commanded to appear forthwith in the field, in order to a General Muster, and then be distributed into several places, for fear of an invasion by the English Fleet, which they said was enter'd into the Mediterranean upon designs of mischief.

January the third, I return'd the Visit to the Magistrates in the City-Palace, being receiv'd by them with much honour, and at my departure accompani'd almost to the Gate. After dinner, having visited Sig: *Don Francesco della Valle*, Baron of *Miraglia*, who was upon his Quarantine in the Church of the Infirm without the City, I took leave of all my honourable Friends, and departed from *Catania* towards *Syracuse*, arriving at *Lentini* two hours after Sun-set, where I lodg'd in the House of the Baron of *Bagnara*.

VIII.

January the fourth, Having heard Mass in the Church of the Saints *Alfio* and his Brethren, and din'd early, we departed from *Lentini*, and at night arriv'd at *S. Cosmano*, a place twelve miles from *Syracuse*, famous for making Sugar. It being late, we took up our Quarters in a House, where we saw the Machins, Furnaces, and other contrivances for that Work.

January the fifth, About Noon, we arriv'd at *Syracuse*, being met without the Gate in a Coach by Sig: *Paolo Faraone*, Sig: *Don Diego Landolnia* his Couzen, Sig: *Don Gasparo Diamante*, and others of the Bishop's House.

January 10th, We went abroad a shooting in a boat upon the famous River *Alfeo*, which falls into the Port of *Syracuse*, just opposite to the walls of the City, passing first under a bridge of one arch, exactly according to the printed figure of the Pastoral of Cavalier *Guarini* call'd *il Pastor fido*, wherein the River *Alfeo* speaks the Prologue.

January the eleventh, I saw the subterraneous Grottoes of *S. John's* Church without the City; they are many, great, and handfom, contriv'd almost like a Labyrinth, and appear to have been intended for Sepulchres; in some places the light is admitted a little by Cupola's, which probably serv'd for the people to
assemble

assemble in, either to the Obsequies or Funeral-suppers. Yet certain Figures of ancient Saints, and other Tokens argue them to have been us'd by Christians; 'tis a goodly Fabrick for a work under-ground, being all cut out of the natural stone by hand.

January the thirteenth, Four Maltese-Galleys arriv'd at *Syracuse*; and because they intended for *Messina*, and one of them for *Naples*, and perhaps further, to carry the Prior of the Church, who, as I said, was going extraordinary Ambassador to *Rome*, and was here imbarqu'd; I desir'd to take the opportunity of these Galleys to *Messina*: and accordingly went to speak with the General, who was gone a hunting with the Prior of the Church near the River *Alfeo*. The General courteously granted me passage in his own Ship to *Messina*: but as for going to *Naples* in the Galley with the said Prior, I could not obtain this favour from him: and though his excuse was, that but one Galley went thither, and that with many Passengers, and my people and goods were not few; yet I perceiv'd that the Prior, on whom the courtesie depended (although he had been my Friend at *Malta*, and shew'd himself such here also) was unwilling to grant me the same, because I lodg'd in the house of the Bishop, with whom the Prior was displeas'd, because the Bishop had neither visited him, nor yet the General of the Galleys, as they pretended he ought to have done: but the Bishop pretended the contrary, namely, that they ought to have visited him first; so that between the punctilio's of both sides, I was fain to suffer an inconvenience, as it commonly happens in such cases. However I resolv'd not to decline the General's offer of passing to *Messina* in these Galleys, and accordingly taking leave of the Bishop, and all other Friends after supper, I went aboard of the General's Galley with my people, and at the second watch we set sail. The winds being contrary we could not pass further then *Augusta*, where we anchor'd a little without the Port; but because we did not salute the City, (in regard we stood off from it, and were upon departing) a great Gun was discharg'd from thence against us with a bullet. Which though the General was offend'd at, yet because there was nothing else to be done, he sent a Spanish Gentleman of his Order to make excuse to the Governor for not having saluted him, (as not being the custom in such occasions) and to complain of his shooting with a bullet in that manner. The Governor answer'd courteously, yet (like a *Spaniard*) held his point, and advis'd the Galleys to have patience; thereby implying, that if they would ride in that Port, they must salute the Royal Standards, otherwise they should be sunk.

January the fourteenth, The weather proving foul, our Galleys made into the Port of *Augusta*, where we saluted the Block-houses, and receiv'd the like salutations from them again. There are three Block-houses or Forts at *Augusta*, one within the City upon

upon a high situation; another upon the mouth of the Port which is very large within, and another also within the Port divided into two, and standing upon two little rocks. Divers of our people went ashore the same day, but I did not, till the next: when after I had heard Mass said by the F. Provincial of the Jesuits in *Sicily*, in a Church call'd *Our Lady delle Grazie*, I went to see the *Capuchins* Church, the Streets of the City, the Castle, and whatever was remarkable, which was very little.

January the sixteenth, The weather continuing foul with snow, the Captains upon consultation resolv'd to return back to *Syracuse*, because the Gallies had not provision enough for a longer stay. Wherefore after dinner, we set sail back again, and arriv'd before night at *Syracuse*; whereof the Bishop being advertis'd, sent Sig: *Paolo Faraone* to fetch me, and Sig: *Maria* to conduct my women to his House.

January the nineteenth, The weather becoming good, the General sent us sudden notice that he would depart immediately, as accordingly we did, and at night enter'd the Port of *Augusta*, because it was again become somewhat tempestuous. The next Evening we departed from *Augusta*, and sail'd all night with a bad wind, which forc't us to make use of our Oars.

January the twenty first, At day-break we came before *Capo grosso*, about twenty miles from *Messina*, and continuing our course, arriv'd at *Messina* before Noon. At the mouth of the Port we were question'd by the Commissioners of Health, who were very rigorous here, and indeed were to be commended for it; since, had it not been for the exact diligence of *Messina* in this matter, the present Pestilence of *Sicily* might easily have infected all *Italy*: for Card. *Dona* and others that govern'd at *Palermo*, to avoid damnifying that City by loss of Trade, have hazarded the safety not only of the whole Kingdom (as is manifestly seen) but also of all *Italy* by concealing the Plague of *Palermo* as much as they could, instead of remedying the Infection by such severe and rigorous courses as was fit, namely, by burning infected Goods and the like; yea, they rather maintain'd that the Plague was not there when it was there, and requir'd prattick to be given them everywhere, procuring Orders from *Spain* for that purpose: by which means many other places of *Sicily*, are become infected, and the Plague, which, had fit means been us'd, perhaps would soon have been extinguish'd, hath continu'd above two years, and continues still; the Orders of the Viceroy and the Court of *Spain*, promoting the spreading thereof in despite of all. Only the City of *Messina* hath the glory of withstanding so great mischief for the publick safety. Whilst we were under examination, expecting Bills for Prattick against night, I advertis'd Sig: *Francesco Faraone*, and Sig: *Don Palmieri di Giovanni*, my ancient Friends, of my coming, who, in the Evening when Prattick was granted us, came with other Gentlemen and Gentlewomen in Coaches to the shore-side to receive me, and
Sig:

Sig: Maria. After I had taken leave of the General, and all the Knights of the Gallies, I went ashore and was accompany'd by the said Gentlemen to the House of *Sig: Francesco Faraone*, where taking up my Residence, I have been visited by most Persons of quality in the City, as also *Sig: Maria* hath been by many Ladies; we also returning visits to all to whom we owed them.

January the five and twentieth, *Sig: Don Giov. Bisogni*, a Cavalier of *Messina*, Cousin to the Bishop of *Syracuse*, and Husband of *Donna Margarita Faraone*, (whom I left at *Catania* with three of her Sons) dying at *Messina*, his Son *Don Francesco*, (who alone was here at his Father's death) according to the custom of this City, as soon as his Father expir'd, went out of the House, leaving it and the Body yet unburi'd, to the care of other kintred, and retyr'd to the House of *Sig: Franc. Faraone* (wherein I lodg) as his nearest Kinsman; and here he receives condoling visits, and remains till his Father's Body be buri'd, and the House purifi'd and fitted with mourning; which I mention as a custom not practis'd by us at *Rome*. We have been to see the Bodies of *San Placido*, and other Saints, with all the other Reliques of *Messina*, which were shewn us near the High Altar, where they are kept very-conveniently. I have also heard one of the Moral Lectures of *Sig: Antonio Mazzapinta*, a Famous Philosopher, and Publick Reader in *Messina*: Which Lecture, as also many others, he read in his Extraordinary House for his own pleasure, and that of the Curious. Here I arrest my Pen, this Letter being the last of my Oriental Voyages. If it please God, I shall shortly entertain you *viva voce*; in the mean time I commit you to his Providence, and kiss your Hands.

An account of my Arrival and Residence at Naples,
in the House of *Sig: Maria Schipano*.

J*anuary* the thirtieth, Having hir'd two Felluca's for Naples, and embarqu'd all our goods with good Bills of Health, (which in regard of *Sitti Maani's* Body which I carry'd with me, were more then necessary, and my Friends at *Messina* had procur'd to my satisfaction) in the Morning we set sail from *Messina* with a good wind, being accompany'd to the boat by many Persons of quality of both Sexes, from whom we separated with much tenderness. We pass'd the *Pharo* between *Caribdis* and *Scilla*, the Sea being sufficiently rough, though the wind favorable. On the left hand, at a good distance we left the Island of *Strongile*, *Vulcano*, and other places; at night arriving at *Trupia*, where, because they refus'd to give us Prattick, alledging that this was no Landing-place in these infectious times, and that certain Landing-places were appointed

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pointed for Passage-Vessels upon the Coast of *Calabria*, where alone Prattick was to be had; we kept out at Sea all night, and pass'd *il Pizzo*.

January the one and thirtieth, We pass'd by *Mantea* and other places, at noon arriving at *Paola* where I went ashore. A little without the City, amongst the little Hills we saw the Church of *S. Francis of Paola*, which is delicately seated amongst goodly Trees and Brooks which run between the Hills. We saw the Reliques, the Chappel of the Marquis, Lord of the place, and his Sepulchres; the Lime-kiln where *S. Francis* did a miracle; the Fountain and the Grotto wherein he lived, with all other things remarkable; after which we lodg'd in an Hosterly or Inn upon the shore.

February the first, Having heard Mass in a little Church there, we left *Paola*, and passing by *Scoglio del Marchese* and other Islands; in the Evening we supp'd at Sea under *Belvedere*, and sailing all night, the next day we din'd on Land at *Camerota*; from whence we sail'd and came to an Anchor in the Port of *Palinuro*; which place I beheld with pleasure, through the delightful remembrance of *Virgil's* Verses, which relate the misfortune of the Pilot *Palinurus*, and with-all, give immortal fame to the place.

February the fourth, We departed from *Palinuro*, and lodg'd on shore at *Acciaruolo*, where Passengers are notoriously abus'd, by being constrain'd to lodg in a lewd Inn there, and pay the Host what he pleases to demand, who is also to pay the Lord of the place what Rent he desires. The next day we pass'd the Gulph of *Salerno*, and *bocche di Capri*, arriving late in the Port of *Naples*, under the *Dogana* of Corn; but because it was so late that we could not get Prattick, we slept all night in the *Felluca's*.

February the sixth, Sig: *Andrea Pulice* my Comrade, being by me advertis'd of my coming, brought Sig: *Mario Schipano*, and many other Friends to visit me in my *Felluca*; which interview, after so many years, was as pleasant as can be imagin'd. As soon as the Officers negotiated for Prattick they obtain'd it; but, for less trouble, and because I intended to stay little at *Naples*, I dispatch'd one of my *Felluca's* wherein was the Body of *Sisti Maani*, and other goods, immediately to *Rome*. Upon Sig: *Schipano's* invitation, I lodg'd in his House, together with all my people. At *Naples* I receiv'd the first Letters from *Rome* after above four years, wherein I had not receiv'd any, nor heard any certain tidings of my Relations. These advertis'd me of the death of Sig: *Vallerio della Valle*, which hapned four years before, and also of that of Sig: *Tomasso della Valle*, my Uncle, which fell out about a year before my arrival. At whose deaths I also being no longer accounted living, certain Pious Places seiz'd upon part of my goods and revenues, and would have gotten all the rest with the writings, (as they attempted to do) had not my
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kinred, and, particularly, Sig^{ra} *Laura Gaetana* stoutly withstood them, making it apparent that I was alive, by shewing some of my Letters which she had lately receiv'd; whereto nevertheless they would by no means give credit. I found entertainment for many dayes in reading abundance of Letters from *Rome*, which almost all my kindred and friends writ to me, and in answering the same; as also in receiving and returning the visits of many Neapolitan Cavaliers and Titolado's; and, indeed, I am much oblig'd to all the Nobility of that City for the Civilities they shew'd me in this my Return.

February the tenth, I sent to *Rome* authentical Certificates of my survivance, attested by many Persons of *Naples*, who acknowledg'd me for what I was twelve years before when I departed thence; as also Letters of Attorney and other writings, to the end my Relations might make use thereof to my benefit against who-ever at *Rome* attempted to molest my Estate.

II.

February the three and twentieth, A brave Tournement was publickly made at *Naples* with great splendor in the Piazza of the Palace, for the Birth of the Princess of *Spain*, the King's first-born Daughter; to behold which, there interven'd with the Duke of *Alva*, the Vice-Roy, the Duke of *Alcala*, newly arriv'd from *Rome*, where he had been extraordinary Ambassador about the troubles of *Italy*. The Tournement was gallant, consisting of abundance of Squadrons and Cavaliers, but without any Inventions, and nothing near so brave as that which I saw here in the year 1612. upon the Marriage of *France* and *Spain*.

February the four and twentieth, Which was the day of Carnival, a Mascherade was made in *Naples*, and Balls in the Palace for an entertainment to the Duke of *Alcala*; as also the next day, (although it was Lent) another Mascherade was made on Horse-back with a Tilting, and at night Balls in the Palace.

March the ninth, About seven a clock at night, a very great Earth-quake hapned in *Naples*, which shook the strongest walls as if they had been but of paper; but it lasted little, and was very short, so that (God be prais'd) it did no considerable hurt, although for the small time it continu'd, it was sufficiently dreadful.

March the tenth, The Abbess and other Nunns of *San Marcelino*, and, particularly, *Donna Feliciana*, and *Donna Beatrice d'Avalos*, (to whom I have always had great respect) did me the favor to cause a Mass to be sung in their Church, whilst I was present, in thanks to God for my safe return into *Italy*; where twelve years before I had begun and took the Ensignes of my Peregrination.

March the thirteenth, The fit time for my departure by Sea to *Rome*, being come, I took leave of Sig: *Mario Schipano*, who had entertain'd us nobly all the time of my stay at *Naples*, (during which, we frequently review'd our Letters and Travels

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with

with much Curiosity and Pleasure) and also of all other Friends, and after due thanks to Sig: *Angelo Crescentio*, and Sig: *Andrea Pulice* who accompani'd us to the *Scoglio di Euplea*, vulgarly call'd *Gaiola*, I went aboard and departed.

LETTER XVI.

From Rome, April 4. 1626.

I.

AT length I am come to *Rome*, the place of my Nativity; but though I walk upon the banks of *Tyber* and the seven Hills, yet my mind runs wandring through *Turkie* and *Persia*, hoises sail again to the wind, and roams as far as the Indian shores, reviewing *Ikkeri*, *Manel*, and *Calecut*. Whence embarking again in the great *Dolphin*, it reconducts me over Seas and Lands, to my recent and late Peregrinations, and even to the Rock of *Euplea*, whither now I return both with my Thought and Pen. Being divided there, from Sig: *Angelo*, Sig: *Andrea*, and the rest with expressions of much affection, whilst they in another boat return'd towards *Naples*, I with my *Felluca*'s set sail, and,

*Post varios casus, post tot discrimina rerum
Tendimus in Latium.*

In a few hours I came to *Procida*, where I was entertain'd by Sig: *Antonio d' Antonii* in his Garden; and not onely din'd there, but in expectation of a fit hour to depart, (because I would not touch at *Gaeta*, but intended to go directly to *Terracina*) I also lodg'd there all night. The Judge of *Procida* being inform'd, whether by the Mariners or others I know not, of the Coffin of *Sitti Maani* which I had, according to the cheating tricks us'd in the Kingdom of *Naples*, thought to get something from me upon this occasion; and to make the case more heinous, he waited till mid-night when we were all asleep, (notwithstanding he might have done it in the day-time when I walkt up and down the whole Island with the Women) and at that unseasonable time came with many armed people to disquiet us in the House where I was, saying, that he would see my goods, and stop the Coffin; with other such Language. I, who was prepar'd for such encounters, shew'd him the good Bills which I had brought from *Naples*, and, in short, made him take as a favor a small pittance, which I gave him out of respect to the Master of the House where I lodg'd.

March the fourteenth, I left *Procida* before day, and putting to Sea arriv'd with a pretty rough Sea at *Terracina*, where *Horatio Pagni*, Steward of my House, to whom I had written from *Naples*,

Naples to wait for me here, had been some dayes expecting me, with another man-servant to Sig^{na} *Faustina Alberina* my Aunr. As soon as he saw our *Felluca's* afar off, and conjectur'd who we were, because the Tide was so boisterous that we could not easily get to shore, he caus'd certain men to wade into the Sea naked, who with ropes presently drew both the Boats to Land in safety, where *Horatio* and his Companion receiv'd us with much gladness and many tears, and conducted us to a Lodging already provided for us in one of the Inns upon the Sea-side. Sig: *Paolo Heltori*, Governour of *Terracina*, sent to invite me to his House, and to excuse himself for not coming in Person to fetch me, for that he was taken up with the Prince of *Venosa Ludoviso*, who lodg'd with him in his passage to *Naples*, whether almost all the Roman Barons, Vassals of *Spain*, were summon'd by the Vice-Roy, (as 'twas believ'd) about some disgusts which he had with them about matters of Titles, and the like Complements; and the Prince of *Venosa* was now at *Terracina* upon the Way. I thank'd the Governour, but declin'd the favor; partly, to avoid giving him more trouble at such a busie time; and, partly, because I intended to depart forth-with.

March the fifteenth, A Captain came from *Sezze*, to invite me in the name of Sig: *Francesco della Valle* Governour there, (whom I knew already by fame of his Books of Poetry, and desir'd much to know personally) that I would lodg with him in my passage to *Rome*, adding, that he would wait for me at *Cafe Nuove*, an Inn upon the way, subject to his jurisdiction. Whereupon, after I had heard Mass in a Church near the shore, I imbarqu'd with all my people and Goods, and, at night, arriv'd at *Cafe Nuove*, where I found the said Sig: *Francesco della Valle*, who entertain'd us nobly, and, upon the like desire which he had of knowing me, we establish'd a great and perpetual friendship.

March the sixteenth, I dispatcht *Horatio* with part of my servants and carriage to *Rome*, particularly, with the Coffin of *Sitti Maani*, ordering him to get it into *Rome* secretly before the day of my arrival, for preventing all difficulties that might arise either from the guards of the Gate, or the Toll-house, or otherwise: to which purpose I also writ Letters to Sig^{na} *Laura*, with orders what was to be done. I, with the Women, and only two Servants, leaving the rest of my Goods in charge with the Host, because there wanted Mules to carry them, went with Sig: *Francesco* to *Sezza*, there to wait for a Coach, which I had writ for to *Rome*. In the Evening, the Prince of *Rassano Aldobrandino* pass'd by *Cafe Nuove* towards *Naples*, whither he was summon'd with the rest.

March the twenty second, The Prince of *Salmona Borghese*, who was going likewise to *Naples*, enter'd *Sezza* with a solemn Cavalcade, being met at the foot of the Hills by the Governor, all the Militia of horse and foot, the Bishop, and a company of

all the Gentlemen of the Town. Which honour I believe was done him by the procurement of Sig: *Girolamo Muti*, a Servant to the Card. *Borghese*, who was ally'd by marriage to many in *Sezze*, and accompani'd him hither. I visited the said Prince as soon as he was alighted, and he express'd much civility to me, and satisfaction with my Visit.

March the twenty third, In the Morning before I was up, the Prince of *Sulmona* sent Sig: *Baldassar Pignatello*, Gentleman of his Chamber, to visit me, and to bid me Adieu, being he was just ready to depart. I dress'd my self in haste, and went to wait upon him before he took horse, as he did presently after. In the Evening, *Horatio* return'd to *Sezze*, but without a Coach, for at *Sermoneta*, the people being advertis'd of the Coffin which he carri'd with him, refus'd to let it pass without particular licence, but (which was worse) would have it carri'd about the Town. *Horatio* would not put it into the hands of the Priests, as they importun'd him, but left it in a handsom chamber in the Inn, under the care of one of my servants, and went directly to *Rome*, where he stay'd till he had got Licences both from *Sermoneta*, *Velletri*, and *Rome*, for the free carrying of it. And because he knew I wish't this business done before I enter'd into *Rome* my self, he brought no Coach, as he might have done, but came with these dispatches to see what I intended to do. When I saw the Bills were good; and proof against all difficulty, I dispatcht a footman purposely to *Rome* for a Coach to carry me thither.

III.

March the twenty fifth, A Messenger whom I sent to carry the Coffin from *Sermoneta* to *Rome*, arriv'd there, and without being seen or stay'd by any person, consign'd the same to Sig: *Laura*, who plac'd it in my chamber, as I had appointed.

March the twenty sixth, In the Evening the Coach which was to carry me to *Rome*, arriv'd at *Sezze*, from whence, bidding adieu to Sig: *Francesco della Valle*, I departed the next day, and by night got to *Velletri*.

March the twenty eighth, Departing from *Velletri*, in the Morning we pass'd by *Genzano* in sight of its Lake, which was sometimes the famous *Lacus Trivia*; afterwards by *Riccia*, where the Sig: *Savelli* have a goodly Palace. We stay'd to dine at *Albano*, beholding *Castel Candolfo* afar off, and the place where *Alba longa* sometimes stood. In the Evening we arriv'd at *Rome* as privately as could be, because being a Widower, I was unwilling to admit of the congratulatory meeting which divers intended to me; and going to the Holy Stairs, I there, according to my appointment, enter'd into another Coach, which carri'd us leisurely through the longest Street of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, and about other Streets also, till it was more late and dark. At length we enter'd my House by the back-gate, and I presently caus'd all the doors to be lock'd, to the end the news of my arrival might not bring any to disturb me before I had spoken a little with Sig: *Laura*, as I desir'd. I was no sooner enter'd, but I found

I found Sig: *Francesco Maria della Riccia*, who waited for me, and with Sig: *Laura* his Mother, did me the favour to dwell in the house, as also Sig: *Gaspara Salviano* my Friend. Sig: *Laura*, scarce recover'd of a great sickness, which had indanger'd her life whilst I was at *Naples*, yet walkt down into the Court as well as she could with a staff to receive me there; and accordingly I was receiv'd with a joy futable to the great desire they had of us, and to the long absence of so many years. We ascended all together, and after some conversation amongst us, and a long discourse between me and Sig: *Laura*, who inform'd me of sundry things, it being about three hours within night, I sent to to advertise Sig: *Faustina Alberina* my Aunt, and also the Sig: *Crescentii*, of my arrival; excusing my self that I went not in person to see them, because it was too late. Sig: *Faustina* came immediately to me, and with her my Daughter *Silvia*, who was so grown that I did not know her; as also Sig: *Antonia Ruggieri*, Mother of Sig: *Tiberio Alberii*, whom likewise I did not know at first. We suppt all together very joyfully, and after a long conversation, Sig: *Faustina* with her company retir'd home. Sig: *Gaspare* remain'd with me that night; and, before I went to bed, I caus'd the Coffin of my *Sitti Maani* to be deliver'd to me. Hitherto I have been continually visited by almost all the Nobility of *Rome*, and also by many Ladies, Kinred, and Friends, who after so many years absence see me again, and receive me a stranger and pilgrim in my own Country with exceeding pleasure. This is an account of what hath occur'd within the few days since my departure from *Naples*, and arrival at *Rome*. At present, I am preparing to repay Visits, and to kiss the feet of our Lord Pope *Urban VIII*, whereof, and all other occurrences, I shall advertise you. I kiss your hands, and humbly salute all my Friends. From *Rome*, April 4. 1626.

LETTER XVII.

From *Rome*, July 11. 1626.

HAVING begun to go abroad, and to perform the respects I owe to all, on the eighth of *April*, I first kiss'd the feet of our Lord Pope *Urban VIII*, who receiv'd and honor'd me with extraordinary courtesie, holding me in discourse with himself almost an hour about several things. I was introduc'd by the Privy Stairs by Card. *Magalotti*, who menages almost all the affairs of his Holiness, and discours'd with me a long time exceeding courteously.

April the eleventh being my Birth-day, I dated therewith the Dedicatory Epistle of my Treatise, *De Regionibus subjectis recentiori Persarum imperio*, which I intended to publish, and on the

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the nineteenth of the same Moneth I presented to the Pope, *The Information of Georgia* written in our own language, to the end to perswade him to send a Mission of Priests thither in order to reduce those people to the union of the Roman Church. The Pope was mightily well pleas'd with it, and upon this occasion I spoke to him, and inform'd him of many other businesses.

April the twentieth, *Card. di sant' Onofrio*, the Pope's Brother, sent for me to the Palace, and there told me that his Holiness had made me his Chamberlain of honour; which was a thing I never sought, nor thought of. I thank'd him, and profess'd my self ready to serve his Holiness in this and every thing else he should command me.

May the fourth, The Pope having upon my informations spoken of the business of the *Georgians* in the Congregation *de propaganda Fide*, a Decree was made in the said Congregation for sending thither a Mission of Theatine Fathers under the care of F. Don *Pietro Avitabile* of *Messina*, who had offer'd himself for that purpose, and was propos'd by me, which Fathers were enjoyn'd to receive instruction from me concerning what was fit to be done; in regard his Holiness had made a great encomium of me in the Congregation, and ordain'd that nothing should be done, either as to this Mission of the *Georgians*, or any affairs of the East, without consulting of me first. Of this Decree, a Copy was sent me subscrib'd by Sig: *Francesco Ingoli*, Secretary of the Congregation, which I keep by me: and accordingly I have prepar'd Instructions for the said Fathers.

June the fifth, The Ensign-bearer *Caterina d' Arcuso*, a Biscainer, being arriv'd at *Rome* the day before from *Spain*, came to my house. She was a Lass between thirty five and forty years old, and had in her Childhood been bred up in a Monastery of *Biscay* her own Country, and, I believe, wore a Nuns Habit when she was grown up. But repenting of this life before she made profession, she went away; and fancying to live like a Man, fled disguis'd from her Father's House, and went to the Court of *Spain*, where for some time she serv'd in the Habit of a Page. Afterwards she was minded to go to *Sevil*, and from thence to the *West-Indies*, where at first she serv'd as a man-servant to certain Merchants; but within a little time upon occasion of a quarrel which befell her, she was fain to fly, and betook her self to the life of a Soldier, being naturally much inclin'd to arms and martial affairs. This course she follow'd a great while in those parts, being engag'd in several Actions, wherein she always gave good account of her self as a soldier; as also in sundry civil quarrels; so that she got the repute of a gallant man; but because she wanted a beard, they believ'd and call'd her Eunuch. Among other battels, she was in a dangerous one, wherein her Company being routed, and the Ensign left to the enemies, she effected by her valour, that she stay'd her companions flight, re-encourag'd them against the enemies, and leading them

them on valorously, recover'd the lost Ensign with her own hand, killing him that had taken it; for which service she remain'd Ensign-bearer of that Company. At length, suspicions arising that she was a woman, the matter came to be discover'd in a great quarrel which she had, wherein after many proofs of her courage, she was mortally wounded, and to save her self from the Court of justice which persecuted her, she was constrain'd to put her self into the Bishop's hands, to whom she confess'd the former passages of her life, saying that she was a Woman; and what she had done was not out of any evil end, but only through an inclination which she had to a military life: and for proof hereof she desir'd the Bishop, he would cause her to be searcht. Which was accordingly done, and the Matrons and Midwives found her a Woman. The Bishop put her into a Monastery; and because 'twas known that she had been a Nun, but doubtful whether she was profess'd or not, he kept her there till certainty came from her own Country that she was not: Wherefore being set at liberty, and unwilling to become a Nun, but rather inclin'd to a military life, she return'd into *Spain*, where petitioning the King for a reward of her military service, (her case being examin'd, as the custom is, in the Council, and by the way of justice) she obtai'd of the King eight hundred Crowns of yearly Revenue, therein the *Indies*, being styl'd in the Patents *L' Alfere*, or Ensign-bearer, and having liberty given her to live as a man, and to serve in the Wars in any of the King's Dominions without molestation. Hereupon she came into *Italy*, running several adventures by the way, to beseech the Pope for some favours in reference to her course of life, which by the mediation of many principal Persons she hath obtain'd. I had heard of her in the *East-Indies*, whither her fame was arriv'd, and many times desir'd further information concerning her. Wherefore my friend *F. Roderiga di San Michele*, a Discalceated Carmelite, being now arriv'd at *Rome* by the way of *Venice*, many days before me, and acquainted with my desire, brought her to my house; where she hath related to me many strange accidents befallen her in the course of her life, of which I here mention only the most important and certain, as of an extraordinary person in our times. I have since brought her into the company of several Ladies and Cavaliers, whose conversation she loves much more then that of women. Sig: *Francesco Crescentio*, who is well skill'd in painting, hath drawn her picture with his own hand. She is of a large and portly stature for a Woman, and cannot thereby be known for other then a man. Her breast is but like a young Girl's, and she told me she had us'd I know not what kind of Remedy to dry it, and make it almost plain, which Remedy was a Plaister given her by an *Italian*, which at first put her to much pain, but afterwards without doing her other hurt, or corroding the flesh, produc'd the effect sufficiently well. Her Visage is not deform'd though not fair, but somewhat

what worn with age; and her black short hair, cut after the fashion of Men with a little lock, as the mode also is at this day, represents rather an Eunuch than a Woman. She wears Clothes, and a Sword after the Spanish manner; and is well truss'd at the waste, onely she carries her Head somewhat low, and is a little thick shoulder'd: In brief, she rather resembles a weather-beaten Souldier than a fine Amorous Courtier. Nothing but her Hand discovers her a Woman; for it is some-what plump and fleshy, although strong and robust, and she moves it after a womanish manner.

111.

June the eleventh, After dinner F. Don *Pietro Avitabile* came to visit me, and to receive instruction from me, according to the command of the Congregation, in order to his sudden Voyage.

June the fourteenth, I visited the said Father in the Church of S. *Silvester* at *Montecavallo*, and gave him the said Instruction in writing, of which I also deliver'd another Copy to the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, to the end they might supply the Father with many things which I judg'd necessary, particularly, with Briefs from the Pope to those Princes, and with Letters of Recommendation to such Ambassadors of Catholick Princes as were at *Constantinople*, through which he was to pass, and to others who might help him upon the way.

June the five and twentieth, F. *Avitabile* began his Voyage for *Georgia*, together with one of his Companions, nam'd F. Don *Francesco Aprile*, intending to take F. Don *Giacomo di Stefano*, and others, at *Messina*; five or six Fathers being design'd for this Mission: but, by my advice, they divided into two Companies, because I thought it best for the others, either to follow these first, after, they should be advertis'd by them from *Constantinople* of the easiness of the passage, or else take another way. Those that went first carri'd his Holiness's Briefs to the four present Georgian Princes, namely, of *Imeriti* or *Basciaive*, of *Dadian* or *Odisci*, which is *Mengrelia*, of *Guriel*, and of *Kacheti*. They also carry'd Letters from the Congregation to two Metropolitans, to whom because it was not evident that they were Catholicks, but rather suspected Schismatics, it was not convenient for the Pope to write. Sundry fine things they carry'd likewise to present to the Princes and Metropolitans, and to who-ever else it should be needful. Their allowance from the Congregation was five hundred Crowns, as much more being reserv'd for the other company of Fathers who were to follow; besides that, they were to collect many Alms for this purpose, both of money and things, to present at *Rome*, *Naples*, *Messina*, and all the way they pass'd. I took leave of them in the Evening at their own Chnrch, with many embraces, and an appointment that they would continually communicate all Occurrences to me by Letters.

June the eight and twentieth, The Pontifical Vespers being ended at S. *Peter's*, the Pope in his Cope and Mitre was carry'd from

from the Church in his Chair to the Palace ; but before he came out of the Church-Gate, the Spanish Ambassador, *Count d' Ognate*, (who was arriv'd a few dayes before, in place of the Duke of *Pastrana*) presented himself according to the custom (for of late years this Ceremony ha's been perform'd on *S. Peter's Eve*, and not on the Feast day it self, as formerly) to give his Holiness a Gennet for the accustom'd Tribute of the Kingdom of *Naples*. But before the Ambassador came to the Pope, (near whose Chair I stood, and saw all very well) the Treasurer of the Chamber came running to his Holiness, and told him, that the Ambassador brought not a Bill of so many thousand Crowns as use yearly to be presented, together with the Gennet. I know not whether they said, it could not be made timely enough, but should be done afterwards ; or whether it was made but not subscrib'd, with those Cautions that were requisite ; but, in summ, the money was not ready. And although they alledg'd that this hapned through negligence, by reason of the new arrival of the Ambassador, who was not well inform'd, yet 'twas believ'd, that they design'd onely to try whether the Pope would let the business pass thus, that so by degrees they might introduce a custom of paying no more money hereafter. The Pope, as I conceive, apprehending their drift, presently answer'd, that without a good Bill he would not accept of the Gennet, nor do that prejudice to the Apostolical Chamber ; wherefore if the Bill were not in order, they should return back with the Gennet, and bring both together the next Morning. The Ambassador made suit to have the Gennet receiv'd presently, promising that the Bill should be ready speedily. The Pope reply'd, that if *Sig: Marcello Sacchetti*, Brother of Card: *Sacchetti*, who kept the publick accounts of the Exchequer, and was then near the Pope, would take security from the Ambassador, he would be contented ; but he neither commanded the said *Sig: Marcello* to take it, nor would have him take it for his sake ; but he might do it, if he pleas'd at the Ambassadors request. The Spaniards, perceiving there was no other way, presently desir'd *Sig: Marcello* to make the security, which he very readily and courteously condescended to ; and thereupon, by the Pope's Order, made a publick writing in good form, and his Holiness was contented to receive the Gennet, which the Ambassador presented to him with the usual Ceremonies. I was willing to relate this passage as a thing extraordinary, which hapned in my time and presence. So I humbly kiss your Hands. From *Rome*, July 11. 1626.

LETTER XVIII.

From Rome, August 1. 1626.

I.

ON Saint James's day, the twenty fifth of July last past, Intending to bury the Body of *Sitti Maani Gioerida* my Wife (which I had brought with me so many Voyages) in our Chappel of *S. Paul*, belonging to the Church of *Ara Celi* in the Capitol; (a place, which besides being the ancient Sepulchre of my Ancestors, is, undoubtedly, the Noblest, and one of the Holiest in the world) before I inclos'd it in a Coffin of Lead which I had prepar'd, I resolv'd to open the innermost wooden Coffin, that I might see how it was after so many years. Accordingly I open'd the same in the presence of Sig^a *Laura Gaetana* my Cousin, *Silvia* my Daughter, Sig^a *Maria*, and all the women of the House. I found that the flesh of the Head, which I could perceive at a rent of the Linnen which cover'd it, was wholly consum'd, nothing remaining but the bone; at which I wonder'd not, because the brain not being taken out of the skull at first, thence proceeded the cause of this consumption. The rest of the Body seem'd better preserv'd; but because the Face was no longer to be seen, I would not unfold the Linnen to see further. That dry Herb where-with I had first fill'd the vacancies of the Coffin was still intire; and so also was the *Ambay*, or *Marga*-wood of the Coffin, and the pieces of Linnen-Cloth glu'd upon the Commisures thereof. Having nail'd up this innermost Coffin of *Ambay* as it was at first, instead of putting the same into the other outward wooden Coffin in which it came from *Malta* to *Rome*, I inclos'd it in a leaden one which I caus'd to be well foder'd, and upon a large Plate fastned near the feet. I caus'd this Epitaph to be engraven at the foot of a great crested Cross;

MAANI GIOERIDÆ HEROINÆ

PRÆSTANTISSIMÆ

DNI PETRI DE VALLE PERINI UXORIS

MORTALES EXUVIÆ.

Having thus prepar'd all things, late in the Evening, I caus'd it to be carry'd secretly to *Ara Celi*, having first obtain'd leave of Card. *Melino*, the Pope's Vicar for that purpose; and it was accompany'd thither by Sig^a *Gasparo Albertino* my Friend, *Horatio* the Steward of my House, and others of my familiar acquaintance; whilst I, with Sig^a *Maria*, and my Daughter *Silvia*, waited in the Church. When it was come, I lay'd it in the Vault on the left hand of the Altar as you enter into the Chappel, where lye also my Father, my Mother, my Uncles, and almost all

all my Relations. I descended my self into the Tomb, together with Sig^{na} *Maria* who was willing likewise to pay this last Office, and with help of the Fryers and Sextons plac'd it there with my own hands. After which, causing the Vault to be clos'd up, I took leave of the Fryers, giving them some Alms of Money and Torches. Besides the persons above-mention'd, there were present at this action, *Madonna Guilia Vogli* a *Bolonese*, servant to Sig: *Laura*, *Eugenia* the Indian Maid, *Michel* an Indian man, *Ibrahim Abdisciva* a Syrian, *Gio: Robeh* a Chaldean, with others of my servants and familiars; besides the F. Guardian. This last Office of Piety which remain'd, I have pay'd to the mortal reliques of my dear Consort *Sitti Maani*; yet it is not the last that I perform to her better and immortal part, which I accompany with suffrages; neither have I abandon'd those in the Tomb, but deposited them, intending (when it shall please God) to leave my own ashes lay'd in the same place, and to rise again with her.

Now from this meditation of death, let us pass (Sig: *Mario*) to a Remarkable, which occurs to me of a very long life.

July the seven and twentieth, Being the Feast of *S. Pantaleo*, in the Church of the Fathers *Della Scuole Pie*, I went to see *F. Gaspare Dragonetti*, who hath liv'd in the said Schools ever since the year 1600, and although now a hundred and fifteen years old and more, (as appears by the Dimissory Letters at his Ordination, and the writings of a Canonship which he hath had ever since the same was conferr'd upon him, which was in the year 1530 or 1531, and were seen when he entred into the pious Schools) nevertheless is found and lusty, and not onely sees without Spectacles, and hath his Teeth good, but labors daily in teaching Children the Grammar in those Schools; which profession he told he, he hath exercis'd publickly above sixty years, and before the Jesuits began the same in *Rome*; who, he saith, when they came first to *Rome*, he remembers liv'd in a very mean and small House, and sent their novices to learn Grammar in his School. Before he read Grammar at *Rome*, he had read it many years in *Sicily* in the City of *Lenoni*, where he was born; his Father being of *Calabria*, and having retir'd thither I know not upon what occasion. In *Sicily*, he told me, he remember'd *Giovanni de Vega*, who was the first Vice-Roy under *Charles V*; and he very well remember'd the first time that the Turks upon the solicitation of *Francis* the French King came to infest those Coasts: Moreover, he remember'd when *Tripoli* was lost, long before the loss of *Goletta* and *Tunis*; with several other things sufficiently ancient for the age of one man. The Grammar which he had alwayes read, and still reads to his Scholars, is that of *Nebrissenfis*, which he approves for the best of all; and by his Discourse with me about Grammatical Points, he seems to me exactly skill'd therein. He told me, he

had many Writings and Grammatical Lectures of his own, curious, and, I believe, very profitable, as proceeding from a Person so much experienc'd; but hitherto he hath not printed any thing. *Emanuel Alvarez*, and many other Modern Grammarians acknowledg themselves his Scholars: He is a Man of a good and reverend Aspect, cheerful, and of a good Complexion; his Beard is white and large, and his Stature is of the middle sort. It being a rare thing in our dayes to see a Man of so long and healthy an Age, I thought it not amiss to give you this Relation. And so wishing you the years of this new Sicilian *Nesfor*, I heartily kiss your Hands. From *Rome*, *August* the first, 1626.

FINIS.

A
VOYAGE
 TO
East-India.

WITH

A Description of the large Territories under
 the subjection of the Great *M O G O L*.



Pologies do more question than strengthen Truth, which Truth hath such power in prevailing, that she doth not know, and much less needs, the use of Preface or words of Perswasion to get her credit; for though she appear simple and naked unto open view, yet dares she encounter with armed falshood, and is sure at last to overcome; which Truth being the best ornament of this ensuing Discourse, looks to be credited, in what is here faithfully related.

So to make a re-entry upon a long-since finished Voyage; The third of *February* 1615. our Fleet consisting of six good Ships, three great, viz. the *Charles*, Admiral of that Company, then a New-built goodly ship of a Thousand Tuns, (in which I sayled;) the *Unicorn* a new ship likewise, and almost of as great a burden; the *James*, a great Ship too; Three lesser, viz. the *Globe*, the *Swan*, the *Rose*, (all under the Command of Captain *Benjamin Joseph*) fell down from *Graves-end* into *Tilbury-Hope*, where we continued till the eighth day following, when we weighed Anchor, and by a Slow, that we might have the safer passage, the twelfth came into the *Downs*, where an adverse wind forced our abode till the ninth of *March*, on which day it pleased God to send us, what we had much desired, a North-East wind, which made us leave that weary Road, and set sail for *East-India*; and the eleventh about night, we were in the

the height of the *Lizard* in *Cornwall*, and, that day, for that time, took our last sight of our Country.

This wind was favourable to us till the sixteenth day at night, at which time a most fearful storm met us, we being then in the Bay of *Portugal*, whose violence continued five whole days and nights; and that Tempest was the most lively and real Comment, that ever I observed, on that place recorded in *Psalm* 107. 23.

The twenty eighth day, We had sight of the Grand *Canaries*, and of that Mountain in the Island of *Teneriffa*, commonly called the *Peak*.

This over-grown rise of Earth, is in shape like to a *Pyramis* or *Sugar-loaf*, circled, and wrapt about with many wreaths of clouds, which encompass it by several distances; as first earth, then clouds, above which the earth appears again, then clouds again, then earth; the top of it being of such an immense height, that it may be as truly said of this, as *Virgil. Eclog. 5.* writes of *Olympus*.

*Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi,
Sub pedibusq; videt nubes, & sidera---*

So beautiful, if Heavens unwonted spires,
And Clouds, and Stars under its feet admires.

This *Peak* of *Teneriffa*, in a clear day, may be seen (if the Mariners report truth) more than forty leagues at Sea. These Islands lie twenty eight Degrees of North-Latitude.

The one and thirtieth, being Easter-day, We passed under the Tropick of *Cancer*. And the seventh of *April*, the Sun was in its *Zenith* or *Vertical*, at Noon-day directly over our heads, which we found by this infallible Demonstration made by a slender knife, or long Needle, set upright, which did cast no shadow. The Sun in this course like the Equinoctial, divides the Globe of the Heavens in two equal parts; and in this Motion ariseth so directly or upright, that there is but a very little time 'twixt the darkness and the appearance of the body of the Sun in the morning; for 'tis dark immediatly before the Sun then appears; and so 'tis in the Evening presently after the Sun hath left the Hemisphere. Here we were becalmed fourteen days, enduring extream heat.

April the sixteenth we met with winds, (we being then against, and not far from the Coasts of *Africa*) which the Mariners call the *Turnadoes*; very strange Gusts indeed, like those in *Æschylus*, on the shore *Æsc. προμνη: Δαμνοτ: (ad finem.)*

Those self-opposing blasts we there had, were so variable and uncertain, that sometimes within the space of one hour, all the thirty two several winds, (which are observed in so many points of the Compass) will blow, so that if there be many Ships in company, you may observe them all to fail so many several ways,
and

and every one of them seem to go directly before the wind. Now that it should be so here, and not known so to be in any part of the world beside I ever heard of (if not in those winds, which they say are sometimes sold by the *Lapland-Witches*) I can give no reason for it, unless Satan (who is most Tyrannical where he is most obeyed) that Prince of the Air seems to rule more here, than he doth in other parts. And most certain it is that he rules very much in the Inhabitants on that Main, the poor, ignorant, and most miserable Negroes, born for sale, slavery, and slaughter. These strange Gusts were accompanied with much Thunder and Lightning, and with extream rain, so noisom, that it made their clothes who stir'd much in it, presently to stink upon their backs; the water likewise of those limy, unwholsom, hot, and unfavoury shows, wheresoever it stood, would presently bring forth many little offensive Creatures. These Turnadoes met with us, when we were about twelve Degrees of North Latitude, and kept us company ere they quitted us two Degrees Southward of the Equinoctial, under which we passed the twenty eighth of April.

The nineteenth of May being Whitsunday, We passed the Tropick of *Capricorn*, so that we were seven weeks compleat under the *Torrid Zone*.

Between the Tropicks we saw (almost every day) different kinds of fishes, in greater abundance than else-where, as the great *Leviathan*, whom God hath made to take his pastime in the Sea; *Grampises*, or lesser Whales; *Sharks*, *Turtles* or *Tortoises*, *Dolphins*, *Bonitos*, *Albicores*, *Porpisees*, *Flying fishes*, with many others. Some Whales we saw of an exceeding greatness, who in calm weather often arise and shew themselves on the top of the water, where they appear like unto great Rocks, in their rise spouting up into the Air with noise, a great quantity of water, which falls down again about them like a showre. The Whale may well challenge the Principality of the Sea, yet I suppose that he hath many enemies in this his large Dominion; for instance, a little long Fish called a *Thresher*, often encounters with him; who by his agility vexeth him as much in the Sea, as a little *Bea* in Summer, doth a great Beast on the shore.

The *shark* hath not this name for nothing; for he will make a morsel of any thing he can catch, master, and devour. These *sharks* are most ravenous fishes; for I have many times observed, that when they have been swimming about our Ships (as oftentimes they do) and we have cast over-board an iron hook made strong for this purpose, fastned to a rope strong like it, baited with a piece of beef of five pounds weight, this bait hath been presently taken by one of them; and if by chance the weight of the fish, thus taken, in haling him up, hath broken out the hook's hold, not well fastned (as sometimes it did) so that he fell again into the Sea, he would presently bite at another Bait, and so bite till he was taken. This Sea-shark is a Fish as bad in eating,

ing, as he is in quality, a very moist watery fish, yet eaten at Sea (because any fresh thing will there down) but no good food. This Fish turns himself on his back to take his prey; by which he gives warning to many other little fishes, who ever swim about him, to avoid his swallow. Those Fishes that thus keep him company, are called by the Mariners, *Pilot-fishes*, who always shape their course the same way the Shark takes, and by consequence (nature having made them so wary) he becomes their guard, not his food. And there are other fishes too they call *Sucking-fish*, that stick as close to the body of the Shark, as a Tike on the shore doth to the body of a Beast, and so receive their nourishment from him: and he must be contented; for, while he is swimming up and down, he cannot possibly free himself of them. Many of these Sharks grow to a very large greatness; they have a broad round head, in which are three rows of teeth very strong and sharp, by which they are able to take off the leg of a man at one bite, as some have found by woful experience, while they have been carelessly swimming in these hot Seas, where these Sharks most use; and certainly, were they as nimble as they are mischievous, would do very much hurt.

The *Turtle* or *Tortoise*, is one of those creatures we call *Amphibia*, that lives sometimes in the Sea, and sometimes on the Shore; he is marvellously fortified by Nature, dwelling (as it were) continually under a strong roof, which moves with him, and covers (when he will) his whole body; therefore *Tessudo*, which signifies a Tortoise, signifies also the roof or vault of an house, which covers all within it. Those concave backs (like bucklers, but of an Oval shape) that cover these creatures, are many of them so exceeding strong, that they will bear off the weight of a Cart-wheel. These Tortoises increase by eggs (as I have been often told) are very good to eat, the substance within them (whether you will call it flesh or fish) first boyled, and after minced with butter, tastes like buttered Veal. Their shell makes (as is very commonly known) excellent good Combs, Cups, or Boxes, and further it is used by them in *East-India*, to make or adorn little or great Cabinets.

The Dolphin is a fish called, for his swiftness, The Arrow of the Sea, differing in this one particular, from all other fishes I ever observed, in that he hath many little teeth upon the top of his tongue; He is very pleasing to the eye, smell, and taste; of a changeable colour, fin'd like a Roach, covered with many small scales, having a fresh delightful scent above other fishes, and in taste as good as any; these Dolphins are wont often to follow our ships, not so much I think for the love they bear unto man, (as some write,) as to feed themselves with what they find cast over-board: whence it comes to pass, that many times they feed us; for when they swim close to our ships, we often strike them with a broad instrument, full of barbs, called an Harping-iron, fastned to a rope, by which we hale them in; This Dolphin may
be

be a fit Emblem of an ill race of people, who under sweet countenances, carry sharp tongues.

Bonitoes and *Albicores*, are in colour, shape, and taste, much like unto Mackrels, and as good fish as they, but they grow to be very exceeding large.

The *Porpisces* or *Hogfish*, are like the former, very large and great, but better to look upon than to taste; they usually appear at Sea in very great shoals or companies, and are (as if they came of the race of the *Gadaren* Swine, that ran violently into the Sea) very swift in their motion, and like a company marching in rank and file; They leap or mount very nimbly over the waves, and so down and up again, making a melancholy noise, when they are above the water. These are usually, when they thus appear, certain presagers of very foul weather.

The *Flyingfishes* have skinny wings like unto Bats, but larger; they are stiffened and strengthened with many little bones, such as are in the back-fins of *Pearches*, by which they fly but a little way at a time; they have small bodies like unto *Pilchers*, and appear when they fly, in marvellous great companies, and some of them often fly into our ships, by which we have tasted that they are excellent good fish. Of all other, these flying Fishes live the most miserable lives; for being in the water, the *Dolphins*, *Bonitoes*, *Albicores*, and *Porpisces*, chase, persecute, and take them, and when they would escape by their flight, are oftentimes caught by ravenous Fowls, somewhat like our *Kites*, which hover over the water. These flying Fishes are like men professing two Trades, and thrive at neither.

The twelfth of *June* early in the morning, We espied our long wished for Harbour the Bay of *Souldania*, about twelve leagues short of the Cape of good Hope, where we came happily to an Anchor that fore-noon. In which Bay we found a *Dutch*-ship bound for *Bantam*, which had taken in her course, and brought thither, a small *Portugal* bound to *Angola*, a Colony belonging to the *Portugals*, lying in the skirts of *Africa*, about ten degrees South of the Line; in which small Ship amongst many rich Commodities (as we heard) to the value of five or six thousand pounds sterling, there were ten *Portugal* Virgins (as they call'd themselves) sent to that Colony, I suppose for Husbands. The young women were well-favoured, and well clad in silks; but such were the courtesies of these *Dutch* men towards them, as that they took not only away all the goods, Artillery, and good provisions of their Ship, but they rob'd these poor captive Maidens of all their apparel, (which they most sadly complained of) to one poor suit (and I suppose of their honour too, if they brought it with them) then giving them water for their wine, and a very scant proportion of all other provisions, turn'd them with their unarm'd, leakie, and ill-man'd ship, to the mercy of the Seas, the twentieth day following.

This Bay of *Souldania* lyeth in 34 degrees and half of South

U u

Latitude

Latitude in a sweet Climate; full of fragrant Herbs (which the soyl produceth of its self) pleasing to the sense, where our ships companies, when they have often-times there arrived with very weak and feeble bodies, usually by that Sea-disease the Scurvy; in which disease (I shall observe by the way) if any that have it be not too much over-gone with it, as soon as he comes to enjoy the fresh ayr on any shore, with fresh water, and fresh food, he will presently recover; but if this disease have over-much prevailed on him, immediately after he sets his foot on shore he usually dyes. I say our people when they have come hither with very crazie bodies, have often found here much good refreshing; for besides a most delectable brook of pure good water, arising hard by out of a mighty Hill, (call'd, for its form, The Table, close by which there is another Hill, which riseth exceeding high like a Pyramis, and called by Passengers the Sugar-loaf) there are good store of Cattell, as little Beeves, called by the barbarous Inhabitants, Boos; and Sheep which they call Baas, who bear a short coarse hairy wool, and, I conceive, are never shorn. These Boos and Baas, (as they call them) were formerly bought in great plenty, for small quantities of Kettle-brass, and Iron-Hoops, taken off our Empty Calks; (which are all for this long Voyage hoop'd with Iron.) These Salvages had their Cattell which we bought of them, at a very great Command: for with a call they would presently run to them, and when they had sold any one of their Bullocks to us, for a little inconsiderate piece of brass, if we did not presently knock him down, they would by the same call, make the poor creature break from us, and run unto them again; and then there was no getting them out of their hands but by giving them more brass: and by this trick, now and then, they sold the same beast unto us, two or three times; and if they had thus sold him more often, he had been a good penny-worth; how ever in this we might observe, the covetousness and deceit of this brutish people. Here ye must know, that this people of all metals seem to love Brass, I think (as you may guess afterward) for the rankness of its smell; with which they make great Rings to wear about their Wrists; yea, so taken are they with this base metal, that if a man lay down before them a piece of Gold worth two pounds sterling, and a piece of brass worth two pence, they will leave the Gold and take the brass. On this shore there likewise are found excellent good, though small Roots for Salads, which the soyl brings forth without husbanding. And in the head of the Bay, may be taken with nets great store of fair fat Mullers, of which we took abundance.

This remotest part of *Africa* is very mountainous, over-run with wild beasts, as Lions, Tygers, Wolves, and many other beasts of prey, which in the silent night discover themselves by their noyse and roaring. To the Teeth and Jaws of which cruel Beasts, the Natives here expose their old people; if death prevent

prevent it not, when once they grow very old and troublesome, laying them forth in some open place in the dark night, *When the wild-beasts* (as *David* observes, *Psal.* 104. 20; 21.) *do creep forth, and the young lions roar after their prey.* One miserable poor old wretch was thus exposed when we there, who by his pitiful cries, was discovered by our Court of Guard, there on shore, and not far off from him and by them relieved and delivered for that present time, out of the jaws of Death; And we asking *Cooree* one of the Natives (whose Story you shall have by and by) why they did so, he told us, It was their custom, when their people had lived so long, that they knew not what to do with them, thus to be rid of them.

We saw in this Bay of *Souldania* many Whales, and about the shore divers party-coloured Fowls; And here are Ostriches to be seen. For the soil about the Bay; it seems to be very good, but the Sun shines not upon a people in the whole world, more barbarous than those which possess it; Beasts in the skins of men, rather than men in the skins of beasts, as may appear by their ignorance, habit, language, diet, with other things, which make them most brutish.

First for God, the great God of Heaven and Earth, whom generally all the people in the World, Heathen as well as Christians do confess, they (as this *Cooree* told us) acknowledg none. For their speech, it seemed to us an inarticulate noise rather than Language, like the clucking of Hens, or gabbling of Turkeys; and thus making a very strange confused noise, when they walk here or there: if there be two, or three, or five, or ten, or twenty, or very many more in company, it is their manner to walk in rank one after the other, in small paths they have made by their thus walking; as Kine in Summer many times do, when they come home to the Pail; or as Wild-geese who fly in ranks, and as they fly make a noise; so these walking together thus gabble from the first to the last in company, as if all spake, but none answered. Their Habits are their sheeps-skins undrest, thonged together, which cover their bodies to the middle, with a little flap of the same skin tied before them, being naked downward; and when 'tis cold, keep the woolly, when hotter weather, the fleshy side of those skins next to their bodies. Their Ornaments and Jewels, Bullocks, or Sheeps-guts full of excrement, about their necks; and therefore when we bought their Cattel, they would take (and we were content they should) their skins, guts, and garbage, which plentifully furnished them with that rich attire, and gay ornaments; and when they were hungry, they would sit down upon some hillock, first shaking out some of that filthy pudding out of the guts they wore about their necks, then bowing and bringing their mouths to their hands, almost as low as their knees, like hungry dogs would gnaw, and eat the raw guts; when you may conceive their mouths full of sweet green sauce. The women as the men are thus adorned, thus habited;

and thus dieted, only they wear more about their lower parts than the men. And (by the way) these carry their sucking Infants under their skins upon their backs, and their breasts hanging down like Bag-pipes, they put up with their hands to their children, that they may suck them over their shoulders. Both Sexes make coverings for their heads like to skull-caps, with Cow-dung, and such-like filth, mingled with a little stinking grease, with which they likewise besmear their faces, which makes their company unsufferable, if they get the wind of you. I observ'd, that some of the rest of their dyet was agreeable to the former; for they would eat any reffuse thing, as rotten and mouldy Biskets, which we have given them, fit indeed for nothing but to be cast away; yea, they will eat that which a ravenous Dog in *England* will refuse. I once took notice of a Couple of them, who had found on the neighbouring shore a large piece of a dead fish the Sea had cast up, which did most sufficiently stink; they presently made a little fire with dry Cowdung, and with this they warm'd it, and then they eat it, with as much seeming appetite, as an hungry man with us would feed upon a very choice and savoury dish, which makes me almost to believe, that those wretched creatures have but three senses, wanting the benefit both of Smelling and Tasting. They lodge upon the earth in Hovels, so ill-covered that they keep not out the weather, made like to those we call Summer-houses, with boughs and sticks.

These Brutes devote themselves to idleness; for they neither dig nor spin. For their stature and making, they are very straight, and well limb'd, though not very tall, but in their faces very ill-favoured, for the noses of most of them are flat. They have little or no beard; the hair on their heads short, black, and curled; their skins very tawny; swift they are of foot, and will throw Darts, and shoot Arrows, which are their weapons, very dangerously.

But I shall here insert a short Story: About three years before I went to *India*, it happened, that one of the Company-ships returning thence, and arriving at this Harbour, after a little stay, when she was ready to set sail for *England*, and having then two of these Salvages aboard, her Commander resolv'd to bring them both home with him, thinking that when they had got some *English* here, they might discover something of their Country which we could not know before. These poor wretches being thus brought away, very much against both their minds, one of them (meerly out of extream fullness, though he was very well used) died shortly after they put to Sea, the other, who call'd himself *Cooree* (whom I mentioned before) lived, and was brought to *London*, and there kept, for the space of six months, in Sir *Thomas Smith's* house (then Governour of the *East-India* Company) where he had good diet, good clothes, good lodging, with all other fitting accommodations; now one would think that this wretch might have conceived his present, compared

red with his former condition, an Heaven upon earth; but he did not so, though he had to his good entertainment made for him a Chain of bright Brass, an Armour, Breast, Back, and Head-piece, with a Buckler all of Brass, his beloved Metal; yet all this contented him not; for never any seemed to be more weary of ill usage, than he was of Courtesies; none ever more desirous to return home to his Country than he: For when he had learned a little of our Language, he would daily lie upon the ground, and cry very often thus in broken English, *Cooree home go, Souldania go, home go*; And not long after, when he had his desire, and was returned home, he had no sooner set footing on his own shore, but presently he threw away his *Clothes*, his *Linnen*, with all other *Covering*, and got his sheeps skins upon his back, guts about his neck, and such a perfum'd Cap (as before we named) upon his head; by whom that Proverb mentioned, 2 Pet 2. 22. was literally fulfill'd, *Canis ad vomitum; The dog is return'd to his vomit, and the swine to his wallowing in the mire.*

After this fellow was returned, it made the Natives most shie of us when we arrived there; for though they would come about us in great Companies when we were new come thither, yet three or four days before they conceiv'd we would depart thence, there was not one of them to be seen, fearing belike we would have dealt with some more of them, as formerly we had done with *Cooree*. But it had been well if he had not seen *England*; for as he discovered nothing to us, so certainly when he came home, he told his Country-men (having doubtless observed so much here) that *Brass* was but a base and cheap commodity in *England*, and happily we had so well stored them with that metal before, that we had never after such a free Exchange of our Brass and Iron for their Cattel. It was here that I asked *Cooree* who was their God? he lifting up his hands answered thus, in his bad English, *England God, great God; Souldania no God.*

In the year 1614. Ten English men having received the sentence of death for their several crimes at the Sessions house in the Old-Baily at *London*, had their Execution respited by the intreaty of the *East-India* Merchants, upon condition that they should be all banished to this place, to the end (if they could find any peaceable abode there) they might discover something advantageous to their Trade; And this was accordingly done. But two of them when they came thither were taken thence, and carried on the Voyage. One whose surname was *Duffield*, by Sir *Thomas Row*, that year sent Embassadour to the Great *Mogol*; that fellow thus redeemed from a most sad Banishment, was afterward brought back again into *England* by that noble Gentleman, and here being intrusted by him, stole some of his Plate, and ran away: Another was carried on the Voyage likewise, but what became of him afterward, I know not. So that there remained eight which were there left with some Ammunition, and Victual, with a small Boat to carry them to and from a very little

little uninhabited Island lying in the very mouth of that Bay, a place for their retreat and safety from the Natives on the Main. The Island called *Pen-guin Island*, probably so named at first by some Welsh-man, in whose Language *Pen-guin* signifies a white head; and there are many great lazy fowls upon, and about, this Island, with great cole-black bodies, and very white heads, called *Penguins*. The chief man of the eight there left, was surnamed *Cross*, who took the Name upon him of Captain *Cross*; He was formerly Yeoman of the Guard unto King *James*; but having had his Hand in Blood twice or thrice, by men slain by him in several Duels, and now being condemned to die with the rest, upon very great sute made for him, he was hither banished with them: whither the *Justice* of Almighty God was dispatched after him, as it were in a *Whirlwind*, and followed him close at the very heels, and overtook him, and left him not till he had pay'd dear for that blood he had formerly spilt. This *Cross* was a very stout, and a very resolute man, who quarrelling with, and abusing the Natives, and engaging himself far amongst them, immediately after himself with the rest were left in that place, many of these Salvages being got together, fell upon him; and with their darts thrown, and arrows shot at him, stuck his body so full of them, as if he had been larded with darts and arrows; making him look like the figure of the man in the *Almanack*, that seems to be wounded in every part; or like that man described by *Lucan*, *Totam pro vulnere corpus*, who was All-wound, where blood touched blood. The retaliations of the Lord are sure and just; He that is Mercy it self, abhors Cruelty above all other sins; He cannot endure that one man should devour another, as the *Beasts* of the Field, *Birds* of the Air, *Fishes* of the Sea do; and therefore usually shews, exemplary, signal revenges for that sin of Blood, selling it at a dear rate unto them that shed it. Every sin hath a tongue, but that of Blood, out-cries and drowns the rest; Blood being a clamorous and a restless suter, whose mouth will not be stopt till it receive an Answer, as it did here. The other seven, the rest of these miserable *Banditi*, who were there with *Cross*, recovered their Boat, and got off the shore, without any great hurt; and so rowing to their Island, the waves running high, they split their boat at their landing, which engaged them to keep in that place, they having now no possible means left to stir thence. And, which made their condition while they were in it most extremely miserable, it is a place wherein grows never a Tree, neither for sustenance or shelter, or shade, nor any thing beside (I ever heard of) to help sustain Nature; a place that hath never a drop of fresh water in it, but what the shows leave in the holes of the rocks. And besides all this, there are very great number of Snakes in that Island (as I have been told by many that have been upon it) so many of those venomous worms, that a man cannot tread safely in the long grass which grows in it, for fear of them; And all these put together must

must needs make that place beyond measure uncomfortable to these most wretched men. To this may be added their want of provision, having nothing but dry Bisket, and no great quantity of that; so that they lived with hungry bellies, without any place fit for repose, without any quiet rest, for they could not choose but sleep in fear continually. And what outward condition could make men more miserable than this? Yet notwithstanding all they suffered, these seven vile wretches all liv'd to be made examples afterward of Divine Justice. For after they had continued in, and endured this sad place, for the space of five or six months, and they were grown all even almost mad, by reason of their several pressing wants and extremities; it pleased God by providence, to bring an English Ship into that road, returning for *England*; four of these seven men being impatient of any more hours stay there, immediately after that Ship was come in, made a *Float* with the ruins of their split boat, which they had saved together, and with other wood which they had gotten thither, and with ravel'd and untwisted boat-ropes, fastned as well as they could all together (for there are no such sudden Teachers and Instructors as Extremities are.) These four got upon the *Float*, which they had thus prepared, and poizing it as well they could by their several weight, hoped by the benefit of their Oars, and strength of the Tyde (that then ran quick toward the Ship newly arrived) they might recover it; but this their expectation failed them: for it being late in the day when they made this attempt, and they not discovered by the Ship, which then road a good way up in the Bay, before they could come up near unto her, the Tyde return'd, and so carry'd them back into the main Sea, where they all perished miserably. The day following, the Ship sent a boat to the Island, which took those three yet surviving into her, as the other four might have been, if they could but have exercised their patience for one night longer. These survivors came aboard the Ship, related all that had befallen to their fellows; but these three, notwithstanding all their former miseries, when they were taken into the Ship, behaved themselves so lewdly as they returned home-wards, that they were very often put into the *Billowes*, or Ship-stocks, in the way returning; and otherwise many times punished for their great and several misdemeanors: At last the Ship being safely returned into the *Downs*, she had not been there at an Anchor above 3. hours, but these three *Villains* got on shore, and they had not been ashore above three hours, but they took a *Purse*, and a very few hours after were apprehended and all taken for that Fact, and suddenly after that, their very foul story being related to the *Lord Chief Justice*, and they looked upon as men altogether incorrigible, and incapable of amendment by lesser corrections, by his special Warrant were executed upon their former Condemnation (for which they were banished not to return hither again, but never pardoned) near

Sandwich

Sandwich in *Kent*, where they committed the Robbery. From whose example we may learn, that it is not in the power of any affliction, how heavy soever it light, and how long soever it lie, if it be not sanctified, to do any man good. That when the rod is upon a man, if he be not *taught* as well as *chastened*, all the stripes bestowed on him are cast away. A man might have hoped that these wretched fellows had been long enough in the fire to have *purged away their dross*. But afflictions, like fire, harden as well as soften; and Experience teaches us, that the winds and waves though they beat with their greatest violence upon the Rocks, yet leave them as they found them unmoveable; It being a most tryed Truth recorded by *Solomon*, *Prov. 27. 22.* that, *Bray or beat a fool in a mortar, he will not leave his foolishness*; But as he was put in, so will he come out a fool.

The year following we carried three more condemned persons to be left in this place, but they hearing of the ill success of their Predecessors, and that it was very unlikely for them to find any safe footing here, when we were ready to depart thence, and to leave them on the shore, they all came and presented themselves on their knees; with many tears in their Eyes unto our chief Commander Captain *Joseph*, most humbly beseeching him, that he would give Order that they might be *hanged* before he departed, in that *place*, which they much rather chose, than to be there left; we thought it was a very sad sight to behold three men in such a condition, that made them esteem *hanging to be mercy*. Our Commander told them, that he had no Commission to execute them, but to leave them there, and so he must do. And so he believed he had done; but our fifth Ship the *Swan* staying in this place after us a day or two, took these poor men into her, and then took her course for *Bantam* whither she was bound. And the *Rosè* our last Ship, whose sight and company we lost in that most violent storm (before mention'd) at the beginning of our Voyage, was safely preserved, and happily afterward found her way to *Bantam* likewise.

We made our abode in this Harbour till the twenty eighth following, on which day we being well watered and refreshed, departed. And the twenty ninth we doubled the *Cape of good Hope*, whose Latitude is thirty five *degrees* South. Off this *Cape* there setteth continually a most violent Current Westward, whence it comes to pass, that when a strong contrary wind meets it (as often-times it doth) their impetuous opposition makes the Sea so to rage, as that some Ships have been swallowed, but many more very much endangered amongst those huge Mountains of water, and very few Ships pass that way without a storm. We kept on in a circular course, to gain a South-west wind; for ye must know, that the wind in those parts, and so in *East-India*, blows (and but with a very little variation) half the year South-west, and the other half North-east; we sailed here Southerly, till we had raised the *South-Pole* almost forty
degrees

degrees above the Horizon. This Pole is a Constellation of four stars, the Mariners call the *Crossers*; these stars appear near one another like a *Cross*, and almost equidistant. And while we had the view of this Pole, the Sun (as it must needs be) was North at Noon unto us.

The two and twentieth of *July* we discover'd the great Island *Madagascar*, commonly called *Saint Lawrence*, we being then betwixt it and the *African* shore, which Island lies almost every part of it under, or within the Southern *Tropick*: We touch'd not at it, but this I dare say from the Credit of others who have been upon it, that as it is an exceeding great Island (if not the greatest in the known world) so it is stored with abundance of very excellent good Provisions, though inhabited by a barbarous and heathenish people, but stout and war-like, and very numerous.

Over against this Island, on the main Continent of *Africa*, are *Zefala* and *Mozambique*, whereon the *Portugals* have got some footing; the places (as may be strongly supposed) whither *Solomon* sent his Navy of Ships, built at *Eziongabar*, which stood on the banks of the *Red-Sea* in *Arabia* the *Happy*; the Country of that famous *Queen* of the *South*, who hearing of his wisdom and renown, took her journey thence to visit the Court of King *Solomon*, who had understanding like a flood. From that place fore-named, *Solomon* sent his Ships for *Gold* and *Silver* and *Ivory*, &c. *1 Kings* 10.22. they coasting all along the shore of *Africa*; for in the days of *Solomon* the Art of Navigation was not known, and Sea-men then steering without *Cart* or *Compass* were necessitated to keep the neighbouring Land alwayes in their sights, as without question those Ships did, and to those fore-mention'd places, stored (as is related) above other parts of *Africa*, with those richest Commodities.

I might have taken notice before (but yet it will not be unreasonable) of many sudden, strong, and violent *Gusts* of wind, frequently to be observed in those South-west Seas, which surprize a Ship so suddenly, that if she have many sails abroad, and the Mariners be not very watchful and nimble to strike them, their strength is such that they will endanger her overturning. And to these there are many strange watery Clouds they call *Spouts*, which appear like a *Funnel* or *water-tankard*, very large and big at the one end, but small on the other which hangs lowest and of a very great length; They contain a great Quantity of water, wrapt together by a *whirl-wind*, that falls within a very narrow Compass, the abundance whereof by its great weight, if it fall directly (as sometimes it doth) upon the body of a small Ship, it will much endanger it; and would do much more harm, but that these *Spouts* when they are seen may be easily avoided.

From the Island of *Madagascar* we proceeded on in our Course; and the fifth of *August* following, approached near the little Islands of *Mohilia*, *Gazadia*, *St. John de Castro*, with some

others, whose Name I know not, called in general the Islands of *Comora*, lying about twelve Degrees South of the *Equator*.

The day following being the sixth of *August*, Early in the Morning our Men looking out for Land espied a Sail which stood directly in our Course but far before us; at first sight she appeared as if there had been some great Hill interposed betwixt us: For first, we had sight only of her Colours in her high *Maintop*; after this, of her *Masts* and *Sails*, and then of her *Hull*; after which manner, Ships at Sea do every where appear at great distance one to another, which proves that that mighty Collection of waters called Seas, have a *Convex*, or Globous and round body, placed by Almighty God, as it were in *Hills*, or *Heaps*; and being being above the earth, and higher than it, they have set *Limits*, and commanded they are to their *Bounds*, contrary to their Nature, which they may not pass, for so saith the Psalmist, *Psalms* 104. 9. *Thou hast set a bound which they may not pass over, that they return not again to cover the earth.* But this is known to all that have been at Sea, therefore we proceed. Upon the first sight of that Ship, we were all glad of the object, improving all endeavours we could to overtake her, with-all preparing our great Ordnance, that if she were a *Friend* we might salute her, if an *Enemy* be in readiness for her. So eagerly pursuing this unlooked for Ship with the wings of the wind, after that we had given her Chase about five hours, her Colours and bulk discovered her to be a very great Portugal *Caraque* bound for *Goa*, lying in the skirts of *East-India*, and principally inhabited by *Portugals*, the City of Residence for the *Vice-Roy* to the King of *Spain*, her Commander called *Don Emanuel de Meneses*, a brave Resolute Man, as the sequent will demonstrate. About noon, the *Globe* our least Ship (by reason of her nimbleness sailing better then her fellows) came up with her on her broad side to wind-ward, and according to the Custom of the Sea, hail'd her, asking whence she was; she answer'd indirectly, Of the Sea, calling our Men *Rogues*, *Thieves*, *Hereticks*, *Devils*; and the Conclusion of her rude Complement was, in loud *Cannon* Language, discharging seven great Pieces of Artillery at our *Globe*, (though she had very little reason so to do, we having four Ships in Company, and she alone) whereof six pierced her through the *Hull*, maiming some of her Men, but killing none; our *Globe* replied in the same voice, and after that fell off.

About three of the Clock in the Afternoon, the *Charles* our Admiral came up with her so near, that we were within pistol shot: our Commander Captain *Joseph* proceeded religiously, in offering them a Treaty, before he proceeded to Revenge; so we saluted her with our *Trumpets*, she us with her wind-Instruments; then we shewed our Men on both sides aloft; this done, our Commander called to them requiring *Theirs* to come aboard, to give an account for the injury they had lately before offered us; they answered, They had never a Boat; our Commander

mander replied, that he would send them one, and immediately caused his *Barge* to be man'd, and sent off to them, which brought back one of their Officers, and two others of inferior rank, with this message from their *Captain*, how that he had promised the King of *Spain* his Master not to leave his Ship, and therefore forc'd he might be, but never would be Commanded out of her. *Captain Joseph* received the Message, and used those that brought it Civilly, and then ordered, that they should be shewed (in a broad side of great Guns, that lay all ready prim'd to be fir'd against them) how we were prepar'd to vindicate our selves, which put the poor *Portugals* into a fit of trembling, and upon it desir'd our *Commander* to write a few words to theirs, that happily with their perswasion might make him come. *Captain Joseph*, willing to preserve his Honour, & to prevent blood, consented, and forthwith caused a few lines in *Spanish* to this effect to be wrote unto him. That

Whereas he the *Commander* of the *Carrague* had offered violence to our Ship that sail'd peaceably by him, he will'd him to come presently and give a reason for that wrong, or else at his perill.

So he discharged those *Portugals*, sending one of our Masters Mates back with them with those few words, and this further message, that if he refused to come, he would sink by his side, but that he would force him before he left him; *Morientium verba sunt prophetica*, his words came to pass; for he himself suddenly after fell by a great *Shot* that came from the *Caragues* side. The *Commander* of the *Carague*, notwithstanding the Message and Menace sent to him, was still peremptory in his first answer. So our Men returning, *Captain Joseph* himself, made the three first *Shot* at them, all which, the mark being so fair and near, hit them; this done, the Bullets began to flie on both sides, our *Captain* cheering his Company, immediately ascended the half-Deck, the place where *Commanders* use to keep in those Encounters, to shew their own Gallantry, and to encourage the Company under their Command, where he had not been the Eighth part of an hour ere a great *Shot* from the *Caragues* quarter, deprived him of Life in the twinkling of an Eye. For this *Captain Joseph*, he was certainly one who had very much of a Man in him, for years ancient, who had commanded before in *Sea-fights*, which he met withall within the *Streights* in the *Midland Sea*; and near death many times in them, which took others round about him, while himself went off untouched.

After *Captain Joseph* was slain, the Master of our Ship continued the fight about half an hour, then (knowing there was another to be admitted into that prime place of *Command*) the night approaching, for that time gave over; putting out a flag of Counsel to call the *Captain* of the Vice Admiral (*Captain Henry Pepwell*) who was to succeed, and the other *Commanders* aboard to consult about the prosecution of this encounter. The night being come, we now proceeded no further. The *Carague*

stood still on her Course, putting forth a light at her *Poop* for us to follow her, and about mid-night came to an Anchor under the Island of *Mobilia*; which when we perceiv'd, we let fall our Anchors too.

The Morning comn, we found the *Caraque* so close to the *Shore*, and the nearest of our Ships at least a League off, that we held our Hands for that day, expecting when she would weigh her Anchors, and stand off to Sea, a fitter place to deal with her. And that after-noon, we chested our late slain *Commander*, putting some great shot with him into it that he might presently sink, and without any Ceremony of *Guns*, &c. usual upon such occasions, because our Enemy should take no notice, put him overboard against the Island of *Mobilia*, where he made his own *Grave*, as all dead Bodies do, buried not in dust but water, which shall one day as well as the earth give up its dead, *Rev.* 20. 13. when all the Bodies of Men since the world began, that have tasted Death in their several Generations, however after Death they have been bestowed, wheresoever laid up, shall be raised again. And though all would not, yet all must.

A little before night that present day, the *Caraque* departed again to Sea; we all loosed our Anchors, opened our *Sailes*, and followed. The day now left us, and our proud *Adversary* unwilling as it should seem to escape, put forth a light (as before) for us to follow him, (as afterward we did to purpose). The night well-nigh spent, we commended again our selves and cause to God, when I observed more seeming devotion in our *Sea-men* that Morning, than at any time before, or after while I kept them company; who, for the generality are such a kind of *People* that nothing will bow them or bring them on their knees, but extream *Hazards*. When this exercise was ended, the day began to appear in a red mantle, which prov'd bloody unto many that beheld it. And now we entred upon a second encounter, our four Ships resolving to take their turns one after the other, that we might compel this proud *Portugal* either to bend or break.

And now Reader thou mayest suppose us speaking again to our Adversary, and he to us, in the harshest and lowdest of all *Dialects*; no Arguments being so strong as those that proceed from the mouths of *Guns*, and *points* of *Swords*. Our *Charles* the Admiral played her part first, and ere she had been at defiance with her Enemy half an hower, there came another great shot from him, which hitting against one of our Iron *Pieces*, mounted on our half *Deck*, brake into many little parts, which most dangerously wounded our New *Commander*, and the Master of our Ship, with three others beside, who received several hurts by it. Captain *Pepwells* left Eye, by a glance of a *Piece* of that broken Bullet, was so Torn that it lay like *Rags* upon his Cheek; another hurt by a piece of the same Bullet he received on his *Jaw-bone*; and by another, on his *Head*; and a fourth hurt, he received in his *Leg*, a ragged piece of that broken shot sticking fast

fast betwixt the two bones thereof, grating there upon an Artery, which seemed by his complaining to afflict him so much, that it made him take very little notice of all the rest of his Hurts, it being most true of bodily pains, that the extremity of a greater pain will not suffer a Man much to feel and complain of that which is less; as that tormenting pain of the *Tooth-ach*, makes a man insensible of the aking of his Head; and when the *Gout* and *Stone* surprize the Body at once together, the torture by the *Gout* is as it were lost in the extremity of the *Stone*.

And thus was our New *Commander* welcomed to his Authority; we all thought that his wounds would very suddenly have made an end of him, but he lived till about fourteen moneths after, and then *died* as he was returning for *England*. I told you before, that this man suffered not alone by the scattered pieces of that broken shot; for the *Master* of the *Ship* had a great piece of the Brawn of his *Arm* strook off by it, which made him likewise unserviceable for a time, and *three* other of the common sailors received several and dangerous hurts by it likewise.

The Captain and Master both thus disabled, deputed their Authority to the chief Master's mate, who behaved himself resolutely and wisely; so we continued *Alternis vicibus* one after the other, shooting at our *Adversary* as at a *But*, and by three of the Clock in the Afternoon had shot down her *Main-mast* by the board, her *Mizen-Mast*, her *Fore-top-Mast*: And moreover, had made such breaches in her thick sides, that her case seemed so desperate that she must either *yield* or *perish*. Her *Captain* thus distressed stood in for the shore, being not far from the Island of *Gaziaia*; we pursued as far as we durst without hazard of Shipwrack, then we sent off a Boat with a flag of *Truce* to speak with him. He waved us with another, upon which Mr *Connick* our chief Merchant employed in that service came up to them, and being invited, entred their Ship, where he was civilly used; and there he delivered this Message to the chief *Commander*, and his Company, that he had brought them *Life* and *Peace*, if they would accept it; withall telling them, that they had deserved so well by their undaunted valour, that they would put themselves into our hands, they should be entertain'd with all Honour and Respect. How the ordinary sort in the *Caraque* were taken with this proffer, I know not; yet all this would not work upon that high-resolv'd *Commander*, who like *Fabrizius* in *Tully* could not be turn'd, in the least measure, from his former and first Resolution.

So he contemning the *Misery* he could not prevent; or like a prun'd *hedge* which grows stronger by cutting; answered our Messenger thus; That no infelicity should make alter his first Resolution, and therefore must not be talk't out of the Ship; That he would stand off to Sea, if possibly he could, and fight us again; and then if *fire* or *sword* forc'd him, he might unhappily
be

be taken, but he would never yield; and if we took him alive, he hoped to find the respect of a Gentleman, and till then we had our answer. So our Messenger was discharged; and shortly after, this distressed Ship wanting her wings was forc'd by the wind and waves upon the adjacent Iland of *Gazidia*, where she stuck fast between two Rocks; those that were alive in her, by their boats got upon the shore, which when they had all recovered, willing (as it should seem) to destroy what they could not keep, they set her on fire to make her a *Coal*, rather than we should make her a *Prize*. She was a Ship of an Exceeding great value in *Coyne* and *Bullion*, besides many other rich commodities, (if report afterward abused us not) but we got nothing from her but *blows*, for which she was repayed by us with *Ruin*. The poor distressed *Portugals* after they had left their Ship, were most inhumanly used by the barbarous Islanders, who spoyled them of all they brought on shore for their succour, some of them finding Death in the place they chose to escape it; and doubtless they had made havock of them all, had they not presently been relieved by two *Arabian Junks* (for so their small ill-built Ships are called) there in Trade; which, in hope I suppose of some great reward, took them in, and conveyed them safely to their own City *Goa*.

In this Sea-fight we lost, out of our four Ships, but five men; three out of our Admiral, and two out of the *James*, besides we had about twenty in our whole Fleet hurt. But of seven hundred which sailed in the *Carraque*, (for she was a Ship of an exceeding great bulk and burthen; our *Charles*, though a Ship of a thousand Tuns, looking but like a *Pinace* when she was beside her) there came not near half her Company to *Goa*, as afterward we were informed.

Our *Charles* in this opposition made at her adversary, for her part, three hundred seventy and five great Shot (as our Gunners reported) to these we had one Hundred Musquetiers that plyed them with small shot all that while; neither was our Enemy Idle, for our Ship received from him at least one hundred great shot, and many of them dangerous ones through the *Hull*. Our fore-mast was pierced through the middle, our *Main-mast* hurt, our *Main stay* almost spoyled, and many of our *Main-shrouds* cut asunder.

And now, *Reader*, if thou shalt be pleased to accompany me further, I shall carry thee from this sad discourse, where we may be both refreshed upon a near, rich, and pleasant Iland; And to make way for our entertainment there, take further notice, that after we saw the *Carraque* in a flame (which was about midnight) we stood off and on till morning, to see if any thing might be found in her Ashes; of which when we despaired, we sought about to succour and comfort our wounded and sick men on the shore. The Land there was very high, against which the Sea is always deep; so that it was the tenth day of that month,
ere

ere we could be possessed of a good Harbour; which enjoyed, we found the Island called *Mobilia*, very pleasant, full of Trees, and exceeding fruitful, abounding in *Beeves*, *Kids*, *Poultrey* of divers kinds, *Rice*, *Sugar-Canes*, *Plantens* (of which Fruit more shall be spoken hereafter) *Oranges*, *Coquer-nuts*, as with many other wholsom things; of all which we had sufficient to relieve our whole Company, for little quantities of *White Paper*, *Glass-beads*, low-prized *Looking-Glasses*, and cheap *Knives*. For instance, we bought as many good *Oranges* as would fill an Hat for one quarter of a sheet of white Writing-Paper, and so in proportion all other Provisions.

Here we had the best *Oranges* that ever I tasted, which were little round ones, exceeding sweet and juicy, having but a little spongie skin within them, and the rind on them almost as thin as the paring of an Apple: We eat all together, Rind and Juice, and found them a Fruit that was extraordinary well-pleasing to the Taste.

Much of their Fruits the Islanders brought unto us in their little *Canoos* (which are long narrow boats, but like troughs out of firm trees) but their Cattel we bought on the shore; Where I observed the people to be streight, well limb'd, stout, able men, their colour very *tawny*; most of the men, but all the women I saw unclothed, having nothing about them but a Covering for their *shame*. Such as were clothed had long Garments like unto the *Arabians*, whose Language they speak, and of whose Religion they are, *Mahumetans*, very strict (as it should seem) for they would not endure us to come near their *Churches*. They have good convenient *Houses* for their Living, and fair *Sepulchres* for their Dead.

They seemed to live strictly under the Obedience of a *King*, whose place of residence was some miles up in the Countrey; His leave by Messengers they first crav'd, before they would sell unto us any of their better Provisions. Their *King* hearing of our arrival, bad us welcome by a Present of *Beeves*, and *Goats*, and *Poultrey*, and the chief and choice *Fruits* of his Countrey, and was highly recompenced as he thought again, by a *Quire* or two of white *Paper*, a pair of low-prized *Looking-Glasses*, some strings of *Glass-Beads*, some cheap *Knives*, and with some other English toys.

We saw some Spanish Money amongst them, of which they seemed to make so little reckoning, that some of our men had from them many *Royals* of Eight, in exchange for a little of those very low and very cheap Commodities which before I named.

The *Coquer-nut-tree* (of which this Island hath abundance) of all other Trees may challenge the preheminance: for, meerly with these Trees, without the least help of any other Timber, or any other thing (unless a little Iron-work) a man may *build*, and *furnish*, and *fit*, and *virtual* a small Ship to Sea. For the
Heart

Heart of this Tree (being very tough, firm and fast wood) growing up streight and high, will make *Timber*, and *Planks*, and *Pins*, and *Masts*, and *Tards*; a strong *Gum* that issues out of it, with the *Rind* that grows about it, will serve to *calk* the *Skip*; and that spongy *Rind* (that looks like our *Hemp* when it is a little bruised) will make *Cordage* and *Sails*, and the very large *Nuts* that grow upon it (of which are made many excellent drinking *Cups*) when it is newly gathered, hath a *milky*, *white substance* that is tender (tasting like an *Almond*) round about of a good substance within it; and within that a very pleasant *Liquor*, that is wholsom, as well as favoury, which may for a need serve those which sail in this Ship for *meat* and *drink*.

Now well stored with these *Nuts* and other good Provisions, after six days abode there, the breaches our Ship had lately received in fight being repaired, and our men well-refreshed, we put again to Sea the sixteenth day, and a prosperous gale following us, were carried happily a second time under the *Æquinoctial*, without the least heat to offend us, the twenty day fourth of the same Month. Our Course was for the Island of *Zocotora* near the mouth of the *Red Sea*, from whence comes our *Aloes Zocotrina*; but an adverse gale from the *Arabian* shore kept us so off that we could by no means recover it. We passed by it the first of *September*.

Missing that Fort, we proceeded on our Voyage, and the fourth of *September* made a solemn *Funeral* in memory of our late slain *Commander*, when after Sermon the small Shot and great Ordnance made a large Peal to his Remembrance.

On the sixth of *September* at night, to our admiration and fear the *Water* of the *Sea* seemed to us as white as milk, which did not appear only so in the body of the *Sea*, but it looked so likewise in *Buckets* of water which we did then draw out of the *Sea*. Others of our Nation passing on that Course have observed the like: but I am yet to learn what should be the true reason thereof, it being there very far from any shore, and the *Sea* so deep as that we could fetch no ground.

The twenty first, We discovered the main Continent of *Asia* the Great, in which *East-India* takes up a large part. The twenty second, we had sight of *Den* and *Damon*, places that lye in the skirts of *India*, principally inhabited and well-fortified by *Portugals*; and the twenty fifth of *September* we came happily to an Anchor in *Swally-Road* within the *Bay* of *Cambaia*, the Harbour for our Fleet while they make their stay in these remote Parts.

Then after a long, and troublefom, and dangerous passage, we came at last to our desired Port. And immediately after my arrival there, I was sent for by Sir *Thomas Row*, Lord Ambassador, then residing at the *Mogol's* Court (which was very many miles up in the Countrey) to supply the room of Mr *John Hall* his Chaplain (Fellow of *Corpus Christi* Colledg in *Oxford*) whom he

he had not long before buried. And I lived with that most Noble Gentleman at that Court more than two years, after which I returned home to *England* with him. During which space of my abode there, I had very good advantage to take notice of very many *places*, and *persons*, and *things*, travelling with the Embassadour much in Progress with that King up and down his very large Territories.

And now; Reader, I would have thee to suppose me setting my foot upon the *East-Indian* shore, at *Swally* before-named. On the banks whereof amongst many more English that lie there interred, is laid up the body of Mr *Thomas Coryat*, a man in his time *Notus nimis omnibus*, very sufficiently known. He lived there, and there died, while I was in those parts; and was for some Months then with my Lord Embassadour, during which time, he was either my Chamber-fellow or Tent-mate, which gave me a full acquaintance of him. That *Greek-travelling-Thomas* (they which know his story know why I call him so) formerly wrote a Book entitled *Coryats Crudities*, Printed in the beginning of the year 1611. and then ushered into the World by very many Copies of excellent Verses made by the Wits of those Times, which did very much advantage and improve, if not enforce the sale thereof (doing themselves much more honour than him whom they undertook to commend in their several *Encomiasticks*.) And if he had lived, he would have written his last Travels to, and in, and out of, *East-India*; for he resolved (if God had spared him life) to have rambled up and down the world (as sometimes *Ulysses* did) and though not so long as he, yet ten full years at least before his return home, in which time he purposed to see *Tartaria* in the vast parts thereof, with as much as he could of *China*, and those other large Places and Provinces interposed betwixt *East-India* and *China*, whose true Names we might have had from him, but yet have not. He had a purpose after this to have visited the Court of *Prester John* in *Ethiopia*, who is there called by his own people, *Ho Biat, The King*; and after this, it was in his thoughts to have cast his eyes upon many other places; which if he had done, and lived to write those Relations, seeing, as he did, or should, such variety of *Countries*, *Cities*, *Nations*, *Things*, and been as particular in them as he was in his *Venetial Journal*, they must needs have swoln into so many huge Volumes, as would have prevented the perishing of Paper. But undoubtedly, if he had been continued in life to have written them, there might have been made very good Use of his Observations; for, as he was a very *Particular*, so was he without question a very *Faithful Relator* of things he saw; he ever disclaiming that bold liberty which divers Travellers have, and do take, by *speaking* and *writing* any thing they please of remote parts, when they cannot easily be *contradicted*, taking a Pride in their feigned Relations, to over-speak things; being resolved in this case:

Not only things to do, but or-do ;
Speaking, writing all, and more too.

I, therefore for my part, believing this *Relator* to be none of those, have taken some things from his trust and credit in this my following Discourse ; And because he could not live to give an account unto the world of his own Travels, I shall here by the way make some little discovery of his footsteps and flittings up and down, to and fro, with something besides of him, in his long peregrinations, to satisfie very many yet living, who, if they shall please to read this Discourse, may recall that man once more into their remembrance, who while he lived was like a perpetual motion, and therefore now dead should not be quite forgotten.

In the year 1612. he shipt himself from London for *Constantinople*, now called by the Turks *Stombole*, where he took special notice of all things there most observable. In which place he found very great respect and encouragement from Sir *Paul Pinder*, then and there Embassadour, to whose House he had free and welcom access whensoever he pleased. Being there for some time, he took his opportunities to view divers parts in *Grecia* ; and in the *Hellepont*, took special notice of those two Castles directly opposed to each other, called *Sestos* and *Abydos*, which stand on the several banks that bound that very narrow Sea ; which *Plates Musens* makes famous in his very antient Poem of *Hero* and *Leander*.

He desired much to see where those seven Churches sometimes famous in *Asia* the Less stood ; but since their sin so darkned their light, and God removed their *Candlesticks* from them (as before he threatned) those Places lie so in the dark, that it cannot be well discovered where they once were : Only *Smyrna* is famous at this present day for *Trade*, but not *Religion* ; and *Ephesus* and some others of them keep their names still, though they left and lost their *Faith* and profession of *Truth* with the rest.

He saw what yet remains of the Ruins of sometimes great *Troy*, but

Jam Seges est ubi Troja fuit---

That place which was once so populous as if it had been sow'n with People,

---And seeded thus, had after born
Millions of men, now's sow'n with Corn. And

O Jam periere Ruinae, the very Ruins of that place are almost all gone to Ruine : The most observable thing there

there yet remaining, is part of an exceeding great *House*, which is continued by Tradition to have been sometimes a part of the famous *Palace* of great King *Priamus*.

From *Smyrna* he found a Passage to *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*; *Ægypt*, that is called by some, in regard of the Plenty it produceth, the *Granary* or *store-house* of the World. And in *Egypt* near *Gran-Cairo* (antiently called *Memphis*) he observed what remains of the once fam'd *Pyramids*. Returning thence back to *Alexandria* with one Englishman more, they found a pass by Sea to *Jatta*, antiently called *Joppa*, and there they met some others going to *Jerusalem*, which is about twenty English miles distant from *Joppa*, whence they departed together towards *Jerusalem*, and found it a very solitary, rocky, uncomfortable way, full of danger, by reason of the wild *Arabes*, who keep about those Passages to make poor Travellers their prey and spoyl. But they came safe to *Jerusalem*, now inhabited by *Turks*, and that place called by them *Cutts*; where he told me, that himself and his Companion were courteously received by the *Father Guardian* of the *Convent* of *Franciscan Friars* that keep their residence in *Jerusalem*; and by some of them were met at the Gate of the City, where they were compelled by the Turkish Souldiers who keep those Gates (as all others that bear the name of Christians are) at their first coming thither to redeem their heads by paying each of them the value of five shillings, before they could have admittance into that place; which they had no sooner entred, but they were presently carried by those *Franciscans* which met them to their *Convent*; and then the first thing they did to or for them, they washed their feet, then set some comfortable refection before them, and after went in *Procession* about a little Cloyster they had, praising God that he had brought in safety those two *Votaries* (as they called them) to visit that Holy Place. A day or two, after they accompanied them to *Bethlehem*, the place of our *Blessed Saviour's Birth*, about five English miles distant from *Jerusalem*; and in the way betwixt those two places shewed them a Rock, on which (as they said) the *Blessed Virgin* sat down, as she went on a time betwixt *Jerusalem* and *Bethlehem*, to give her *Babe* suck; and that the *Rock* might not feel hard under her, it yielded (as they told them) to her body like a *Cushion*, and that impression made by her so sitting remaineth unto this day, and is most devoutly kissed by *Votaries* as they pass up and down. After this they returning back, shewed them all that was to be seen in and about *Jerusalem*. Many particulars they told them. (Stories which are there kept by Tradition) concerning our *Blessed Saviour* and his Mother: Then they had a sight of as much of *Mount Calvary* (where our *Blessed Saviour* suffered) as could be shewed them, that Hill being now enclos'd within the walls of *Jerusalem*. They undertook to shew them afterwards the place wherein our blef-

sed Saviour was buried ; and after that upon Mount *Olivet*, the very place whence he after Ascended, where, upon a Rock there was an *impression* of the former part of two feet, such as is seen in soft earth, when a man lifts up his body to leap thence ; and these *Franciscans* confidently affirmed, and seemed undoubtedly to believe, that it was so as they shewed and told them. Many other things they affirmed, which being but Circumstantial, (though appertaining to the best of all *Stories*) were enough for these Pilgrims to believe, and enough to make doubt of.

At *Jerusalem*, this our Traveller had made upon the *Wrists* of his left *Arm* the Arms of *Jerusalem*, a *Cross Crossed*, or *Crosslets* ; and on the *Wrist* of his right, a single *Cross* made like that of our Blessed Saviour suffered on ; and on the sides the *Stem* or *Tree* of that *Cross* these words written, *Via, Veritas, Vita*, some of the Letters being put on the one side of that *Stem* or *Tree*, and some of them on the other ; and at the foot of that *Cross* three *Nails*, to signify those which fasted our Saviour unto it : All these impressions were made by sharp *Needles* bound together that pierced onely the skin, and then a black Powder put into the Places so pierced, which became presently indelible *Characters*, to continue with him so long as his flesh should be covered with skin : And they were done upon his Arms so artificially, as if they had been drawn by some accurate Pencil upon Parchment. This poor man would pride himself very much in the beholding of those *Characters* ; and seeing them, would often speak those words of Saint Paul written to the *Galatians*, *Gal. 6. 17.* (though far besides the Apostles meaning) *I bear in my Body the marks of the Lord Jesus.*

Now after that himself and Camrade had seen what they desired in and about *Jerusalem*, they took their leave of those *Franciscans*, leaving with them money to recompence the courtesy they had received from them ; the *Fryers* being very poor, and consequently, unable to entertain them freely without requitals.

From hence they took their way to take a view of the *Dead Sea*, (so called, either because the water therein is still, and moves not ; or because no living Creature is in it, and nothing thrives on the banks thereof) the place where *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, and *Admah* and *Zeboim* once stood, those Cities which Almighty God overthrew in anger, and repented not, *Jer. 20. 16.* Hence they went to have a sight of the River *Jordan*, which dischargeth it self into that most uncomfortable lake, and from hence they journeyed North-East through those ten tribes, (which for the sin of Solomon were rent from his Son Rehoboam) till they came to Mount *Libanus*. Thence back to *Sidon*, which retaineth that Name still. And here he told me, as his last observation made in that Land of *Canaan*, sometimes (like the Garden of the Lord) flowing with milk and honey, being then enriched with a very great

great variety, and abundance of Gods good Creatures; and in the dayes of *David* so populous, that there were numbred in it at one time *thirteen hundred thousand fighting men*, 2 Sam. 24. 9. besides Women and Children, and others unfit to draw swords; which was a most wonderful thing to consider that such a spot of ground in comparifon, not above one *hundred and sixty* miles in length, from *Dan* to *Berfheba*, and not above *sixty* miles in breadth, from *Joppa* to *Jordan*, should be able to bear and feed such a numerous people; and now the very self same tract of earth, either for want of manuring, or (which is rather to be conceived) for the want of the blessing of Almighty God which once shined upon it, but is now long since with-drawn from it, (*For a fruitful Land the Lord makes barren for the wickedness of them that dwell therein*, Psal. 107. 34.) is now become unable to sustain one in an hundred of such a number.

From *Sidon* they got a passage by Sea unto *Alexandretta*, now called *Scanderoon* (in the extreamest bottom of the *Mediterranean Sea*) which is one of the unwholsomest places in the world; where I have often heard that no stranger (that was born far from it) comes to continue there for the space of one moneth, but is sure to meet with a sickness, which very often proves mortal. At this place his English Companion left him, and turned his face towards *England*, and he presently took his way towards *Aleppo* in *Syria*, about seventy miles or more distant from *Scanderoon*, which is as much renowned for wholsomeness, as the place before-named for being unwholsome; and therefore it is called, *sweet-air'd Aleppo*. Here he being kindly received by the *English Consul*, stayed a time to gain the company of a *Caravan*, which consists of a great mixt multitude of people from divers parts, which get and keep together travelling those parts, for fear of the incursions and violences by *Thieves* and *Murderers*, which they would undoubtedly meet withall, if they travelled single, or but few together. With these he after set forwards towards, and to that City anciently called *Niniveh* in *Assyria*, which we find in the Prophefie of *Jonah* was sometimes a great and excellent City of three dayes journey, *Jonah* 3. 3. but now so exceedingly less'n'd and lodg'd in obscurity, that passengers cannot say of it, *This was Niniveh*; which now hath its old name changed, and is called *Mozel*. From hence they journied to *Babylon* in *Chaldea*, situated upon the River *Euphrates*, once likewise so great that *Aristotle* called it a Country, not a City, but now it is very much contracted, and 'tis called *Bagdat*. From this place they proceeded through both the *Armeniaes*, and either did, or else our Traveller was made to believe, that he saw the very Mountain *Ararat*, whereon the *Ark of Noah* rested after the Flood, *Gen.* 8. And from hence they went forward towards the Kingdom of *Persia*, and there to *Uzspahan*, the usual place of Residence for that great King, then called *Shah Abbas*, or King *Abbas*. And after they went to *Seras*, anciently called

called *Shushan*, where the great King *Abasuerus* kept his Royal and most Magnificent Court, *Esth. 1.* From hence they journied afterwards to *Candahor*, the first Province North East under the subjection of the Great *Moghol*, and so to *Labore*, the chiefest City but one belonging to that great Empire; a place, as I have been often told by *Tom: Coryat* and others, of very great trade, wealth, and delight, lying more temperately out of the Parching Sun than any other of his great Cities do: And to this City he wanted not Company; nor afterwards to *Agra*, the *Moghol's Metropolis* or chief City.

And here it is very observable that from *Labore* to *Agra* it is four hundred English miles, and that the Country betwixt both these great Cities is rich, even pleasant and flat, a *Campania*; and the rode-way on both sides all this long distance planted with great *Trees* which are all the year cloathed with leaves, exceeding beneficial unto Travellers for the shade they afford them in those hot Climes. This very much extended length of way 'twixt these two places, is called by Travellers the *Long Walk*, very full of *Villages* and *Towns* for Passengers every where to find Provision.

At *Agra* our Traveller made an halt, being there lovingly received in the *English Factory*, where he stayd till he had gotten, to his *Turkish* and *Morisco* or *Arabian* Languages, some good knowledge in the *Persian* and *Indostan Tongues*, in which study he was alwayes very apt, and in little time shewed much proficiency. The first of those two, the *Persian*, is the more quaint; the other, the *Indian*, the vulgar Language spoken in *East-India*: In both these he suddenly got such a knowledge and mastery, that it did exceedingly afterwards advantage him in his Travels up and down the *Mogol's Territory*; he wearing alwayes the *Habit* of that Nation, and speaking their *Language*.

In the first of these, the *Persian Tongue*, he made afterwards an *Oration* to the Great *Mogol*, bringing in that Story of the Queen of *Sheba*, 1 Kings 10. (in which parts of that Sacred History the Mahumetans have some knowledge) and he told him, that as the Queen of *Sheba* having heard of the Fame of King *Solomon*, came from far to visit him, which when she had done, she confessed that though she had heard very much of him, and many things beyond her belief, yet now seeing what she did, acknowledged that she had not heard half of that which she now saw concerning the *Wisdom*, and *Greatness*, and *Retinue*, and *Riches* of *Solomon*: So our *Orator* told the *Mogol*, that he had heard very much of him before he had the Honour to see him (when he was very far off in his own Country) but now what he beheld did exceedingly surmount all those former Reports of him which came to his Ears at such a distance from him: Then larding his short speech with some other pieces of Flattery, which the *Mogol* liked well, concluded: And when he had done, the *Mogol* gave him one hundred *Roopys*, which amounts to the value

value of *twelve pounds* and *ten shillings* of our English Money; looking upon him as a *Dervese*, Votary or Pilgrim, (for so he called him) and such as bear that name in that Country seem not much to care for money; and that was the reason (I conceive) that he gave him not a more plentiful Reward.

After this he having got a great mastery likewise in the *Indo-ſtan*, or more vulgar Language, there was a Woman, a Landrefs, belonging to my Lord *Embassadors Houſe*, who had ſuch a freedom and liberty of Speech, that ſhe would ſometimes ſcould, brawl, and rail from the *ſun-riſing* to *ſun-ſet*. One day he undertook her in her own Language, and by *eight* of the Clock in the Morning ſo *ſilenced her*, that ſhe had not one word more to ſpeak.

I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of this man in ſome paſſages of this following Diſcourſe, and therefore I ſhall not wrap all I have to ſpeak of him in this, although it be a very long digreſſion: Yet becauſe I muſt now ſhortly bring you to his journeyes end, I ſhall take the freedom to enlarge my ſelf a little further concerning him here in this place, before I leave him for the preſent; and to give thee, *Reader*, a piece of his *Charaſter*, it ſpeaks thus:

That he was a man of a very coveting Eye, *that could never be ſatisfied with ſeeing*, as *Solomon* ſpeaks, *Eccleſ. 1. 8.* though he had ſeen very much; and I am perſwaded that he took as much content in *ſeeing*, as many others in the *enjoying* of *Great* and *Rare* things. He was a man that had got the maſtery of many hard Languages, (as before I obſerved) to the *Latine* and *Greek* he brought forth of *England* with him: in which, if he had obtained wiſdom to huſband and manage them, as he had ſkill to ſpeak them, he had deſerved more Fame in his Generation. But his knowledge and high attainments in ſeveral Languages made him not a little ignorant of himſelf; he being ſo covetous, ſo ambitious of *praiſe*, that he would *hear* and *endure more* of it than he could in any meaſure *deſerve*; being like a Ship that hath too much *Sail*, and too little *Ballaſt*: Yet if he had not fallen into the ſmart hands of the Wits of thoſe Times, he might have paſſed better. That itch of *Fame* which engaged this man to the undertakings of thoſe very hard and long, and dangerous Travels, hath put thouſands more (and therefore he was not alone in this) into ſtrange attempts onely to be talked of.

Upon a time one *Mr Richard Steel* a Merchant, and ſervant to the *East-India* Company, came unto us from *Surat* to *Mandoa*, the place then of the *Mogol's* Reſidence (of which place ſomewhat more hereafter) at which time *Mr Coryat* was there with us: This Merchant had not long before travelled over-land from *East-India* through *Persia*, and ſo to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo for *England*; who in his Travel home-ward had met with *Tom: Coryat*, as he was journeying towards *East-India*. *Mr Steel* then told him, that when he was in *England*, *King James* (then living) enquired

enquired after him, and when he had certified the King of his meeting him on the way, the King replied, *Is that Fool yet living?* which when our *Pilgrim* heard, it seemed to trouble him very much, because the King spake no more nor no better of him, saying, that *Kings* would speak of poor men what they pleased.

At another time when he was ready to depart from us, my Lord *Embassador* gave him a Letter, and in that a Bill to receive ten pounds at *Aleppo* when he should return thither: The Letter was directed unto Mr *Libbans Chapman*, there *Consul* at that time, in which that which concerned our Traveller was thus: Mr *Chapman*, when you shall hand these Letters, I desire you to receive the Beare of them, Master *Thomas Coryat* with Courtesie, for you shall find him a very honest poor Wretch; and further, I must entreat you to furnish him with ten pounds, which shall be repayed, &c. Our *Pilgrim* lik'd the gift well, but the Language by which he should have received it, did not at all content him, telling me, That *my Lord had even spoiled his Courtesie in the carriage thereof; so that if he had been a very Fool indeed, he could have said very little less of him than he did, Honest poor Wretch!* And to say no more of him, was to say as much as nothing. And furthermore he then told me, that when he was formerly undertaking his journey to *Venice*, a Person of Honour wrote thus in his behalf unto Sir *Henry Wotton*, then and there *Embassador*: *My Lord, Good Wine needs no Bush, neither a worthy man Letters Commendatory, because whithersoever he comes he is his own Epistle, &c.* There (said he) *was some Language on my behalf; but now for my Lord to write nothing of me by way of Commendation, but Honest poor Wretch, is rather to trouble me than to please me with his favour.* And therefore afterwards his Letter was phras'd up to his mind, but he never liv'd to receive the money. By which his old acquaintance may see how tender this poor man was to be touch'd in any thing that might in the least measure *disparage* him. O what pains this poor man took to make himself a Subject for present and after Discourse! being troubled at nothing for the present, unless with the fear of not living to reap that fruit he was so ambitious of in all his undertakings. And certainly he was surprized with some such thoughts and fears (for so he told us afterwards) when upon a time he being at *Mandoa* with us, and there standing in a room against a stone *Pillar*, where the *Embassador* was, and my self present with them, upon a sudden he fell into such a swoon, that we had very much ado to recover him out of it; but at last, comn to himself, he told us that some sad thoughts had immediately before presented themselves to his *Fancy*, which as he conceived put him into that *distemper*; like *Fannius in Martial*----- *Ne moriari mori*, to prevent death by dying: For he told us that there was great Expectations in *England* of the large Accounts he should give of his Travels after his return home; and that he

was

was now shortly to leave us; and he being at present not very well, if he should die in the way toward *Surat*, whither he was now intended to go, (which place he had not yet seen) he might be buryed in Obscurity, and none of his Friends ever know what became of him; he travelling now, as he usually did, alone. Upon which my Lord willed him to stay longer with us, but he thankfully refused that offer, and turned his face presently after towards *Surat*, which was then about three hundred miles distant from us, and he lived to come safely thither: but there, being over-kindly used by some of the English who gave him *Sack*, which they had brought from *England*, he calling for it as soon as he first heard of it, and crying, *Sack, Sack!* Is there such a thing as *Sack*? I pray you give me some *Sack*. And drinking of it, though I conceive, moderately, (for he was a very temperate man) it increased his *Flux* which he had then upon him; and this caused him within a few dayes after his very tedious and troublesome Travels (for he went most on foot) at this place to come to his journeyes end; for here he overtook Death Decemb. 1617. and was buried (as aforesaid) under a little Monument, like one of those usually made in our Church-yards. I now proceed to our former Discourse of the Description of the Great *Mogol's* Territories: Which I shall digest into several Sections.

SECTION I.

Of the several Provinces, the chief Cities, the Principal Rivers, the extent of this vast Empire.

THE most spacious Monarchy under the subjection of the Great *Mogol*, divides it self into thirty and seven several and large Provinces, which anciently were particular Kingdoms, whose true Names (which we there had out of the *Mogol's* own Records) with their Principal Cities and Rivers, their Situation and Borders, their Extent in length and breath. I shall first set down very briefly, beginning at the North-West. Yet as I name these several Provinces, I shall by the way take notice of some particulars in them which are most Remarkable.

1. *Candahore*, the chief City so called; it lyes from the heart of the *Mogol's* Territories North-West; it confines with the King of *Persia*, and was anciently a Province belonging to him.

2. *Cabut*, the chief City so called, the extreamest part North of this Emperours Dominions; it confineth with *Tartaria*; the River *Nilob* hath its beginning in it, whose Current is Southerly till it dischargeth it self into *Indus*.

3. *Multan*, the chief City so called; it lyeth South from *Cabut* and *Candahore*, and to the West joynes with *Persia*. This

Province is fam'd for many excellent Bows and Arrows made in it: The Bows made of Horn, excellently glued and put together; the Arrows of small Canes or Reeds, both of them curiously set off by rich Paint and Varnish: They which are made here are neat and good than in any part of *East-India* besides.

4. *Haiacan*, the Province of the *Baloches*, who are a very stout and war-like people that dare fight. I insert this, because there are infinite multitudes of people in the *Mogol's* Territories who appear as likely as these, but so low-spirited (as I shall after observe) that they dare not fight. This Province hath no renowned City. The famous River *Indus* (call'd by the Inhabitants *Skind*) borders it on the East; and *Lar*, a Province belonging to the King of *Persia*, meets it on the West.

5. *Buckor*, the chief City called *Buckor-Succor*; that famous River *Indus* makes its way through it, and gently enricheth it.

6. *Tatta*, the chief City so called; the River *Indus* makes many Islands in it exceeding fruitful and pleasant, the Main Current whereof meets with the Sea at *Sindee*, a place very famous for many curious Handicrafts.

7. *Soret*, the chief City is called *Janagar*; it is but a little Province yet very rich; it lyes upon *Guzarat*; it hath the Ocean to the South.

8. *Jesselmure*, the chief City so called; it joyneth with *Soret*; but *Buckor* and *Tatta* lye to the West thereof.

9. *Attack*, the chief City so called; it lyeth on the East side of *Indus*, which parts it from *Haiacan*.

10. *Peniab*, which signifieth five Waters, for that it is seated amongst five Rivers, all Tributaries to *Indus*; which, somewhat South of *Labore*, make but one Current: It is a large Province, and most fruitful. *Labore* is the chief City thereof, built very large, and abounds both in people and riches one of the most principal Cities for Trade in all *India*.

11. *Chishmeere*, the chief City called *Siranakar*; the River *Bhat* finds a way through it, though it be very mountainous, and so creeps to the Sea.

12. *Banchish*, the chief City is called *Bishur*; it lyeth East, somewhat Southerly from *Chishmeere*, from which it is divided by the River *Indus*.

13. *Jangapore*, the chief City so called; it lyeth upon the River *Kaul*, one of those five Rivers which water *Peniab*.

14. *Jenba*, the chief City so called; it lyeth East of *Peniab*.

15. *Dellee* (which signifies an Heart, and is seated in the heart of the *Mogol's* Territories) the chief City so called; it lyeth between *Jenba* and *Agra*, the River *Jemni* (which runneth through *Agra*, and after falleth into *Ganges*) begins in it. This *Dellee* is both an ancient and a great City, the Seat of the *Mogol's* Ancestors, where most of them lye interred. It was once the City and Seat of King *Porus*, who was conquered about this

this place by *Alexander the Great*; and here he encountering with huge *Elephants* as well as with a mighty Host of Men, said, as *Curtius* reports, *Tandem par animo meo inveni periculum*, That he had met with dangers to equal his great mind. I was told by *Tom: Coryat* (who took special notice of this place) that he being in the City of *Delle*, observed a very great *Pillar of Marble*, with a *Greek* inscription upon it, which time hath almost quite worn out, erected (as he supposed) there, and then, by *Great Alexander*, to preserve the memory of that famous Victory.

16. *Bando*, the chief City so called; it confineth *Agra* to the West.

17. *Malway*, a very fruitful Province; *Rantipore* is its chief City.

18. *Chitor*, an ancient great Kingdom, the chief City so called, which standeth upon a mighty high Hill flat on the top, walled about at the least ten English miles. There appear to this day above an hundred ruined Churches, and divers fair Palaces, which are lodged in like manner among their Ruines, besides many exquisite Pillars of Carved Stone; and the Ruines likewise at the least of an hundred thousand Stone-Houses, as many English by their observation have guessed. There is but one ascent unto it, cut out of a firm Rock, to which a man must pass through four (sometimes very magnificent) Gates. Its chief inhabitants at this day are *Ziim* and *Ohim*, Birds and Wild Beasts; but the stately Ruines thereof give a shadow of its Beauty while it flourished in its Pride. It was won from *Rana*, an ancient Indian Prince, who was forc'd to live himself ever after in high mountainous places adjoining to that Province, and his Posterity to live there ever since. Taken from him it was by *Achabar Padsba* (the Father of that King who lived and reigned when I was in those parts) after a very long siege, which famished the besieged, without which it could never have been gotten.

19. *Guzarat*, a very goodly, and large, and an exceeding rich Province; it encloseth the Bay of *Cambaya*; its chief City is *Amadavaz*; besides, it hath in it *Cambaya*, *Brodera*, *Baroch*, and *Surat*, fair Cities; but the first of those I named, more spacious, and populous, and rich, then any of the other. It is watered with many goodly Rivers, as that of *Cambaya*, (falsly supposed to be *Indus*) with the River *Narbodab*, (passing by *Baroch*, and so to the Sea) with the River *Taplee*, which watereth *Surat*. The Merchants which are the Natives of this Province trade to the *Red Sea*, to *Achin*, and to divers other places.

20. *Chandis*, the chief City called *Brampore*, which is very great, and rich, and full of people. Adjoining to this Province lived a petty Prince, called *Partapsha*, tributary to the *Mogol*; and this is the most Southernmost part of all his Territories.

21. *Berar*, the chief City is called *Shapore*, the Southernmost part whereof doth likewise bound this Empire.

22. *Narvar*, the chief City is called *Gebud*; it is watered by a fair River that much enricheth it, and dischargeth it self into *Ganges*.

23. *Gwalier*, the chief City so called, where the *Mogol* hath a very rich Treasury of *Gold* and *Silver* kept in this City, within an exceeding strong Castle, wherein the Kings *Prisoners* are likewise kept. The Castle is continually guarded by a very strong Company of Armed Souldiers.

24. *Agra*, a principal and very rich Province, the chief City so called, this great Emperours *Metropolis*; in North Latitude about twenty eight degrees and a half. It is very well watered by the River *Jemni*. This and *Lahore* are the two principal and chofce Cities of this Empire, betwixt whom is that *Long Walk* (I made mention of before) of four hundred miles in length, shaded by great Trees on both sides: This is looked upon by Travellers, who have found the comfort of that cool shade, as one of the rarest and most beneficial Works in the whole World.

25. *Sanbat*, the chief City so called; the River *Jemni* parts it from *Narvar*, and after at the City *Hellabass* falls into that most famous River *Ganges*, which is called by the Inhabitants of *East-India*, *Ganga*.

26. *Bakar*, the chief City called *Bikaneer*; it lyeth on the West side of the River *Ganges*.

27. *Nagracot*, the chief City so called, in which there is a Chappel most richly set forth, being *seeled* and *paved* with *Plate* of pure *Silver*, most curiously imbossed over head in several figures, which they keep exceeding bright by often rubbing and burnishing it; and all this Cost those poor seduced *Indians* are at, to do honour to an *Idol* they keep in that Chappel. What charge can Heathenish Idolaters be content to bear for their gross Idolatry! Nothing is too rich, too pretious, or too dear for it. This *Idol* thus kept in that so richly adorned Chappel, they call *Matta*, and it is continually visited by those poor blinded *Infidels*, who, out of the officiousness of their Devotion, cut off some part of their *Tongues* to offer unto it as a Sacrifice; which (they say) grow out again as before: But in this I shall leave my Reader to a belief as much suspensive as is my own in this particular. In this Province likewise, there is another famous Pilgrimage to a place called *Jallamakee*; where out of cold *Springs* that issue out from amongst hard *Rocks*, are daily to be seen continued Eruptions of *Fire*, before which the Idolatrous People fall down and worship. Both these places were seen, and strictly observed by Master *Coryat*.

28. *Siba*, the chief City is called *Hardware*, where the famous River *Ganges* passing through or amongst large *Rocks*, makes presently after a pretty full Current: but both this and that other great River *Indus* have their Rise and Original out of the Mountain *Caucasus*, from whence they both first issue. That principal

principal Rock, through which this River *Ganges* there makes a Current, is indeed, or (if not) according to the fancy of the Superstitious *Indians*, like a *Cox's Head*, which of all sensible Creatures they love best (of which more hereafter) thither they assemble themselves daily in Troops to wash their bodies, ascribing a certain *Divinity to Waters*, but more especially to the Water in the River *Ganges*. And thither our famous *Coryat* went likewise to view this place.

29. *Kakares*, the principal Cities are called *Dekalee* and *Purbola*; it is a large Province, but exceeding mountainous; divided it is from *Tartaria* by the Mountain *Caucasus*; it is the extremest part North under the *Mogol's* subjection.

30. *Gor*, the chief City so called; it is full of Mountains; the River *Sersily*, a tributary unto *Ganges*, hath its beginning in it.

31. *Pitan*, the chief City so called; the River *Canda* waters it, and falls into *Ganges* in the Confines thereof.

32. *Kanduana*, the chief City is called *Karbakatenka*; the River *Sersily* parts it from *Pitan*: This and *Gor* are the North-east bounds of this Monarchy.

33. *Patna*, the chief City so called; the River *Ganges* bounds it on the West, *Sersily* on the East; it is a very fertile Province.

34. *Jesuat*, the chief City is called *Raiapore*; it lieth East of *Patna*.

35. *Mevat*, the chief City is called *Narnol*; it is very mountainous.

36. *Udeffa*, the chief City called *Jekanat*; it is the most remote part East of this Empire.

37. *Bengala*, a most spacious and fruitful Province, but more properly to be called a Kingdom, which hath two very large Provinces within it, *Purb* and *Patan*; the one lying on the East, the other on the West-side of the River *Ganges*: It is limited by the *Golph* of the same name, whereinto the River *Ganges* (which at last comes to be divided into four great *Currents*) dischargeth it self, after it hath found a way through the *Mogol's* Territories more than fifteen hundred miles in length. The chief Cities in it are *Ragamabat* and *Dekaka*. It hath many *Havens* and *Ports* belonging unto it, which are places of very great trade.

Now these are the several *Provinces* belonging to the Great *Mogol*, and all of them under his subjection, which may be beheld all together at one view in this most exact affixed *Map*, first made by the especial observation and direction of that most able and honourable Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Row*, here contracted into a less compass; yet large enough to demonstrate, that this great Empire is bounded on the East, with the Kingdom of *Mang*; West, with *Persia*; and with the Main Ocean, *Southerly*; North, with the Mountain *Caucasus* and *Tartaria*; South, with *Decan* and the *Gulph* of *Bengala*. *Decan*, lying in the skirts of *Asia*, is divided betwixt three *Mahumetan Princes*, and some other Indian *Rhajaes*, which are Princes likewise.

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The length of these Provinces is *North-west* to *South-west* more than two thousand English miles; *North* and *South* the extent thereof is about fourteen hundred miles; the Southermost part lying in twenty, and the Northermost in forty and three degrees of North-Latitude.

The breadth of this much enlarged and far extended Empire is *North-east* to *South-west* about fifteen hundred of the same miles.

And here a great error in Geographers must not escape my notice, who in their Globes and Maps make *East-India* and *China* near Neighbours, when as many large Countries are interposed betwixt them; which great distance may appear by the long travel of the Indian-Merchants, who are usually (they going and returning all the way by Land) in their journey, and return, and some stay there, two full years from *Agra* to *China*.

Now, to give an exact account of all those fore-named *Provinces*, were more than I am able to undertake; yet out of that which I have observed in some of them (by travelling many miles up in'o that Countrey, and then up and down with my Lord-Embassador unto many places there in progress with that King) I shall adventure to guess at all, and I think for my particular, that the Great *Mogol*, considering his most large *Territories*, his full and great Treasures, with the many rich Commodities his Provinces afford, is the greatest and richest known King of the East, if not of the *whole World*. I shall now therefore fall upon particulars to make that my observation good: Where

SECTION II.

Of the Soyl there, what it is, and what it produceth, &c.

THIS most spacious and fertile Monarchy (called by the Inhabitants *Indostan*) so much abounds in all necessaries for the use and service of man, to feed, and cloath, and enrich him, as that it is able to subsist and flourish of it self, without the least help from any Neighbour-Prince or Nation.

Here I shall speak first of that which Nature requires most, Food, which this Empire brings forth in abundance; as, singular good Wheat, Rice, Barley, with divers more kinds of good Grain to make Bread (the staff of life) and all these sorts of Corn in their kinds, very good and exceeding cheap. For their Wheat, it is more full and more white than ours, of which the Inhabitants make such pure, well-relished Bread, that I may say of it, as one sometimes spake of the Bread made in the Bishoprick of *Liege*, it is *Panis Pane melior*, Bread better than Bread.

The ordinary sort of people eat Bread made of a coarser Grain, but both toothsome, and wholesome, and hearty; they make it up
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in broad Cakes, thick like our *Oaten-cakes*; and then bake it upon small round iron hearths, which they carry with them when they journey from place to place, making use of them in their Tents, it should seem to be an ancient Custom in the East, as may appear by that Precedent of *Sarah* when she entertained the Angels, who found her in her Tent, *She took fine meal, and did knead it, and made Cakes thereof upon the hearth*, Gen. 18. 6.

To their Bread they have great abundance of all other good Provision, as of Butter (beating their Cream into a substance like unto a thick Oyl, for in that hot Climate they can never make it hard) which though soft, yet it is very sweet and good. They have Cheese likewise in plenty, by reason of their great number of Kine, and Sheep, and Goats. Besides, they have a Beast very large, having a smooth thick skin without hair, called a *Buffelo*, which gives good milk; the flesh of them is like Beef, but neither so toothsome nor wholesome. These *Buffeloes* are much employed in carrying large skins of water (for they are very strong Beasts) which hang on both sides of them, unto Families that want it: their *Hides* make the most firm and excellent Buff.

They have no want of Venison of divers kinds, as Red-Deer, Fallow-Deer, Elks (which are very large, and strong, and fierce Creatures) Antilops, Kids, &c. but their Deer are no where imparked, the whole Empire being (as it were) a Forrest for them; for a man can travel no way but he shall here and there see of them. But because they are every man's Game that will make them so, they do not multiply to do them much hurt, either in their Corn, or other places.

To these they have great store of Hares, and they have plenty of Fowls wild and tame, as abundance of Hens, Geese, Ducks, Pigeons, Turtle-Doves, Partridges, Peacocks, Quails, and many other singular good Fowl. They have variety of Fish; all which, by reason of their Plenty, and because many of the Natives eat no kind of Flesh at all, nor of any thing that hath or may have life; and those that feed on such things, eat not freely of any of those living Creatures, they are all bought there at such easie rates, as if they were not worth the valuing. They do not cut their Chickens when they be little to make Capons, and therefore they have no Creatures of that name, but men; their Eunuchs, called there *Cogeers* or Capons in their Language: so made, when they be very young, and then deprived of all that might after provoke jealousy; and therefore they are put to be attendants on their women, the great men of that Nation keeping many of them, a soft, tender people, *tener spado*, as *Juvenal* calls one of them, that never come to have any Hair on their Faces.

But to return again to their Provisions, the Beeves of that Countrey differ from ours, in that they are none of them very large; and those they have, have each of them a great bunch
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of grisly flesh which grows upon the meeting of their shoulders. The flesh of their Beeves is much whiter than the flesh of ours, and very sweet, tender and good. Their Sheep differ from ours by their great fleshy Bob-tails, which, severed from their bodies, are very ponderous. Their Wool is generally coarse, but their flesh is not so.

Now to season all their good Provisions, there is great store of Salt; and to sweeten all, abundance of Sugar growing in that Countrey; which after it is well refined, may be there had at a very low rate; out of which they make very pure white Sugar-Candy, which may be had there at a small easie Price likewise.

Their Fruits are every way answerable to the rest, the Countrey abounding in Musk-Melons (very much better, because they are better digested there by the heat of the Sun, than these with us.) They have many Water-Melons, a very choice good Fruit, and some of them as big as our ordinary Pompions, and in shape like them; the substance within this Fruit is spongy, but exceeding tender and well-tasted, of a colour within equally mixed with red and white, and within that an excellent cooling and pleasing liquor. Here are likewise store of Pome-granats, Pome-citrons; here are Limons and Oranges, but I never found any there so good as I have seen elsewhere. Here are Dates, Figs, Grapes, Prunelloes, Almonds, Coquer-nuts (of which I observed something before) and here they have those most excellent Plums called Mirabolans, the stone of which Fruit differs very much from others in its shape, whereon Nature hath curiously quartered several strakes equally divided, very pretty to behold; many of which choice Plums (they write) are very cordial; and therefore worth the prizing, are there well-preserved, and sent for *England*.

They have to these another Fruit we English there call a Planten, of which many of them grow in Clusters together; long they are in shape, made like unto slender Cucumbers, and very yellow when they are Ripe, and then taste like unto a *Norwich* Pear, but much better. Another most excellent Fruit they have, called a *Manggo*, growing upon Trees as big as our Walnut-trees; and as these here, so those Trees there, will be very full of that most excellent Fruit, in shape and colour like unto our Apricocks, but much bigger; which taken and rolled in a man's hands when they are through ripe, the substance within them becomes like the pap of a roasted Apple, which then suck'd out from about a large stone they have within them, is delicately pleasing unto every Palat that tastes it. And to conclude with the best of all other their choice Fruits, the *Amana's*, like unto our Pine-Apples, which seems to the Taster to be a most pleasing Compound made of Straw-berries, Claret-wine, Rose-water and Sugar, well tempered together. In the Northernmost parts of this Empire they have variety of Pears and Apples, every where

where good Roots, as Carrets, Potatoes, and others like them. They have Onions and Garlick, and some Herbs and small Roots for Salads; and in the Southernmost parts, Ginger growing almost in every place: the large races whereof, are there very excellently well preserved, as we may know by our tasting them in *England*. And all these things I have last named may be there likewise bought at very low rates. And lastly, some one kind or other of their very good and choice Fruits may be there had at every time or season of the Year.

And here I cannot chuse but take notice of a very pleasant and clear liquor, called Toddie, issuing from a Spongie Tree, that grows strait and tall without Boughs to the Top, and there spreads out in tender branches, very like unto those that grow from the Roots of our rank and rich Artichokes, but much bigger and longer. This Toddie-tree is not so big, but that it may be very easily embraced, and the nimble people of that Countrey will climb up as fast to the top thereof (the stem of the Tree being rough and crusty) as if they had the advantage of Ladders to help them up. In the top-tender branches of those Trees they make incisions, which they open and stop again as they please, under which they hang Pots made of large and light Gourds, to preserve the influence which issues out of them in a large quantity in the night-season, they stopping up those vents in the heat of the day. That which thus distils forth in the night, if it be taken very early in the morning, is as pleasing to the taste as any new White-wine, and much clearer than it. It is a very piercing, and medicinable, and inoffensive Drink, if taken betimes in the day, only it is a little windy: but if it be kept till the heat of the day, the Sun alters it so, as if it made it another kind of liquor, for it becomes then very heady, not so well relished, and unwholsom; and when it is so, not a few of our drunken Sea-men chuse to drink it; and I think they so do, because it will then presently turn their brains; for there are too too many of the common sort of those men who use the Sea, who love those brutish distempers too much, which turn a man out of himself, and leave a Beast in the skin of a man. But for that drink, if it be taken in its best, and most proper season, I conceive it to be of it self very wholsom, because it provokes urine exceedingly; the further benefit whereof some there have found by happy experience, thereby eased from their torture inflicted by that shame of Physicians, and Tyrant of all Maladies, the Stone. And so cheap too is this most pleasing Wine, that a man may there have more than enough for a very little money.

At *Surat*, and so to *Agra*, and beyond, it seldom or never rains, but one season of the year; but yet there is a refreshing Dew during all that times the Heavens there are thus shut up, which every night falls, and cools, and comforts, and refresheth the face of the earth. Those general rains begin near the

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time that the Sun comes to the Northern *Tropick*, and so continue till his return back to the Line. These showers, at their beginning most extremely violent, are usher'd in, and usually take their leave, with most fearful Tempests of Thunder & Lightning, more terrible than I can express, yet seldom do harm; the reason in Nature may be the subtilty of the Air in those parts wherein there are fewer Thunder-stones made, than in such Climates where the Air is thick, gross, and cloudy. During those three months it rains usually every day more or less, sometimes one whole quarter of the Moon together, scarce without any intermission; which abundance of moisture, with the heat of the Sun, doth so enrich their Land, which they never force (if I observed right) by Soyling of it, as that, like *Agypt*, by the inundation of *Nilus*, it makes it fruitful all the year after. When the time of this Rain is passed over, the face of the Sky there is presently so serene and clear, as that scarcely one Cloud appears in their Hemisphere the nine months after.

And here a strong Argument that may further, and most infallibly shew the goodness of their Soil, shall not escape my Pen, most apparent in this, That when the Ground there hath been destitute of Rain nine months together, and looks all of it like the barren Sands in the Desarts of *Arabia*, where there is not one spire of green Grass to be found; within a few days after those fat enriching showers begin to fall, the face of the Earth there (as it were by a new Resurrection) is so revived, and throughout so renewed, as that it is presently covered all over with a pure green Mantle. And moreover, to confirm that which before I observed concerning the goodness of that Soil, amongst many hundred Acres of Corn of divers kinds I have there beheld, I never saw any but what was very rich and good, standing as thick on the Ground as the Land could well bear it.

They till their Ground with Oxen and Foot-Ploughs, their Seed-time is *May*, and the beginning of *June*, they taking their time to dispatch all that work before that long Rainy season comes; and though the Ground then hath been all the time we named before without any sufficient moisture by showers, or otherwise, to supple and make it more fit for Tillage, yet the Soil there is such a brittle fat mould (which they sow year after year) as that they can very easily till it. Their Harvest is in *November* and *December*, the most temperate months of all that year.

Their Ground is not enclosed, unless some small quantity near Towns and Villages, which stand scattered up and down this vast Empire very thick, though, for want of the true names, not inserted in the Map.

They mow not their Grass (as we) to make Hay, but cut it off the ground, either green, or withered, as they have occasion to use it.

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They sow *Tobacco* in abundance, and they take it too, very much; but after a strange way much different from us: for first, they have little Earthen Pots, shaped like our small Flower-pots, having a narrow neck, and an open round top, out of the belly of which comes a small spout, to the lower part of which spout they fill the Pot with water; then putting their *Tobacco* loose in the top, and a burning coal upon it, they, having first fastned a very small strait hollow Cane or Reed (not bigger than a small Arrow) within that spout, a yard or ell long, the Pot standing on the ground, draw that smoak into their mouths which first falls upon the Superficies of the water, and much discolours it. And this way of taking their *Tobacco*, they believe, makes it much more cool and wholesom. The *Tobacco*, which grows there, is doubtless in the Plant as good as in any other place of the world, but they know not how to cure and order it, like those in the *West-Indies*, to make it so rich and strong.

The Countrey is beautified with many Woods and Groves of Trees, in which those winged *Choristers* make sweet Musick. In those Woods some excellent Hawks make their nests; and there are very often to be seen great flocks of Parakeetoes, or little Parrats, who have their breeding and lodging amongst those Melancholy Shades. And (in the number of many other Creatures covered with Feathers) there are some very little Birds less than our Wrens, who are exceeding pretty, for their neat shape, and their covering, with most curious parri-colour'd Feathers, full of variety of little spots. I have seen there many of those rare Creatures kept together in large Cages, who please the Eye with their curious Colours, and the Ear with their variety of pleasant Notes. The Woods and Groves in the Southermost parts of *Indostan*, have great store of wild Apes, and Monkeys, and Baboons in them; some of which I have seen as high as our tallest Greyhounds, which live among the Trees, and climb them at pleasure. Those Apes, &c. are very terrible to those little Birds, which make their Nests in those Woods; and therefore Nature hath taught them this subtilty (to preserve their young ones from those Creatures which would otherwise destroy them) to build their Nests in the twigs, and the utmost boughs of those Trees, where some of them hang like little Purse-nets, to which those Apes and Monkeys, be they never so little and light, cannot come to hurt them.

Besides their Woods, they have great variety of fair goodly Trees that stand here and there single, but I never saw any there of those kinds of Trees which *England* affords. They have very many firm and strong Timber-trees for building and other uses; but much of their brush, or small wood, I observed to be very sappy; so that when we brake a twig of it, there would come a substance out of some of it, like unto Milk, and the sappiness of that underwood may (as I apprehend it)

be ascribed in part to the fatness of that Soil. Some of their Trees have leavs upon them as broad as Bucklers, others are parted small like our Fern or Brakes, as the Tamerine Tree, which bears *Cods* somewhat like our Beans, in which when the Fruit is ripe, there is a very well tasted pulp, though it be sour, most wholsom to open the body, and to cool and cleanse the blood.

There is one very great and fair Tree growing in that Soil, of special observation, out of whose Branches or great Arms grow little Sprigs downward till they take Root (as they will certainly do if they be let alone) and taking Root, at length prove strong supporters unto those large Branches that yield them. Whence it comes to pass, that those Trees in time (their strong and far-extended Arms being in many places thus supported) grow to a very great height, and extend themselves to such an incredible breadth, they growing round every way, as that hundreds of men may shade themselves under one of them at any time; the rather, because these, as all other Trees in those Southern parts of *East-India* (as particularly I observed before) still keep on their green Coats.)

For their Flowers, they are for the generality like unto painted Weeds, which, though their colour be excellent, they rather delight the eye than affect the smell; for not many of them, except Roses, and some few kinds more, are any whit fragrant: Amongst them that are, there is one white Flower, like to Spanish Jessamin (if it be not the same) which is exceedingly well sented, of which they make a most excellent pure sweet Oil, with which they anoint their heads, and other parts of their bodies; which makes the company of those that do so very savoury and sweet.

This Empire is watered with many goodly Rivers (as they are expressed in the Map) the two principal are *Indus* and *Ganges*; where this thing is very observable (for they say there, that it is very true) that one pint of the water of *Ganges* weigheth less by one ounce than any other water in that whole great Monarchy. And therefore (they say) that the *Mogol*, wheresoever he is, hath water brought him from that River, that he may drink thereof, by some appointed for that service, who are continually either going to it, or coming from it: The water is brought unto the King in fine Copper Jars, excellently well tin'd on the inside, and sealed up when they are delivered to the Water-bearers for the King's use; two of which Jars every one carries, hanging upon Slings fitted for the Porter's shoulders.

Besides their Rivers, they have store of Wells fed with Springs, and to these, they have many Ponds, which they call *Tanques*, some of them exceeding large, fill'd with water when that abundance of Rain falls (of which more hereafter.)

That most ancient and innocent Drink of the World, Water, is the common drink of *East-India*; it is far more pleasant and sweet than our water; and must needs be so, because in all
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hot Countries it is more rarified, better digested, and freed from its rawness by the heat of the Sun, and therefore in those parts it is more desired of all that come thither, though they never made it their drink before, than any other liquor, and agreeth better with mens bodies. Sometimes they boyl the water there with some wholsom-Seeds, and after drink it cold, and then it is, by much, more cold after an heat. (Like unto some men, who have shewed formerly much zeal and heat for good, and afterward become more chil and cold than ever they were before.) Sometimes we mingle our water there with the juice of Limons and Sugar, which makes an exceeding pleasant drink, which we call there *Sherbet*.

Some small quantity of *Wine*, but not common, is made amongst them; they call it *Raak*, distilled from Sugar, and a spicy rinde of a Tree called *Jagra*; it is very wholsom, if taken very moderately.

Many of the people there, who are strict in their Religion, drink no *Wine* at all; but they use a Liquor more wholsom than pleasant, they call *Coffee*; made by a black Seed boyld in water, which turnes it almost into the same colour, but doth very little alter the taste of the water; notwithstanding it is very good to help Digestion, to quicken the Spirits, and to cleanse the Blood.

There is yet another help for those that forbear *Wine*, by an Herb they have, called *Beetle*, or *Paune*, in shape somewhat like an Ivy-leaf, but more tender; they chew it with an hard Nut, somewhat like a Nutmeg, (but not in taste like that) and a very little pure white lime amongst the leaves, and when they have sucked down the juice, put forth the rest. It hath (as they say, and I believe very much of it) many rare qualities; for it preserves the Teeth, strengthens the Stomack, comforts the Brain, and it cures or prevents a tainted Breath. This I am sure of, that such is the pleasing smell of this *Beetle*, being chewing in a close room, that the breath of him so chewing it fills it with a very pleasing savour.

This Empire further affords very excellent good Horse, curiously made, high mett'd, and well managed by the *Natives*. Besides their own, they have many of the *Persian*, *Tartarian*, and *Arabian* breed, which have the name to be the choise ones of the World. But of these more when I come to speak of the Inhabitants.

Here are a great number of Camels, Dromedaries, Mules and Asles, imployed for the carriage of burthens, or the carrying of the people, to which use also they employ many of their Oxen, and their Buffeloes likewise, (which before I spake of.) The Camels, as I oft observed there, have one strange quality, who cry and make a very piteous noyse at night, when they take off their *burthens*; but in the morning when they are laid on, the poor Creatures are very still and quiet; making no noyse at all.

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The *Dromedary* is called by the Prophet *Jeremy*, *Jer. 2. 23. the swift Dromedary*; the reason may be, because these, like the Camels, have very long legs; and consequently make long steps, and so travelling rid ground apace; or because at a pinch, or time of need, they will carry a man exceeding far without rest, and but with a very little food.

They have some *Rhinocerots*, but they are not common, which are very large square Beasts, bigger than the largest Oxen *England* affords; their skins without hair, lye in great wrinkles upon their necks, breasts and backs, which doth not make them seem lovely unto the beholders. They have very strong, but short Horns, growing upon very firm bones, that lye over their Nostrils; they grow upwards, towards the top of their head, every one of these Creatures being fortified with one of them; and that enough to make them so terrible, that they are shunn'd by other, though very large Creatures. With these Horns (from which those Creatures have their Names) are made very excellent Cups, which (as is conceived) give some virtue unto the liquor put into them, if it stand any whit long in those Cups.

And now to conclude with the largest and the most intelligent (as we shall hereafter shew) of all the sensible Creatures the Earth produceth, the Elephant, of which this vast Monarchy hath abundance; and of them, the *Mogol* is Master of many thousands; and his Nobles, and all men of quality besides, in those large Territories, have more or less of them. But of these much shall be spoken in my sixth Section.

I observed before, that the Inhabitants of this Empire did carry most of their burthens upon the backs of their Beasts; and in a special manner this people employ their Camels and Dromedaries for this use, to carry their Merchandizes from place to place: and therefore I shall let my Reader see

SECTION III.

What the chief Merchandizes, and most Staple, and other Commodities are, which are brought into this Empire.

THE most Staple Commodities of this Empire are *Indico* and *Cotton Wool*; of that *Wool* they make divers sorts of *Callico*, which had that name (as I suppose) from *Calicut*, not far from *Goa*, where that kind of Cloth was first bought by the Portugals.

For the Spices brought hither by the *East-India Fleet*, they are had more Southerly, from the Islands of *Sumatra*, from *Ja-*
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va major and *minor*, from the *Moluccaes*, and from other places thereabouts: In which, as in the *Molucco* Islands, and those other parts too from whence the richest Spices come, the Low-Country Merchants have got such footing, and such a particular interest, that our English Factors there (for the present) buy those Commodities; as we sometimes do buy Provisions and Commodities here at home, out of the engrossing Hucksters hands: So that our English in those parts have a free Trade for no kind of Spice, but for that, which is one of the lowest prized, namely, Pepper, which they fetch from *Bantam*. Which more general Trade of the Dutch, they have formerly gained at a very vast expence, by fortifying themselves there, in the places where-ever they settle; and then standing, upon their Guard, put a kind of force upon the *Natives* to sell them their Commodities.

What the carriage of that people hath formerly been in those parts towards our English, (*where their Swords hath been longest*) is sufficiently made known by other Pens: This I may conclude from their example (and I would they were singular and alone in it) that when a people will not be ordered by that *Royal Law*, which commands us, *Matth. 7. 12. To do nothing, but what we would be content to suffer; as to do nothing unto others, but what we would be well content to suffer from others*: But on the contrary, when they measure things, not by the strait and even Rule of Equity, but by the crooked and oblique Line of Power, arming their Injustice to do what they please, because they can do what they will: This causeth many to make very bold with God in cases that seem to give advantage unto their high thoughts and Commodities: For what evil cannot Ambition and Covetousness do, when they are backt with an Arbitrary and unlimited Power here below, if they be not checkt by a stronger Arm from above? Whence we see it often come to pass, that when the Laws of Nature and Nations, yea of God himself, lye in the way of their profit, or earthly advantages (what-ever their sufferings or loss be afterward) they either spurn them thence, or else tread and trample upon them at pleasure, to compass their ends for the present. This I can say of the Dutch (something from my own knowledge, but more from the report of others) that when I lived in those parts, and we English there were more for number than they, and consequently could receive no hurt from them, we there used them as Neighbours and Brethren; but in other places, where they had the like advantage of us, they dealt with us neither like Christians nor Men. But I will not here any longer digress, but return to speak further of the Commodities to be had in *East-India*.

The *Indico* we bring thence, is a good, and a rich Commodity. It is there made of little leaves, not bigger than those on our Goose-berry bushes, and the shrubs that bear those leaves are

are about their bigness. These leaves they slip off from the small branches of those bushes, which grow with round and full heads without pricks. The leaves thus stripp'd off, are laid in great heaps together certain dayes, till they have been in a hot sweat; then are they removed, and put into very great and deep Vessels fill'd with a sufficient quantity of water to steep them in, where they leave their blew tincture with their substance; this done, the water is drain'd out into other exceeding broad, but very shallow Vessels, or Vats, made of Plaister (like to that we call Plaister of *Paris*) which will keep in all the Liquor till the hot Sun in short time extracts the moisture from it; and then what mains in the bottome, is a Cream about one quarter of an inch thick, which suddenly becomes hard and dry, and that is our *Indico*, the best sort whereof comes from *Biana*, near unto *Agra*, and a coarser sort is made at *Cirkeese*, not far from *Amadama*; about which two places, are a very great number of those shrubs planted, which bear those leaves.

For their *Cotton-wooll*, they sow seed, and very large quantities of Ground in *East-India* are thus seeded. It grows up like small Rose-bushes, and then puts forth many yellow blossoms; those afterward falling off, there remain little Cods, about the bigness of a Man's Thumb, in which the substance at first is moist and yellow; but as they ripen, they swell bigger, till they break their Covering, and after, in short time, that within them becomes Wool, as white as Snow, and then they gather it. Amongst that Wool they find seeds to sow again as they have occasion; but those shrubs bear that Wool three or four years e're they supplant them. Of this *Cotton-wool* they make divers sorts of white Cloth (as before I observed) some broad, some narrow, some coarse, some fine, and very fine indeed; for some that I have seen there I believe was as fine as our purest Lawn. Much of the coarser sort of that Cloth they dye into Colours, or else stain in it variety of well-shaped and well-coloured Flowers or Figures, which are so fixed in the Cloth, that no water can wash them out. That pretty Art of staining, or printing fixing those variety of Colours in that white Cloth, the People of *Asia* have engrossed to themselves, where the most curious *Pintadaes* are made; whither neighbouring, as well as more remote Nations, bring their Monies to fetch them thence.

In *Decan*, which bounds upon the *Mogol's* Territories South, (the Princes whereof are Tributaries unto him) there are many Diamond-Rocks, in which are found those most pretious of all other Stones; and they are to be sold in this Empire, and consequently to be had by those who have skill to buy them, and Money to pay for them. But as all the Stones in *East-India* are not pretious, so those that are, the *Natives* know very well how to value.

But further, for the Merchandizing Commodities the *Mogol's* Provinces afford, there is Musk (by reason of their abundance
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of Musk-Cats) to be had in good quantity; and there are Bezar stones: which are not so called from any Beast of that name, but they grow in the maws of Goats, which when they observe to grow exceeding lean, they kill them, and find those stones in them; and if they did not so, that stone in them would make an end of them. By which we may observe, how that precious Bezar stone, that proves many times such a Cordial, and Preservative to the Life of Man, is destructive and mortal unto the poor Creature from whence it is taken: Like that precious Word of God, that may proceed from the Lips of him that hath a lean Soul, and may do others good, but himself nothing but mischief. The greatest number of those Goats, from whence those Bezars are taken, feed on the Mountains of *Lar* in the *Persians* Territories, the Western-Bound (as before) of the *Mogol's* great Empire.

They have some store of Silk here; but the greatest quantity of that rich Commodity, that any place in the whole World affords, comes out of *Georgia*, a Province belonging unto the King of *Persia*. Those *Georgians* and *Armenians*, (both under the Command of the Persian King) are by profession Christians, like those of the Greek Church. And the *Abissins*, under the Command of *Prefter John*, are in profession Christians likewise, but these *Abissins* circumcise their Males before they baptize them. Alas poor People! who for want of better instruction cannot know what they should, and therefore *know not what they do*. All those *Armenians*, *Georgians*, and *Abissins*, (as I have it from others, but can relate something of it out of my own knowledge) even all of them see Christ but in the dark, and by reason of the general ignorance that is in them, cannot know God as they ought in Jesus Christ. These are the different cases of many which profess Christ in the World; some cannot know him, some care not to know him, and some will not know him; Amongst the first of these, they all may be ranked whom I but now named, as many others of the Greek, and those that profess Christianity in Russian Churches, with many-many others of the Romish, who have the Truths of God sealed up in an unknown Tongue, to keep, and to continue them in ignorance; who instead of the two Breasts of the Church, the Law and the Gospel, are fed with mouldy and finnowed Traditions; and their case being so, our Charity towards them may lead us thus far, to believe that they would do better, if they knew better; and this may speak much in their excuse. But what Plea can be made for us of this Nation, *that Do not what we Know*; or if we be ignorant, it is because we will be so; not because we cannot know, but because we care not for knowledge, and *will not know*?

But to return to the place where I began my last digression; I told you that the People here have some store of Silk, of which they make Velvets, Sattins, Taffataes, either plain, or mingled,

or strip'd in party-colours ; but the best of them for richness and goodness come not near those which are made in the parts of *Italy*.

Many curious Boxes, Trunks, Standishes, Carpets, with other excellent Manufactures, may be there had. They have medicinal Drugs ; and amongst them very much *Cassia* growing there in Canes. They have Gums well sented, and much *Lignum Aloes*, which burnt, yields a perfume better than any one thing in the world that I ever smelled. They have great store of Gum-lac, of which they make their hard Wax ; and that Gum likewise they there imploy for many other neat uses. The Earth there yields good Minerals of Lead, Iron, Copper, Brass, and (they say) they have Silver-Mines too ;* which (if true) they need not open, being so enriched from other Nations of *Europe*, and other parts, who yearly bring thither great quantities of Silver to purchase their Commodities. Which I collect from our English Trade there ; for, though we vent some quantity of our Wollen Cloth, with some other things we carry thither, yet the greatest part by far of Commodities brought thence, are caught by the Silver hook. And this is the way to make any Nation of the world rich, to bring, and leave Silver in it, and to take away Commodities. And, as all Rivers run into the Sea, so many Silver Streams run into this Monarchy, and there stay ; the People of any Nation being there very welcome that bring in their *Bullion*, and carry away the others Merchandizes ; but it is look'd on as a Crime that is not easily answered, to transport any quantity of Silver thence.

The Coyn, or Bullion, brought thither from any place, is presently melted and refined, and the *Mogol's* Stamp (which is his Name, and Titles, in Persian Characters) put upon it. The Coyn there is more pure than in any other part of the world, being (as they report) made of pure Silver, without any Alloy ; so that in the Spanish Money, the purest of all *Europe*, there is some dross.

They call their pieces of Money, *Roopees* ; of which there are some of divers values, the meanest worth two shillings and three pence, and the best two shillings and nine pence sterling. By these they count their Estates and Payments. They have another Coyn of inferiour value in *Guzarat*, called *Mamoodies*, about twelve pence sterling ; both the former, and these, are made in halves, and some few in quarters ; so that three pence is the least piece of silver current in those Countries, and very few of them to be seen. That which passeth up and down for exchange under this rate, is Brass or Copper Money, which they call *Pices*, whereof three, or thereabouts, countervail a Penny, Those *Pices* are made so massie and thick, as that the baser metal of which they are made, put to other uses, is well-nigh worth the Silver they are rated at. Their Silver Coyn

is made either round or square, but so thick, as that it never breaks nor wears out. They have pure Gold-Coyn likewise, some pieces of great value; but these are not very ordinarily seen amongst them.

I have now done with this Section, wherein I have related much of the Commodities, and Riches, as before of the Provisions and Pleasures which are to be found in that vast Monarchy, and, I conceive, nothing but what Truth will justify. And now, lest that place I have describ'd, should seem to be an earthly Paradise, I must acquaint my Reader, that the Contents there found by such as have lived in those parts, are sour'd and sauc'd with many unpleasing things; which he must needs know, when he takes notice

SECTION IV.

Of the Discommodities, Inconveniences, and Annoyances, that are to be found or met withall in this Empire.

AS the Poets feigned that the Garden of the *Hesperides* (wherein were Trees that bare Golden Apples) was guarded by a Serpent: So there are stings here, as well as fruits; all considered together may not unfitly be resembled by those Locusts mention'd, *Rev. 9. 7, 8, 10. verses, Who had the Faces of Men, and the Hair of Women, and Crowns as of Gold on their Heads; but they had too, the Teeth of Lyons, and the tayls of Scorpions, and there were stings in those tayls.* Here are many things to content and please the enjoyers of them, to make their life more comfortable; but withall here are Teeth to tear, and stings to kill: All put together, are nothing but a mixture made up (as indeed all earthly things are) of good and bad; of bitter and sweet; of what contents, and of what contents not.*

The Annoyances of these Countries are, first many harmfull beasts of prey, as Lyons, Tygers, Wolves, Jackalls, with others; those Jackalls seem to be wild Doggs, who in great companies run up and down in the silent night, much disquieting the peace thereof, by their most hideous noyse. Those most ravenous Creatures will not suffer a Man to rest quietly in his Grave, for if his Body be not buryed very deep, they will dig him thence, and bury as much of him again as they can consume in their hungry bellies. In their Rivers are many Crocodiles, and-----*Latet anguis in herba*, on the Land, not a few over-grown Snakes, with other venomous and pernicious Creatures. In our Houses there we often see *Lizards*, shaped like unto Crocodiles, of a sad green colour, and but little Creatures, the fear of whom presents its self most to the Eye, for I do not know that they are hurtful. There are many Scorpions to be seen, which are

oftentimes felt, which creep into their houses especially in that time of the Rains, whose stinging is most sensible, and deadly, if the Patient have not presently some oyl that is made of Scorpions, to annoint the part affected, which is a sudden and a certain cure. But if the man can get the Scorpion that stung him, (as sometimes they do) the aylic substance it affords, being beaten in pieces, suddenly applyed, is a present help. The sting of the Scorpion may be a very fit resemblance of the sting of Death, the bitterness and anguish whereof nothing can assuage and cure so well, as a serious consideration, and a continual application of the thoughts of dying. *Facile contemnit omnia, qui cogitat se semper moriturum*, that man may trample upon every thing, whose meditations are taken up with the thoughts of his Change. He cannot dye but well, who dyes daily; daily in his preparations for death, though he dye not presently.

The Scorpions are in shape like unto our Cra-fishes, and not bigger, and look black like them, before they are boyled. They have a little round tayl which turns up, and lyes usuall upon their backs, at the end whereof is their sting, which they do not put in, and let out of their bodies, as other venemous creatures do, but it alwayes appears in their tayls ready to strike; it is very sharp and hard, and not long, but crooked like the talon of an Hawk.

The abundance of Flies (like those swarms in Egypt, Exod. 8. 21.) in those parts did likewise very much annoy us: for in the heat of the day their numberless number was such, as that we could not be quiet in any place for them, they being ready to fly into our Cupps, and to cover our Meat as soon as it was placed on the Table; and therefore we had alwayes some of the Natives we kept there, who were our Servants, to stand round about us on purpose while we were eating, with Napkins to fright them away. And as in the day one kind of ordinary Flies troubled us; so in the night we were likewise very much disquieted with another sort called *Musqueetoës*, like our Gnats, but some-what less, and in that season we were very much troubled with *Chinches*, another sort of little troublesome and offensive creatures, like little *Ticks*: and these annoyed us two ways; as first by their biting and stinging, and then by their stink. From all which we were by far more free when we lodged in Tents (as there we did much) than when we abode in Houses; where in great Cities and Towns, (to add unto the disquiets I before named) there were such an abundance of large hungry Ratts, that some of us were bitten in the night as we lay in our beds, either on our Toes or Fingers, or on the tips of our Ears, or on the tops of our Noses, or in any part of our Bodies besides which they could get into their Mouths.

The winds in those parts (as I observed before) which they call the *Mont soone*, blow constantly one way, altering but few points, six months Southerly, and six months Northerly. The months of *April*, *May*, and the beginning of *June*, till the Rain falls,

falls, are so extremely hot, as that the wind when it blows but gently, receives such heat from the parched ground, that the reflection thereof is ready to blister a Man's Face that receives the breath of it. And if God did not provide for those parts, by sending a breeze, or breath, or small gale of wind daily, which somewhat tempers that hot sulphureous Air, there were no living in that Torrid Zone for us English, who have been used to breathe in a temperate Climate; and, notwithstanding that benefit, the Air in that place is so hot to us English, that we should be every day stewed in our own moisture, but that we stir very little in the heat of the day, and have cloathing about us as thin as we can make it. And no marvel, for the coldest day in the whole year at noon (unless it be in the time when those Rains fall) is hotter there than the hottest day in *England*.

Yet I have there observed most strange and sudden changes of heat and cold within few hours, as in *November* and *December* the most temperate months of their year (as before) and then at mid-night the Air was so exceeding fresh and cold, that it would produce a thin Ice on the water, and then as we lay in our Tents, we would have been very glad of the warmth of a Rugg upon us, and the noon of that following day would be so extream hot, as that it was troublesom then to keep on the thinnest cloathing.

Sometimes there, the wind blows very high in those hot and dry seasons, not long before the Rain begins to fall, raising up into the Air a very great height, thick Clouds of Dust and Sand, which appear like dark Clouds full of moisture, but they deceive like the brook in *Job*, *Job* 6. 15. *that bath no water in it*. These dry showers (which Almighty God threatens to send among a people as an heavy judgement, *Deut.* 28. 24. *When he will make the Rain of a Land powder and dust*) most grievously annoy all those amongst whom they fall, enough to finite them all with a present blindness; filling their Eyes, Ears, Nostrils, and their Mouths are not free if they be not also well guarded; searching every place as well within as without our Tents or Houses, so that there is not a little key-hole, of any Trunk or Cabinet, if it be not covered, but receives some of that dust into it, the dust forced to find a lodging any where, every where, being so driven and forced, as it is, by the extream violence of the wind.

But there is no place nor Country under Heaven, nor yet ever hath been, without some discommodities. *The Garden of Eden had a Serpent in it*, *Gen.* 3. He that made all things by his Absolute Command, hath so mixed and tempered, and ordered all things here below by his infinite Wisdom, that either too much Heat, or too much Cold; either the barrenness of the Soyl, or the unwholsomness of the Air, or some thing else, ministers matter of exception more or less against every place, that the Sons of Men might hence learn, that there is no true and perfect content to be found in any *Kingdom*, but in that of *Heaven*: For while we are here, trouble and peace, mourning and joy, comfort

comfort and discontent, come all of them by courses and successions; so that there is no weeding up of those Tares, no removing of those Annoyances from the Life of Man.

And so having observed what is Truth, and what is enough to be said of the Inconveniences and Annoyances, as well as of the Commodities and Contentments which are to be found in those parts, I come now to speak of the People that inhabit there. And because many particulars will necessarily fall within the compass of this part of my Observations, which would more weary my Reader if they should be presented unto him in one continued Discourse, I shall therefore (as I have begun) break this into Sections, and proceed to speak

SECTION V.

Of the Inhabitants of East-India, who they are; Of their most excellent Ingenuity expressed by their curious Manufactures, their Markets at Home to buy and sell in, and their Trade abroad

THE Inhabitants in general of *Indostan* were all anciently *Gentiles*, called in general *Hindoes*, belonging to that very great number of those which are called *Heathens*, which take up almost two thirds of the number of the People who inhabit the face of the whole Earth. But of this more hereafter. There are some *Jews* (but they are not many) here and there scattered and lost as it were, in those other great numbers of People; the greatest company of *Jews* now to be found together in any one place of the world (as I have been made to believe from the observation of others) are to be seen at *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*, whither they are returned, and where settled, to take their fill of their fore-Fathers Flesh-pots. For the Inhabitants of *East-India* ever since they were subdued by *Tamberlain*, they have been mixed with *Mahumetans*, which though they be by far in respect of their number less than those *Pagans*, yet they bear all the sway, and command all in those Countries.

There are besides these, (now become as it were Natives there) a great number of *Persians* and *Tartars* (who are *Mahumetans* by Religion) that there inhabit, very many of which the *Mogol* keeps for Souldiers to serve on Horse-back, called there *Haddees*: There are of both these many daring, stout, hardy and valiant Men. For the *Persians*, there are many of them comely Persons, not so swart as those of *East-India*. But for the *Tartars* I have there seen, (and I have seen many of them) they are more to be commended for their Valour than Beauty; a square, stout, strong People, having platter Faces, and flat Noses. There are many *Armenians*, and some *Abissins* amongst them, who

who wear the Livery of Christ, in being called Christians, the greatest part of whose Christianity lies in their Name. Those Armenians there make some wine to sell, of Raisins, Sugar, and other ingredients, that is strong and heady, and luscious, tasted too much by many Christians that come thither, as by those too that make it. Of the green Grapes there, though they have abundance and they great, and sweet, and good, yet they make no Wine at all: The Mahumetans (in obedience to a Precept of *Mahumets* which forbids Wine) neither make, nor drink it; and others are not suffered there to make it of those green Grapes, for fear (as I suppose) they should make, and drink too much of it.

To those I have named of other Nations, (that are to be seen in *East-India*) there are besides some few almost of every people in *Asia*, and many Europeans of divers parts (that use to stir from their own fires) to be found amongst them; and among that great variety of People and Nations there to be observed, I have taken special notice of divers Chineseas, and Japanesas there, and those I have seen of them, for the generality, are a people of no large stature, with little eyes, and noses something flattened; *de tribus Capillis*, with a few black hairs that stand scattered on their upper lips which make them as handsome beards as are to be seen on our Hares, or Cats.

There are some Jews here (as before I observed) whose stubbornness and Rebellion, long ago, caused Almighty God to threaten them, that they should be after sifted, and scattered among all the Nations of the World.

Those ancient Satyrists, *Persius*, and *Juvenal*, after that most horrid act committed by them in Crucifying our Blessed Saviour (though not in respect unto that most cruel action, for they were Heathens) yet they call them *Verpos*, that is, circumcised, Worms, vermin. *Tacitus* after gives them a most unfavoury Epithete, calling them *foetentes Judaeos*, stinking Jews. *Marcus* the Emperour observing them well, concluded that they were a generation of men worse than savages or Canibals, to be even the worst of men, as if they were the very refuse and dregs of mankind.

How usual is that Proverb, that when men are suspected to do otherwise than they should, to answer, what, *am I Jew, that I should do so, and so*: I have observed something to this purpose, from the people of *East-India*, who are very valiant at tongue-fights, though not so with their weapons (as you will hear afterward); that people, I say, who have a very nimble but a base quality in railing at, and miscalling one another; and their language is so full, and significant, that they can call a man in it, two or three base things in one word; but when they come to call him, whom they miscall, *Judeo Jew*, they believe (as I have been often told) that they can go no higher; esteeming that, above all other terms, the highest name of obloquy.

Yet we do believe, (because the Lord hath promised it) that he

he will find a time to call home this people again to himself, when they shall receive honour above all the contempt they have been long under; after they shall see with sorrow, and with the eye of faith, Him, whom their Fore-fathers, out of ignorance, and despite, and unbelief pierced.

For the Stature of the Natives of *East-India*, they are like us, but generally very streight; for I never observed nor heard of any crooked person amongst them. And one reason may be, because they never lace nor girt in their Bodies; and when they sleep, they accustom themselves to stretch out their Bodies at their full length, without any thing to raise up their heads. And further, among many other things I took special notice of there, I never observed any deformed Person, nor Ideot or natural Fool, in those Parts.

Now for the Complexion of this People, they are all of them of a sad tawney or Olive-colour; their hair black as a Raven, very harsh, but not curl'd. They like not a man or woman that is very white or fair, because that (as they say) is the colour of Lepers, common amongst them. Most of the *Mahumetans*, except the *Moolaes* (which are their Priests) or those which are very old and retired, and have (as it were) given the World quite over, keep their chins continually bare, but suffer the hair on their upper lipps to grow very long; and they keep it in its natural colour, by combing it continually with black-lead Combs, till they be of good years; but afterward, when Time hath so snowed upon them, that they can no longer keep in nor conceal their gray hairs, they use the Razor (as they did) no more, but let the hair of their chins grow long and large, which makes many gray-beards amongst them, and I conceive that there are of those many Old men.

And further, it is the manner of the Mahumetans to shave all the hair from off their Heads, reserving only one lock on the Crown of them, for *Mahomet* to pull them up to Heaven with (as they fondly conceit). The *Hindoes* shave their Heads likewise, but cut all off; and both of them shave thus, and that very often; but however their baldness appears not at all, because their Heads are continually covered with a Shash, or a wreath of narrow Callico-Cloth, many times wrap'd about them, (usually for their colour white or red) which they never pull off, as we do our Hats in Complements. Their much and often shaving makes many excellent Barbers amongst them, who besides their Scissers and Razors, use a little Instrument about the length of a short Bodkin, very sharp, made like a Chizel, but not broader at the cutting end than the shank of a six-penny nail, with which they pare and clense the nails on their fingers and toes. Every Barber carries always about him a round Looking-glass made of steel, about the compass of a large trencher-plate, made somewhat hollow, and kept by them exceeding clean and sleek, so that it will represent the Face of him that beholds it on the convex side very well.

well. These Barbers, as they walk up and down, often present these Glasses unto men whom they find sitting still, which is a tender of their Service if they shall please to make use of them,

The people there often wash their Bodies, and keep their Feet as clean and as sweet as their Hands. The better sort annoint themselves very much with sweet oyls, which makes their company (as before I observed) very savory.

The Natives there (of which there is something before in my third *section*) shew very much ingenuity in their curious Manufactures; as in their Silk-stuffs which they most artificially weave, some of them very neatly mingled either with Silver or Gold, or both. As also in making excellent Quilts of their stained cloth, or of fresh coloured Taffata lined with their Pintadoet, or of their Sattin lined with Taffata, betwixt which they put Cotton-wooll, and work them together with Silk. Those Taffata or Sattin-quilts, are excellently stitched by them, being done as evenly, and in as good order, as if they had been drawn out to them, for their direction, the better to work them. They make likewise excellent Carpets of their Cotton-wooll, in fine mingled colours, some of them more than three yards broad, and of a great length. Some other richer Carpets they make all of Silk, so artificially mixed, as that they livelyly represent those flowers, and figures made in them. The ground of some other of their rich Carpets is Silver or Gold, about which are such silken flowers, and figures (as before I named) most excellently and orderly disposed throughout the whole work.

Their skill is likewise exquisite in making of Cabinets, or Boxes, or Trunks, or Standishes, curiously wrought, within, and without; inlaid with Elephants tooth, or Mother of Pearl, or Ebony, or Tortoyse-shell, or Wyre; they make excellent Cups, and other things of Agate, and Cornelian; and curious they are in cutting all manner of stones, Diamonds as well as others.

They paint Staves, or Bed-steads, or Chests of Boxes, or Fruit-dishes, or large Chargers, extream neatly; which, when they be not inlaid (as before) they cover the wood (first being handsomly turn'd) with a thick Gum, then put their Paint on, most artificially made of liquid silver, or gold, or other lively colours, which they use; and after make it much more beautiful with a very clear varnish put upon it.

They are excellent at Limning, and will copy out any Picture they see to the life: for confirmation of which take this instance; It happened that my Lord Embassadour visiting the *Mogol* on a time, as he did often, presented him with a curious neat small oval Picture done to the life in *England*. The *Mogol* was much pleased with it, but told the Embassadour withal, that haply he supposed that there was never a one in his Country that could do so well in that curious Art; and then offered to wager with him a Leck of Roopees (a sum which

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amounted

amounted to no less than 10000 *l. sterl.*) that in a few days he would have two Copies made by that presented to him, so like, that the Embassadour should not know his own. He refused the great wager, but told the King he would adventure his judgment on it : Two Copies taken from that Original were within few days after made, and brought and laid before the Embassadour, in the presence of the King; the Embassadour viewing them long, either out of Courtship to please the King, or else unable to make a difference 'twixt the Pictures being all exquisitely done, took one of them which was new made, for that which he had formerly presented, and did after profess that he did not flatter, but mistake in that choice. The truth is, that the Natives of that Monarchy are the best Apes for imitation in the world, so full of ingenuity that they will make any new thing by pattern, how hard soever it seem to be done; and therefore it is no marvel, if the Natives there make Shoes, and Boots, and Clothes, and Linen, and Bands and Cuffs of our English Fashion, which are all of them very much different from their Fashions and Habits, and yet make them all exceeding neatly.

They have Markets, which they call *Bazars*, to sell and buy their Commodities in all their great Towns twice every day, a little before, and an hour after Sun-rising in the morning, and so a little before and a little after Sun-set at night. The other parts of the day being too hot for those great confluences of people to meet together; and those are the seasons we English-men there make use of, to ride abroad and take the air, the rest of the day we usually spend in our houses. The people there sell almost all their Provisions, as very many other things, by weight.

For the foreign Trade of this people, it is usually once a year into the Red Sea to a City called *Moha* in *Arabia the happy*, about thirty leagues from the mouth of it; It is a principal *Mart* for all Indian Commodities, but the Staple and most principal there vented is their Cotten-cloth, either white, or stained, and their Cotten-wooll. Hither they come from *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*, as from many other parts of the Turks Dominions, to trafique; hither they come from *Prester Johns* Country which lyes on the other side of the Arabian Gulf (for so the Red Sea is there called) and not above fourteen leagues over at the City *Moha*.

The Ship or *Junk* (for so it is called) that usually goes from *Surat* to *Moha* is of an exceeding great burden, some of them I believe fourteen or fifteen hundred Tuns, or more, but those huge Vessels are very ill built, like an over-grown Litter, broad and short, but made exceeding big, on purpose to waff Passengers forward and backward: which are Mahometans, who go on purpose to visit *Mahomets* Sepulchre, at *Medina* neer *Mecha*, but many miles beyond *Moha*. The Passengers, and others in that most capacious Vessel that went and returned that year I left *India*,

dia, (as we were credibly told) amounted to the number of seven-
teen hundred. Those Mahumetans that have visited *Mahomets* Sepulchre, are ever after called *Hoggees*, or holy men.

This *Junk* bound from *Surat* to the Red-Sea, as she hath many people in her, so hath she good Ordnance, but those Navigators know not well how to use them for their defence. She begins her Voyage about the twentieth of *March*, and finisheth it, about the end of *September* following. The Voyage is but short and might easily be made in less than three moneths, but the Ship is very slow, and ill-built to abide foul weather; and in the long season of the rain, and a little before and after it, the winds upon those Coasts are commonly so violent, that there is no coming but with much hazard into the Indian Sea. This Ship returning is usually worth (as I have heard it faithfully reported, and if my credit given to that report make me not to abuse my Readers) two hundred thousand pounds *sterling*, and most of it brought back in good Gold and Silver, some fine *Chamlets* they bring with them home likewise. But that huge mass of wealth thus brought home into *India*, is another especial thing, and might have been added to that I spake of before towards the continual enriching of this great Monarchy: where, in the next place I shall speak

SECTION VI.

Of the care and skill of this people in keeping and managing their excellent good Horses; Of their Elephants and their ordering and managing them; And how the people ride and are carried up and down from place to place.

THe Souldiery here, and so many of the Gentry, and better sort of the people, who live at Court, shew excellent good skill in riding and managing of their well turn'd, high metal'd, choice Horses; which are excellent good at mounting up, bounding and curvetting, and when they run them at their full swiftest speed will stop them at a foots breadth; for the scantling of those creatures, they are in proportion like ours, but excellently well eyed, headed, limn'd; for their colours, there are some of them Raven-black, but many more of them white, curiously Dapled; and a very great number Pied and spotted all over, and there are some of other bright colours. But it is a usual custom there amongst Gallants who ride upon the bright-coloured horses, to have their legs and lower parts of their bellies and breasts died into a Saffron colour (of which they have much there) which makes them look as if they had stood in some

Dyars Vatt, just to such an height of their bodies.

The hair upon their Horses (whom they keep plump and fat) is very short, soft, and lyes sleek upon them: and I wonder not at it, they are kept so daintily; every Horse being allowed a man to dress and feed him, and to run by him when he is rode forth, and this is all his work.

They tye not down their horse-heads when they stand still (as we do) with halters, but secure each horse by two ropes, fastened to their hind-feet, which ropes are somewhat long, to be staked down behind them in Tents, or other places wherein they are kept.

They cut grass for them green or withered on the earth as they have occasion to use it, never mowing their ground and making Hay as we do. But that which keeps their horses in heart, and in flesh, is the Provender they eat, which is a kind of round grain they call *Donna*, somewhat bigger than our Tares; which they give not unto them dry, but boil'd, and mingled with some coarse Sugar amongst it; and when it is cold give it them, made up in round balls, which they put into their mouths, as if they cramb'd them; and sometimes they put a little Butter into these balls to scour their bodies.

Their choice good horses are valued there at as dear if not an higher rate, than those we esteem most of in *England* are prized with us. They make excellent Saddles, and some of them of great value, adorned with handsom and rich trappings, all of them very easie both for the horse, and his rider. They manage their horses with strong snaffles, whose reins and head-stalls are made suitable to their Saddles and Trappings,

The Elephants in this vast Monarchy are very numerous, and though they be the largest, and that by far, of all the Creatures the earth brings forth; yet are they so tractable, unless at some times when the Males are mad (of which more afterward) as that a boy of twelve years old is able to rule the biggest of them, in which we may in a special manner read a Comment on that truth which tells us how that the Lord hath put *the fear of man upon all the creatures here below*.

But for the Elephants (I have begun to speak of) they are very huge vast over-grown Creatures, some of whom, which I have seen, I conceive at the least twelve foot high; but there are amongst them (as they say) fourteen or fifteen foot in height. The colour of them all is black; their skins thick, and smooth without hair; they have full eyes, but not proportionable to their great bodies; they have ears like our Oxen, but not exceeding large, and those ears edged (as it were) about with a short hair-fringe; and at the end of their tails (which are slender and not very long) there grows some hair likewise and a little on their eye-lids; but no where else about their bodies.

The feet of the Elephants look like the trunks of small trees cut square off from their roots; round about which there are thick, and short, and broad claws growing. Some

Some that write of them have abused the world with this tradition that they have no joynts in their legs, and therefore stand when they sleep against trees to hold them up : which is all very false, for they lye down and arise again at their pleasure, as other beasts do.

Their motion is not swift, a walking rather than a pace, about three miles at the most an hour ; but of all beasts that carry burdens they are most sure of foot, for they never fall, nor yet stumble to endanger their Rider.

They are most docile creatures, and of all those we account meerly sensible come neereſt unto reason.

Lipſius in his *Epistles Cent. 1. Epist. 50.* out of his observation from others, writes more of them than I can confirm, or aby, I perswade my self, believe ; yet many things most remarkable, which seem indeed to be acts of reason rather than sense, I have observed in them : for instance, an Elephant will do any thing his Keeper commands him, as if he bid him to affright a man, he will make towards him as if he meant to tread him into pieces, but when he is come at him do him no hurt at all ; so if he would have him, to abuse or to disgrace a man ; he will take dirt, or dust, or kennel-water into his Trunk, and dash it on his face.

Their Trunks are grisly Snouts of a great length, hanging down betwixt their long teeth, which teeth nature hath given them for their defence, otherwise they are of little use to them. In their Trunks they have such marvellous strength, that by them they can do very much mischief: for if they strike an Horse, or Camel, or any other the like beast with them (as sometimes they do when as they are mad) they will so break their bones, as that they will spoil, nay kill them at one blow ; and much more a man, if he chance to come in their way.

Those Trunks of the Elephants are to them as an hand by which they feed themselves, and make great use of them otherwise upon all occasions: for with those Trunks they tear off boughs from trees, by winding them about them; and after, with them, put boughs into their mouths, and eat the tenderest parts of them. With these they pull up green corn (if they be suffered) and graſs by the roots, and then against their legs beat off the earth and dust that hangs about them, before they eat thereof. Thus they deal with sedgs, or weeds, which they find in the water, first washing off the dirt which hangs on the roots thereof, and then down they go into their vast bellies.

The Elephants delight much to bathe themselves in water ; in which, when they find depth enough, they swim as well as any other Creatures.

I observed before, that the male Elephants when they grow lusty are sometimes mad for their females, but in few days come again intemper ; before which time they are so mischievous, that they will strike any thing, but their Keepers, that

that comes in their way ; and their strength is such (as before I observ'd) that there is no blow they give which lights either upon men or beast, but carries death with it. At those times to prevent mischief they are kept apart from company, fetter'd with strong chains unto Trees ; but if by chance in their phrensie they get loose (as sometimes they do) they will make after every thing they see stir, in which case they have no means to stop them in their violent course, but by firing of Crackers made of Gun-powder, whose sparkling, and noise makes them to stand still and tremble. When those creatures are in that mad distemper, they sweat much, which makes their savour exceeding rank and filthy like that ill smell of a Boar when he is fatting in his Sty, but, by much, more strong and more offensive than that.

An English Merchant there, of good credit upon his own knowledge, reported this thing which follows, and is very observable, of an Elephant in *Adsmir* (the place then of the *Mogols* residence) ; who being brought often through the *Bazar* or Market place, a woman who usually sat there to sell herbs, was wont to give this great Elephant an handful, as he many times passed by ; this Elephant after, being mad, brake his fetters, and took his way through that *Bazar* ; the people being all of them much affrighted, made haste to secure themselves by getting out of his way, amongst whom was this Herb-woman, who, for fear and haste, forgot her little Child which she had brought thither ; the Elephant came to the place where this woman usually sat, stopt, and seeing a little Child lying there about her herbs, took it up gently with his Trunk, not doing it the least harm, and presently after laid it down upon the stall of an house that was hard by ; and then proceeded on in his furious course. *Acofia*, a Jesuit, relates the like of an Elephant in *Goa* from his own experience.

The Elephant, though he be vast, and terrible, yea and cruel too, when he is set to do mischief, or when he is mad ; yet otherwise is a tame gentle Creature, so that the dread of this huge beast, most appears to the eyes. But notwithstanding his terribleness, I once there saw a Creature compared with an Elephant, not much bigger than a small Fish compared with a Whale, boldly to encounter one of them. The occasion by which this so came to pass offers it self thus : that year I went for *East-India*, the Merchants here (as from the King of *England*, in whose name they sent all their Presents) amongst many other things, then sent the *Mogol* some great English Mastives, and some large Irish Greyhounds, in all to the number of eight, dispersed in our several Ships ; one of those high spirited Mastives in our Voyage thither, upon a day seeing a great Shoal or company of Porpices (before described) mounting up above the waves, and coming toward that Ship wherein he was, suddenly leapt overboard to encounter with them, before any did take notice of that fierce creature : to prevent that engagement, wherein he was irrecoverably lost, the Ship then having such a fresh gale of winde,

wind, that she could not suddenly slack her course, whereby that poor creature might have been preserved. Another, one of the Irish Greyhounds had his head shot off in our fight. The Mange was the destruction of four more of them; only two of the Mastives came alive to *East-India*, and they were carried up, each of them drawn in a little Coach, when I went up to the Embassador, that he might present them to the *Mogol*. The fiercest of these two, in our way thither, upon a time breaking loose, fell upon a very large Elephant that was hard by us, fastening his teeth in the Elephants Trunk, and kept his hold there a good while, which made that huge beast extremely to roar; and though the Elephant did swing the Mastive up and down above ground many times (as not feeling his weight) that he might throw him off; yet he could not suddenly do it, but at last freeing himself from the dog by throwing him a good space from him, there came a Mungril Curr of that Countrey towards our Mastive, who then lost this his most unequal match, fell upon that dog and kill'd him, by which means we recovered our Mastive again into our custody, he having not received any apparent hurts; by which we may see how much Courage and Mettle there is in those right fierce Mastives.

This story pleased the *Mogol* very much when the dogs were presented to him, and he allowed each of them four attendants of those Natives to wait upon them, who by turns two and two together carried them up and down with him in *Palankees*, (after described) to which they were tied, and the other two went by them, fanning the Flies from off them; and the King caused a pair of silver tongs to be made on purpose, that with them when he pleased, he might feed those dogs with his own hand. But this story by the way.

The *Mogol* hath many of his great Elephants train'd up for the war, who carry each of them one iron Gun, about five foot long, lying upon a strong frame of wood, made square that is fitted to a thick broad Pannel fastned about him, with very strong and broad Girdles or Girts. The Gun like an Harquebus hath a piece of iron like a Musket-rest fastned on the sides thereof, made loose to play up and down. The bottom of that Iron Rest so fixed, is long, to be let through that frame of wood on the fore-side, and so to be keyed in at the bottom. At the four corners of this frame are small flags of silk, with sundry devices painted on them, put upon little neat coloured staves; upon the neck of the Elephant sits a man to guide him, and within the frame a Gunner, to make his shot as he finds occasion. The Piece thus mounted, carries a bullet about the bigness of a Tennis Ball.

Some Elephants the King keeps for the execution of Malefactors; the manner how, follows in *Session 23*. And some he keeps to carry himself and women; and some Elephants are kept for State (of which more when I shall come to speak more particularly of the great *Mogol*.) Other Elephants are there employed

ployed for the carrying of burdens, their strength being so great as that they will bear a marvellous weight.

The Elephants are all governed with a small rod of steel about half a yard long, made sharp on the lower end, and towards that end there is an hook returned, like a Fish-hook, that is very sharp likewise; by which their Riders sitting on their necks, pull them back, or prick them forward at their pleasure.

These vast Creatures, though the Countrey be exceeding fruitful, and all provisions in it cheap, yet by reason of their huge bulk, if they well be kept and fed, are very chargeable in keeping; they are kept usually under the shade of great Trees, where by a strong chain of iron upon one of their hind-legs they fasten them. And as they stand, the abundance of Flies vex them, and therefore with their fore-feet they make dust, (the ground usually being very dry) and with their Trunk cast the dust about their bodies to drive away those Flies from them.

The King allows every one of those great male-Elephants four femals, which in their language they call their wives. These brutes (as they say) will not endure any to behold them when they are coupling together; which may condemn many who call themselves men and women, but have so lost all modesty, that *they are not ashamed when they commit any act of filthiness, no they are not ashamed, neither can they blush.* The Female Elephants (as they further say) carry their young, one whole year ere they bring them forth; Thirty years expire ere they come to their full growth; and they fulfill the accustomed age of men ere they die. And lastly, notwithstanding the great Number there of those vast Creatures, and the excessive charge in keeping them well, they value them at exceeding high rates.

For this people, when as they journey from place to place, the men of the inferiour sort go all on foot, their women that cannot so travel, ride on little Oxen, inured to carry burdens, or on Asses, which carry their little children with them; the women like the men astride. Others that are of better quality ride on Horses, Mules, Camels, Dromedaries, or else in slight Coaches with two wheels covered on the top and back-end, but the fore-part and sides open; unless they carry women. Those Coaches will carry four persons beside the driver, but two may lie at ease, and at length in them upon quilts, that lie in the body of them, upheld by girt-web, with which they are bottom'd, which makes them by far more easie. These Coaches are covered for men of quality with some thing that is costly; much of our *English* broad cloth that is died red, is there bought from us and imployed for that use. At the back-end of this Coach they have a long round bolster, that reacheth both sides, stuffed with Cotten-wool, and covered with Velvet or Sattin, or with some other thing that is rich. These Coaches are drawn by Oxen, one yoke to a Coach; some of which Oxen have their short horns neatly tipped with silver plate, and some others with brass; and they

they have each of them a fine Collar of large round bells, some of them made of Silver. They are pared and suted as our Coach-horses for stature and colour; most of them thus imployed are white, and some pide, or spotted all over with several colours. They are guided with small cords which go through the parting of their Nostrils, and so twixt their horns into the Coach-mans hand, who by these restrains them when, and guides them how he pleaseth; and when he would have them go on, pricks them forward with a small and short staff he keeps in his hand pointed like a goad. These Oxen there, are very neatly made, slender, strait-limb'd and not very large, but naturally very nimble, and by daily use made so fit to perform that labour, (being kept well shod) as that they go twenty miles a day and more, with good speed. They keep those Oxen for this service, as their horses, well-dressed, and so well fed, that they be plump and fat, and consequently very handsom to behold.

The men there of the greatest rank and quality, ride sometimes in those Coaches, and sometimes on their curious Horses, and sometimes on their brave Elephants, but however they are carried, they have their horses, which wait upon them when they go abroad, that they may bestride them when they please. And at other times they ride on mens shoulders, in a slight thing they call a Palanke, made somewhat like a Couch or standing Pallat, covered with a Canopy, wherein a man may lie at his full length, as many of those Grandees do, when they are removed from place to place, giving themselves up to ease, and over unto those lins which follow it; and while they are thus carried, they make the shoulders and joints of those that feel their heavy weight, to bow and buckle under their burdens. This as it should seem was an ancient, but a base effeminacy sometimes used in *Rome*. *Juvenal* in his first Saryre, describing a fat Lawyer thus carried.

*Causidici nova cum veniat Lectica Mathonis,
Plena ipso----*

Matho the pleader comes in his new Chair,
Fill'd with himself: when that he takes the air.

It had been well, if such carriages as these had been never heard of, but in then-heathen *Rome*, or amongst poor blinded *Indians*. But, *Vae nobis miseris ad quos Paganorum vitia transferunt*. Wo to us wretched people of this Nation, unto whom the vices of Pagans are derived. It was a curse that the old *Cretans* were wont to wish might fall upon their greatest enemies, that they might fall in love with evil customs. This doubtless is one, amongst many more, fallen upon us of this Nation, when some, not out of necessity, but choice, make other men their Pack-horses to ride upon them, a thing (as I conceive of it) most unworthy of a man, as he is a man, so to do.

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But I shall here digress no further; but return again to that people (I mean those of quality amongst them) who out of Pride, or Idleness, or both, are thus carried up and down, or by some other means I named before, though they remove never so little way from one place to another, accounting it very dishonourable for them to go on foot. And so much of this. I shall now proceed, (having made mention of their huge multitudes of Horses, and Elephants) &c. to take notice

SECTION VII.

Of their numerous Armies; Their Ammunition for war; How they lade themselves with weapons; How terribly they appear; yet how pusillanimous, and low-spirited they are.

WHere first, for their numerous Armies, it will appear to be no strange thing, if we consider the Great *Mogol* to be what he is, an overgrown Prince, (as before described) in the vast extent of his large Territories, being like a huge Pike in a great Pond, that preys upon all his neighbours, who therefore purchase, and keep his favour by very great Presents given him by way of homage, and a submissive acknowledgment of his mighty Power. And besides, the *Mogol* is a Master of unknown treasure, having Silver, as 'tis written of *Solomon*, 1 Kings 10. 27. *like stones in the streets*. And certainly in far greater abundance than ever *Solomon* had. Though I must tell my Reader, that all metals there, are not silver and gold, nor all stones precious. Now he that can command what treasure he will, may likewise command what men he please, as the *Mogol* doth besides his own people. Many *Persians* and *Tartars* (before spoken of) very valiant men, who serve him as Souldiers on horseback, and so the major part by far, whether Natives, or strangers, are mounted for his service in his wars.

Hence it is that the Armies there consist of incredible multitudes; they talk of some which have exceeded that mighty Host which *Zerah King of Aethiopia* brought against *King Asa*, 2 Chron. 14. 9. but they having not well learned that horrid bloody art of war, as the *Europeans* have, and wanting Commanders, and other Officers to manage their great Companies, are not so skilful to destroy, as otherwise they might be: it is a phrase most properly and fitly applyed unto savage, and absurd, and brutish, and unreasonable men, to the Enemies of God, and of his Church by the Prophet *Ezek.* 21. 31. Where Almighty God threatens *that he will deliver them into the hands of brutish men, and skilful to destroy.*

The

The Weapons they use in their Wars are, Bows and Arrows, Swords and Bucklers, short Lances having excellent good steel-heads, and short pieces like unto Carbines, besides those carried upon Elephants (before described) some Foot-men in their Wars carry those lesser Guns, with Bows and Arrows, Swords and Bucklers, and they are excellent Marks-men. They make good Gun-powder for their own use, and fire their Guns with Match, or Touch-wood. Their Swords are made crooked like Falchons, and are very sharp; but for want of skill in those that temper them, will easily break, but not bend. And therefore we sell at good rates our English Sword-blads that will bow, and become strait again. They have (and they say that for many generations past have had) great Ordnance, though they seldom make use of them in their Wars.

Their warlike Musick are some Kettle-drums carried on horseback, with long wind Instruments, which make not Musick, but noise, so harsh and unpleasing, that it is enough to fright away their enemies.

They say, that in their Military engagements, they make at the first very furious onsets, which are too violent long to continue, for the Scale quickly decides the controversie, when that side which happens first to be worsted, and to be put into disorder, knows better to Run than to Rally again.

There are some of the *Mogols* own Subjects which are men of courage; those of note among the Mahometans are called *Baloches*, inhabiting *Haiacan*, adjoining unto the Kingdom of *Persia*, (spoken of before) and there are others called *Patans*, taking their denomination from a Province of that name in the Kingdom of *Bengala*. These will look an enemy boldly in the face, and maintain with their lives, their reputation and valour. Amongst the many Sects of *Hindoos* or Gentiles (after spoken of) which are subject to this King, there is but one race of fighters called *Rashbloots*, a number of which live by spoil, who in Troops surprize poor Passengers, for the most part murdering those whom they get under their power. These excepted, the rest of the *Mogols* Natives, for the generality of them, had rather eat than quarrel, and rather quarrel than fight. I say quarrel, for I have several times observed there, that when two of them, have been both well armed, and have most shamefully abused one another, in baser language than I can express, yet durst not draw their weapons; in conclusion, when one of them hath caught the other by the throat, and forced him up against some wall, the sufferer would cry out pitiously, and the standers by would admire the other for his valour, saying, *Sba-Abas*; a proverbial speech amongst them relating to the late King of *Persia*, called *Sba-Abas*, a Prince much renowned for valour; and when any man did a thing they thought gallantly, they cryed *Sba-Abas*, as much as to say, it was done as well as the Persian King could have done it.

Yet, however the people here in general are cowardly, they appear men of very terrible aspects, having great long Mustachos upon their upper Lips, their Chins continually kept bare by the Razor, which makes them all to look like the Pictures of our old Britains; or like those our rude Painters daub upon clothes, and call them the Nine-worthies. And further, to make them the more formidable, they will appear on horse-back as if they were surrounded with an Armory, or carrying an whole Armory about them, thus appointed; At their left sides swords hanging on belts, under them sheaves of many arrows; on their left shoulders broad Bucklers fastned, and upon their backs small Guns like to Carbines fixed likewise; at their right sides Bows hanging in cases, and Lances (about two yards and an half long) hanging in loops near their stirrups (when they carry them not in their hands); yet for all this Harness the most of them are like those Ephramites, Psal. 78.9. *Who being armed, and carrying bows, turned their heads in the day of battel.* For they dare not look a man of courage in the face, though they be thus fortified, with such variety of weapons for their defence. Nay, a man of resolution will beat one of these out of all his weapons, with a small Stick, or Cane. So that I shall do the Natives of that Country no wrong, if I say of them, that they are *sola Libidine fortes*, most strong and valiant in their base lusts, and not otherwise.

The base Cowardice of which people, hath made the great *Mogol* sometimes to use this Proverb, that one Portugal would beat three of his people; and (because the English there have many times prevailed much at Sea against those Portugals) he would further add, that one English-man would beat three Portugals.

The truth is, that the Portugals, especially those which are born in those Indian Colonies, most of them a mix'd seed begotten upon those Natives, are a very low, poor-spirited people, called therefore *Gallina's del Mar*, The Hens of the Sea.

One notable instance to prove this: it happened that the *East-India* Company had a very little Pinnace, they called the *Coaster*, which they kept in those parts for discoveries; mann'd she was but with ten men, and had only one small Murdering-piece within her. She upon a time met with a Portugal Ship, going then towards *Ormos*, which had one hundred and thirty men aboard her, and Guns answerable to her Burden, and Company; Our petty Pinnace came up with her, discharged her murdering-piece, which slew one of her chief Officers; upon which, without any further resistance, she presently strook her Sails and yielded. Our English presently commanded her Gunners, and some other of her Chief Officers, to come aboard them, which immediately they did, and there kept them bound, till they had taken what they pleased out of their Ship, and then let them go, being most deservedly used in that their suffering, they being
thirteen

thirteen to one ; and yet such beasts they were, as they durst not make any resistance.

But take some stories of valiant Portugals before I leave them, and these you shall have from some of that Nation themselves, whom we not seldom met in *India*, and would there beg relief of us ; but I never knew any come to us upon those terms, but his pride would excuse his poverty thus, that he was challenged into the field, and there in single combat had fairly slain a man ; how that he durst not return again any more into the *Portugal* Colonies, for fear of the Law, and it was that which put him at present into that sad exigent to ask relief, and this was their usual plea there ; when in truth and in deed, we did believe them to be such pitiful wretches, or men of such a strange resolution, as that, (as it was written of one called *Pisander*) they would be made to fear their own shadows.

However, upon this account there came upon a time at my first coming into *India*, unto the Factory at *Surat*, where I then was, a most valiant Portugal (if you will give him leave to tell his own story, and believe it when he hath done) who first for his person was a *Quantus tantus, tantillus*, a very poor, little dwarfish man, whose person promised as little valour as any that I ever saw, though I know that high courage is not tyed to an huge bulk, for (if stories abuse us not) *Alexander* the Great was but a little man ; but what ever *Alexander* was, I am sure, that this was a poor little thing ; but however he told us, that he was by birth an *Hidalgo*, which signifies in Spanish the Son of some body, or no ordinary man, but a Gentleman of *Spain*, and that he came from thence as a Companion to the King of *Spains* Viceroy, sent to *Goa*, and himself was called the Knight with the Golden Rapier, and that suddenly after his coming to *Goa*, he was honourably invited into the field, there to fight a single Combat with a very gallant man of that place, but he soon left him there dead ; and having done so, the Viceroy prevented him with a pardon for that fact, before he ask'd it, but willing him withall, now he had been sufficiently tryed, to confine his Rapier to its scabbard. But he told us further, that he could not long after live quietly there, but was provoked again by a man of high resolution, unto a second encounter, when he had the like success as before, in killing his Adversary. The Viceroy now was very angry with him, but upon much intreaty, as he said, pardoned him a second time ; upon the receipt of which favour he told us that he was then resolved to throw away his Rapier, to get into a Religious House, and there to remain the residue of his days, a *Convertado* or *Penitent*. But the Viceroy could not be long without his Company ; and therefore to gain it, restored him again into his former favour : But for himself he was still so unhappy (the fame of his great valour being spread abroad) as that he could not long enjoy that peace, and quiet, which he now so much desired, but received a third Challenge from

from a very gallant, and very valiant man, as he describ'd him, a man big enough to beat a *Goliath*; and then he further told us, that his honour was ever more dear unto him than his life; and therefore notwithstanding the loss of the Viceroy's favour, and what else might happen, he entred the Lists with him; and though he found him the stoutest adversary that ever he opposed, yet after a long conflict this little Knight kill'd that great Gyant, and left him there dead likewise: which done, He (not daring to return any more unto *Goa*) told us, that he came naked out of the field as we then saw him with no ornaments (I assure you) about him, fit to make him a Viceroy's companion, nor any weapon fit to Dub him Knight of the Golden Rapier. He further added, that he was now resolved not to live any longer amongst the Christians, but that he desired to live amongst the English; but when we replied that we were Christians, he cried *Jesu Maria!* as wondring at it, and further told us, that he never heard so before.

When this *Rhadomantadist* had ended his perillous story, it was dinner time, and the Merchants bid him to sit down with us and eat, and so he did, where certainly he laid about him more valiantly than ever he had done before in the field, giving our meat many a cut, and eating, as if he had been more than half starved. He continued with us there for some few days, and after, when his hunger was well satisfied, and his spirits well refreshed, he began to take some exception against his place at the Table, because he eat at the lower end thereof, saying, that the company there were but Factors, Servants, but he was a Gentleman, and therefore his due place was higher at the board, but then corrected himself, saying, that it was not to be much considered where he sate, for his place made the upper end of the Table where ever he was placed: and suddenly after, this *Don Quixot* being weary of his stay with us (though he was but too well used) and having a great mind to ramble further, told our Company, that he being an *Hidalgo*, it was very dishonourable for him to take entertainment upon the terms he had it; and therefore desired us to make a little Purse for him, on which he would live as long as he could, and then creep into some Desert place, and there repent and dye. And now our great Ghest, having spent all his humour, and told us all his Dream, had his desire granted in some money that was given to him; and so we parted with our Knight Errant, who lived longer than he told us he would live. For half a year after I took notice of him at the *Mogols* Court, and there I leave him.

I will now shortly relate a story of another of his Nation (and I do believe, as good a Gentleman as himself) who called himself *Antonio de la Valla*. It happened, that a little before our coming thence, my Lord Embassadour going from his own house to dine at the English Factory in *Surat*, and I waiting on him, there appeared then to us a walking Skeleton, most miserably clothed,

clothed, the poorest, and leanest Creature that ever mine Eyes beheld, who faintly begg'd of him some relief, telling (what was true) that he was almost quite starv'd; the Ambassadour pittied and relieved him, and, as we return'd back, found this poor Creature eating with so much greediness, as if he could not have been satisfied. He was then willed to come to our House, and he did so, and there was fed, and heartned up again, and then, when he was come to himself, told us, that he had endured there abundance of misery, which, as he acknowledged, did most justly befall him, because he had there renounced his Religion, and become a *Mahometan*, which, when he had done, no care was taken of him there, (for they regard not a Man that will not be constant in his Religion, believing, that if that Bond cannot tye him, nothing will.) He told us further, that he was very sorry that he had so done, and desired a passage for *England*, which was granted him; and he was put unto me as my Servant, and therefore I fitted him with Clothes, &c. fit for his turn, but afterward (we being at Sea) he would often curse and ban, and cry out, *O Mal ventura!* O his hard hap! and that of all the miseries which he had endured, this was the greatest; that he, an *Hidalgo*, a Gentleman of *Spain*, should live to become a Servant, and which was worse, to serve an Heretick. I would, when I heard this of him (for he spake not so to me) tell him of it, and further mind him of that most sad condition in which we found him, how that he had starv'd to death, if our pitty in the relief he found from us, had not even then prevented it. He would reply, that he knew not what he said; telling me, that his many miseries had turn'd his Brains: (Not to bestow any more Ink and Paper on him) we brought him afterward to *Plimmouth*, and immediately after our arrive there, he desired his Liberty, which was easily granted him, and from thence (having some Money given him, more than he deserved) took his course; whither, I cannot tell, neither need my Reader desire to know. And therefore I will return again, as swift as meditation or thought can carry me, unto *East-India*, where I shall in the next place speak

SECTION VIII.

Of our safe and secure living amongst the Natives there, if we do not provoke them. Of their faithfulness unto those that entertain them as Servants: For how little they serve, and yet how diligent they are, &c.

WHere first for our Living in *East-India*, it is with as much freedom and safety in our Journies and Tents, when we travel;

travel; in our Houses when we are most fix'd, as if we were in an Army of Banners appointed for our Guard; or as if the Vines and Fig-trees under which we there sit were our own.

But there are Spoilers sometimes met with-all in those Provinces, that live by their Swords and Bows, having nothing for their subsistence (because they will take no other course) but what they get by rapine and spoil; of whom some-what more afterward.

And now by the way for those Villains who thus live, (wherever they be) and those sturdy Rogues who are next to them in guilt, by eating up the Bread of the Poor, having able limbs to carry them that they may beg from House to House, and Hands to receive Alms but none to labour; both these being the very vermin of those Common-wealths, wherein they are suffered to breathe, it were very well if such of these as have not deserved to be cut off by the Hand of Justice, were all served as Philip King of Macedon dealt with two Rogues, *alterum à Macedonia fugere, alterum persequi jussit*. He made one of them to whip the other out of his Country, and so he was rid of both of them.

But to return to the place from whence I am now digressed. I travelled from *Surat* with four English-men more, and about twenty of the Natives in our Company, we beginning our journey the first of Jan. towards Sir Thomas Row, at the Mogol's Court, then above four hundred miles distant from *Surat*. We had six Wagons drawn with Oxen in our Company, laden with rich English Goods (the principal part whereof was English broad Cloth) assign'd to an English Merchant at the Court, and some other Carriages we had, of all which we made a ring every night near some large Town or Village, where we resolved to stay, and pitched our Huts within that Circle, some of us watching, and the Natives with us, every night; we went on that long journey very safely, only in some places where there was any suspicion of danger, we had a Guard of Horse appointed to go with us for our defence, by the Command of *Sultan Caroon* then Prince, and now King, (who had his Revenew out of those parts we then travelled thorough) who sent a Foot-man, that continually kept us company, with his Letters to command a Company of Souldiers that were Horse-men, to guard us where he thought good; who as they did not expect, so they would take no recompence for their pains, though we freely offered it them. But the Providence of God did so order it, that though we had their Company in several places, we never had need of their help for our defence. The truth is, that the People there in general are very civil, and we never had any affronts or ill usage from them, if we did not first provoke them.

But if we did, they would not well bear it, for twice in one Week, at my first coming to *Surat*, the whole Town in general were in an uproar, and surrounded our House there, both times
some

some of our English provok'd those Natives to stir against us, but by our speedy Addresſes unto the Governour of that place, we excuſing the fault of thoſe that miniſtr'd the occaſion of their diſcontent, they being newly come thither, and altogether unacquainted with their cuſtoms, he preſently commanded that wild Aſſembly to depart from our Houſe; and ſo immediately they did, receiv'ing no hurt at all from any of them.

When my Lord Ambaſſadour at firſt arriv'd at *Surat*, ſo it was, that an English Cook he carry'd with him, the very firſt day of his coming thither, found a way to an Armenian Chriſtians Houſe, who ſold Wine, which in that place, they call Armenian Wine. But (by the way) I do believe that there was ſcarce another in that populous City of that Trade: the greater ſhame for thoſe whoſoever they be that ſuffer ſo many unneceſſary Tipling Houſes (in the places where they have power to reſtrain them) which are the Devils nurſery, the very Tents wherein Sathan dwells, where Almighty God receives abundance of diſhonour, Drunkenneſs being a ſin which hath Hands and Fingers to draw all other ſins unto it; For a Drunkard can do any thing, or be any thing but good. That Armenian Wine I ſpeak of is made of Raiſons of the Sun and Sugar, with ſome other things put and boyl'd in water: which Wine, when it is ripe and clear, is in Colour like to our *Muscadels*, pleaſant enough to the taſte, but heavy and heady. The Cook had his Head quickly over-fraighted with it, and then staggering home-ward, in his way met the Governours Brother of *Surat*, as he was riding to his Houſe: the Cook made a ſtand, ſtaying himſelf up upon his Sword and Scabbard, and cry'd out to the Governours Brother, *Now thou Heathen Dog!* He not underſtanding his foul Language, reply'd civilly in his own, *Ca-ca-ta*; which ſignifies, What ſayeſt thou? the Cook answer'd him with his Sword and Scabbard, with which he ſtrook at him, but was immediately ſeiz'd on by his followers, and by them diſarm'd and carry'd to Priſon; the Ambaſſadour had preſent intelligence of the miſbehaviour of his drunken ſervant, and immediately ſent word unto the Governour's Brother, that he was not come thither to patronize any diſorderly perſon, and therefore deſir'd him to do with him what he pleas'd, upon which he preſently ſent him home, not doing him the leaſt hurt. But before I leave this Story, it will not be amiſs to enquire who was the *Heathen Dog* at this time, whether the debauch'd drunken Cook who call'd himſelf a Chriſtian, or that ſober and temperate *Mahometan* who was thus affronted.

In our journey towards the Court (after we had been in our way about ſeven dayes from *Surat*) we reſted at a place call'd *Dilat*, where many of the Inhabitants offer'd to guard us and our goods, though we (obſerving there no danger) deſired it not; but they would do it, and in the Morning expected and ask'd ſomething of us, by way of recompence. One of our

Five

Company

Company (who had been in *East-India* a year or two before) told them, that what they had done they did without our desire, and therefore they should have nothing from us, but some ill Language which he then gave them. We set forward in the Morning according to our wonted custom, they followed after us, to the number at the least of three hundred Men, (for the place was great and populous) and when we were gone about a mile from that Town, stopped our carriages; he of our Company who told them they should have no recompence, was presently ready to shoot at them with his Musket, which made them all to bend their Bows at us: but I happily and suddenly stepping in, prevented his firing at them, and their shooting at us; which if I had not by Gods good Providence done, but we had madly engaged a great multitude, there could not have been less expected in the sad issue thereof, than the loss of all our lives and goods. But having a little Parlee with them, for the value of three shillings of English money given amongst them, they were all quieted and contented, and immediately left us, wishing us a good journey.

After this, when we had gone forward about twenty dayes journey, (which daily Remoovs were but short, by reason of our heavy carriages, and the heat of the weather) it hapned, that another of our Company, a young Gentleman about twenty years old, the Brother of a Baron of *England*, behaved himself so ill, as that we feared it would have brought very much mischief on us.

This young man being very unruly at home, and so many others that have been well born, when their friends knew not what to do with them, have been sent to *East-India*, that so they might make their own Graves in the Sea, in their passage thither; or else have Graves made for them on the Indian shore, when they come there. A very cleanly conveyance (but how just and honest, I leave to others) for Parents to be rid of their unruly Children; but I never knew any who were thus supposed to be sent thither, but they out-lived that Voyage.

For the young Gentleman I spake of, his employment was to wait upon our Chief Commander in his Cabin, who very courteously, when he came to Sea, turn'd him before the mast amongst the common Saylor [a great preferment for a Man of his Birth] but for all this he out-liv'd that harsh usage, and came safely to *East-India*, and my Lord Ambassadour hearing of him, and being well acquainted with his great kindred, sent for him up to Court, and there entertain'd him as a Companion for a year; then giving him all fit accommodations, sent him home again as a passenger for *England*, where after he safely arrived.

But in our way towards that Court, it thus happened, that this hot-brains being a little behind us, commanded him [then near him] who was the Princes servant [before spoken of] to hold

hold his horse; the man replied, that he was none of his servant and would not do it. Upon which this most intemperate mad youth, who was like *Philocles*, that angry Poet; and therefore called, *Bilis*, & *Saffigo*, Choler and Brine, [for he was the most hasty and cholerick young man that ever I knew] as will appear by his present carriage, which was thus; first he beat that stranger, for refusing to hold his horse, with his horse-whip, which, I must tell you, that people cannot endure, as if those whips stung worse than Scorpions. For of any punishments that carry most disgrace in them, as that people think, one is to be beaten with that whip, wherewithall they strike their beasts; the other to be beaten [and this they esteem the more disgraceful punishment of the two] about the head with shooes. But this stranger (being whipt as before) came up and complained to me; but to make him amends, that frantick young man (mad with rage, and he knew not wherefore) presently followed him, and being come up close to him, discharg'd his Pistol laden with a brace of bullets directly at his body, which bullets, by the special guidance of the hand of God, so flew, that they did the poor man no great hurt; only one of them first tearing his coat, bruised all the knuckles of his left hand, and the other brake his bow which he carried in the same hand. We presently disarmed our young Bedlam, till he might return again to his wits. But our greatest business, was how to pacifie the other man, whom he had thus injured. I presently gave him a Roopee, in our money two shillings and nine pence; he thanked me for it, and would have taken it with his right, but I desired him to take it with his maim'd hand, and so he did, and could clinch it very well, which I was glad of. Then we did shew (as we had cause) all the dislike we could against that desperate act of him, from whom he received his hurt, telling him, that we were all strangers, and for our parts had done him no wrong at all; and therefore hoped that we should not be made any way to suffer for the faults of another: and we further told him, that if he would be quiet till we came up to the Court, he should have all the satisfaction he could desire. He told us, that we were good men, and had done him no wrong, and that he would till then rest contented; but he did not so, for about two hours after we met with a great man of that Country, having a mighty train with him, (as all the Grandees there have when they travel, of whom more afterward): He presently went towards him, that to him he might make his complaint; and so did, telling him, that he was the Prince's servant, why he came to us, and how he had been used by us, shewing him his hand and his other breaches. The great man replied, that it was not well done of us, but he had nothing to do with it; and so departed on his way. That night after, we came to a strong large Town, and placing our selves on the side of it, he did what he could (as we imagined) to raise up that People against us, some of them coming about us to view us, as

we conceived, but putting on the best confidence we could, and standing then upon our guard, and all of us watching that night, but (in a special manner) by the good providence of God, who kept us in all our journey, we here felt none of that mischief we feared; but early in the morning quietly departed without the least molestation. After which, with a little money, and a great many good words, we so quieted this man, that we never after heard any more complaining from him. So that (as before I observed) we were not at any time in any dangers of suffering by that people, but some of our own Nation were the procuring causes of it.

Before I observed, that for the generality of this people they have very low and timorous spirits, but there are some I named in my last Section, who are stout daring men, as the Balloches, Patans, and Rashboots, who, as they have the honour above all the rest of the people in those large Provinces to be accounted valiant; so, as occasion is offered, they will shew themselves so to be: and therefore they are much hired as Convoys to secure Mens Persons and Goods, from place to place.

For those Provinces, they are not without Mountains of prey, and Tabernacles of Robbers, as *David* and *Job* speak: where desperate men keep in some Woods and Deserts, which are not far from great road-ways, most frequented and used; and there, like the wild *Arabs*, in Companies, meet and spoil, and destroy poor Passengers, when they expect them not; it being the cursed manner of those Spoilers, if they prevail against them whom they surprise, to kill them before they rifle them; and therefore the first thing heard from them is, *Mor, mor, mor*, that is, Kill, kill, kill, which they all speak out as loud as they can. We were often told of them as we travelled, sometimes in the night, by reason of the extream heat of the day (after we had taken leave of the King, and so were journeying towards *Surat*) that we should meet with those cruel villains; but, through Gods mercy, we were never in danger of them but once; and that was about midnight, neer a large City called *Brodera*; but we being a competent number of English-men together, about twenty, and all of us resolved to sell our lives at as dear a rate as we could, and having twice so many Indian servants with us, which are very nimble with their Bows and Arrows, we with our Pistols and Carbines, which we presently discharged amongst them, and our Indians plying them with their Arrows, made them suddenly to retreat, we receiving little hurt from them; but after this, we made no more night-marches.

Those Indians I named before, are so faithful to their trusts unto whomsoever they engage, to the English as well as to any other, that if they be at any time assaulted, they will rather dye in their defence, than forsake them at their need.

So

So that I am very confident, if an English Merchant should travel alone with a very great treasure in Gold, and Jewels (both, or either) from *Surat*, to *Labor*, which is more than one thousand English miles, and take those Indian servants only for his company, and guard, and all they knew what he carried with him, He paying them their Wages, they would be so far from injuring him of the least penny of his wealth, that whosoever besides should attempt his spoiling, must make a way through their blood, before they should be able to do it.

Here is a great and good example of faithfulness, and it is very true. But I much doubt, that if a great Indian Merchant, I mean a Native of that Countrey, should come for *England* with like treasure, with a desire to pass through this whole Nation, and should for his more safe passage take a guard of Sword-men here, and pay them well for their service, they might lye under such a strong temptation, as might make them to spoil the Egyptian, by shortning his journey, dividing his substance, and by disposing so of his person, that it should never tell tales.

But for that people, as their faithfulness is very remarkable, so is their diligence very exemplary likewise; for they keep continually within the call of their Masters, and will not at any time depart thence without special leave. And the plenty of all Provisions being very great throughout the whole Monarchy, they serve at very low rates, which I never knew them to raise, not requiring more than five shillings *Sterling* every new Moon, paid the next day after its Change, which is all the recompence they do desire, or expect from their Masters, to provide themselves with all necessaries

— quibus hinc Toga, Calcens hinc est,
Et Panis fumusque Domi.—

Juven. Sat. 1.

Their coat, their shooes, their bread, their fire,
And all besides, bought with this hire.

and for this do as good service, as if they had ten times as much wages.

They stand to be hired in the *Bazar* or Market-place, an ancient custom, as may appear, *Mat.* 20. 3. where some of them may be at all times had.

But it is their manner, when they are hired to receive advance-money, that is, one moneths pay before hand, and to have their pay thus in hand every moneth so long as they serve; and so honest they are, that if they be bidden to provide themselves of other Masters, they will serve out the time for which they have received pay, to an hour before, they depart.

Now these who are so exact in performing their duty by their faithfulness and diligence, must be exactly paid their Salary
at

at the time they expect it, otherwise they will be ready to quit their service, as one of them whom we thus hired, left us as we were travelling up to the Court ; the reason, because our money was almost quite gone (though we were supplied again a day or two after) and we could not punctually pay him at his day, as we had formerly done. This fellow led one of our Camels, and had been with us two moneths before ; but upon this little failing him, would needs leave us : but before he departed he made a speech to his Camel, telling him, that he had led him thus long, and had during that time lived by him ; but now our money (as he supposed) quite failing, he told him that he must be gone, desiring God to bless him ; and that he might have some other to lead him that might not be less careful of him than he had been. So he took leave of his Camel, though not of us, and departed. All the rest of his company were perswaded to continue with us, and had their pay a day or two after ; and so we proceeded on our journey, and so shall I further in this Discourse. And now I have spoken something of the people, I shall speak

SECTION IX.

Of their buildings in Villages, Towns, and Cities ; How their Houses are furnished ; Of their Sarra's or Houses for the entertainment of Passengers ; Of their Tents, Wells, and of their places of pleasure, &c.

I Observed before the richness of their Soil, and how those Provinces are watered by many goodly Rivers, fed with abundance of Springs ; and how their Fields are clothed with very much plenty of Corn of divers kind, sold there at such low rates that every one may there eat bread without scarceness.

Now I come to take notice of their Buildings ; and here I must tell my Reader, that this People are not much taken or infected with that plague of Building (as the Italians call it) wishing the love of it as a Curse to possess the thoughts of them they most hate ; and therefore, as the stones in *India* are not all precious, so the Houses there are not at all Palaces ; the poor there cannot erect for their dwellings fair Piles, and the Grantees do not cover their heads under such curious Roofs, as many of the Europeans do ; The reason, first, because all the great men there live a great part of the year, (in which their Moneths are more temperate, as from the middle of *September*, to the midst of *April*) in Tents, Pavilions, or moveable habitations, which, according to their fancies, changing they remove from

from place to place, changing their air as often as they please. And secondly, because all the great men there have their Pensions and whole subsistence from the King, which they hold upon very sickle and uncertain terms; for as they are settled upon, and continued unto them by the King's favour, so are they forfeited and lost by his frown. Of which more afterward.

Yet though they make not much use of them, they have in plenty excellent good materials for building, as Timber, Bricks, stone and marble of divers kinds and colours, of which I have seen some very good Vaults and Arches well wrought, as in their Mosquits or Churches, so in some of their high-erected Tombs, (of which more afterward) and so in some other places likewise.

For their buildings in Cities and Towns, there are some of them handfom, others fair, such as are inhabited by Merchants, and none of them very despicable.

*They build their houses low, not above two stories, and many of their tops flat and thick, which keep off the violence of the heat; and those flat tops, supported with strong Timber, and coated over with a plaster (like that we call plaster of *Paris*) keep them dry in the time of the Rains.

Those broad Terraces, or flat Roofs, some of them lofty, are places where many people may stand (and so they often do) early in the morning, and in the evening late, like Camelions, to draw, and drink in fresh air; and they are made after this fashion, for prospect, as well as pleasure.

Those houses of two stories, have many of them very large upper rooms, which have many double doors in the sides of them, like those in our Balconies, to open and let in fresh air, which is likewise conveyed in unto them, by many lesser lights made in the walls of those rooms, which are always free and open; The use of glass windows, or any other shuttings, being not known there, nor in any other very hot Countreys.

Neither have they any Chimneys in their buildings, because they never wake any use of fire but to dress their food, which fire they make against firm wall, or without their Tents against some bank of Earth, as remote as may be from the places where they use to keep, that they may receive no annoyance from the heat thereof.

It is their manner in many places, to plant about, and amongst their buildings; trees which grow high and broad, the shadow whereof keeps their houses by far more cool; this I observ'd in a special manner when we were ready to enter *Amadavar*; for it appeared to us, as if we had been entering a Wood, rather than a City. That *Amadavar* is very large and populous City, entred by many fair Gates girt about with an high and thick Wall of Brick, which mounts above the tops of their houses, without which wall there are no suburbs.

Most

Most of the houses within the City are of Brick, and very many of them ridged and covered with Tiles.

But for their houses in their Aldeas or Villages, which stand very thick in that Country, they are generally very poor and base. All those Countrey-dwellings are set up close together; for I never observed any house there to stand single, and alone. Some of their houses in those villages are made with earthen-walls, mingled with straw, set up immediately after their Rains, and having a long season after to dry them thoroughly, stand firm, and so continue; they are built low, and many of them flat: but for the generality of those Country-Villages, the Cottages in them are miserably poor, little, and base; so that as they are built with a very little charge, set up with sticks rather than Timber, if they chance to fire (as many times they do) for a very little they may be re-edified.

Those who inhabit the Countrey-Villages, are called Coolees. These till the ground, and breed up Cattel, and other things for provision, as Hens, &c. these, they who plant the Sugar, the Cotten-wool, and Indico, &c.----for their Trades and Manufactures they are kept in Cities and Towns, about which are their choicest fruits planted. In their Cities and Towns, without their dwellings, but fix't to them, are pend-houses where they shew and sell their provisions, as bread, and flower-cakes made up with Sugar, and fruits, and other things; and there they shew their manufactures, and other Commodities, some of which they carry twice every day to sell in the Bazar or Market.

I saw two houses of the Mogol's, one at *Mandoa*, the other at *Amadaver*, which appeared large & stately, built of excellent stone well squared and put together, each of them taking up a large compass of ground; but we could never see how they were contrived within, because there are none admitted, strangers or others, to have a sight of those houses, while the King's wives and women are there, which must not be seen by any but by himself, and his servants the Eunuchs.

The Mogol's Palace Royal is at *Agra* his *Metropolis* (of which more afterward) but for the present I shall take a little notice of a very curious Grot I saw belonging to his house at *Mandoa*, which stood a small distance from it, for the building of which there was a way made into a firm Rock, which shewed it self on the side of an Hill, Canopied over with part of that Rock. It was a place that had much beauty in it by reason of the curious workmanship bestowed on it; and much pleasure by reason of its coolness.

That City *Mandoa* I speak of, is situated upon a very high mountain, the top whereof is flat, and plain, and spacious. From all parts that lie about it but one; the ascent is very high, and steep; and the way to us seemed exceeding long, for we were two whole days climbing up the Hill, with our Carriages, which we got up with very much difficulty; not far from the
bottom

bottom of which Hill, we lodged at a great town called *Achabar-pore*, where we ferried over a broad River (as we did in other places) for I observed no bridges made there over any of their Rivers where their high-ways lie. That Hill on which *Mandoa* stands, is stuck round (as it were) with fair trees, that keep their distance so one from and below the other, that there is much delight in beholding them either from the bottom or top of that Hill.

In those vast and far extended Woods, there are Lions, Tygres, and other beasts of Prey, and many wild Elephants. We lay one night in that wood with our Carriages, and those Lions came about us discovering themselves by their Roarings, but we keeping a very good fire all night, they came not neer enough to hurt either our selves, or cattel. Those cruel Beasts are night-walkers for in the day they appear not.

After when (through Gods most gracious assistance) we had overcome those difficulties and dangers, we came into a plain and even Countrey, in which travelling a few dayes more, we first met with my Lord Ambassador marching towards *Mandoa* with that great King, with whom I then settled, and continued with him, till he was returned home.

We were in our journey to the Court from the beginning of *January*, till the end of *March*, we resting a while at *Bram-pore*, which is a very spacious and populous City, where we had a Factory. And after that, we were violently detained in our journey by *Sultan Caroon* the Prince, whom we met in his march towards *Bram-pore*, & a very marvelous great retinue with him. The reason why he interrupted us in our course was, that he might see the Presents we had for his Father the King; but we having command from the Ambassador to tell him, that we durst not open them, till we came to the King, we most humbly craved his pardon to spare us in that; so presenting him with a pair of Rich Gloves (though they be things they wear not in those hot Countries) and a rich embroidered bag for perfume (which amongst many other things of the like kind were brought from *England* to be given away for Presents) after that he had carried us back three days journey, he let us go, taking further order for our safe convoy.

And now Reader, thou maist suppose us almost settled in *Mandoa*, the place then of the *Mogol's* residence, not much inhabited before we came thither, having more ruins by far about it, than standing houses. But amongst the Piles of building that had held up their heads above Ruin, there were not a few unfrequented *Mosquits*, or *Mahometan* Churches; yet I observed, that though the people who attended the King there, were marvellously streightned for room, wherein they might dispose of very great numbers of most excellent horses, which were now at that place, they would not make stables of any of those Churches, though before that time, they had been forsaken, and out of use.

One of those deserted *Mosquits*, with some large Tomb near it, both vaulted over head (which shall be after described) were the best places there to be gotten for my Lord Ambassadour and his Company to lodge and be in, we carrying our bedding, and all things appertaining thereto, all necessaries belonging to our Kitchin, and every thing beside for bodily use, from place to place, as we occasionally removed. Here we stayed with the *Mogol* from the middle of *April*, till the twentieth of *September* following, and then began our progress with him, towards the City *Amadavar*.

Our abiding place at *Mandoo*, was very near one of the sides of that vast Wilderness, out of which, some of those wild beasts oft-times in the night came about our habitation, and seldom returned back without a Sheep, or a Goat, or a Kid, some of which we always kept about us for our provision. And it was a wonderful great mercy, those furious, and ravening, and hunger-bit Creatures, did not make their prey sometimes in the dark and silent nights, while we were sleeping, on some of our bodies, the fore-part of our dwelling standing upon pillars; and there was nothing in those open distances, that had any strength in it to keep them from us.

One night, early in the Evening, there was a great Lion which we saw, came into our Yard, (though our Yard was compassed about with a stone-wall, that was not low.) And my Lord Ambassadour having a little white neat Shock, that ran out barking at him, the Lion presently snapt him up, leapt again over the wall, and away he went.

But for a ravening and roaring Lion, as I believe that he cannot be made tame when he is old; yet certainly he may be bred tame, being kept full, and high fed. For the *Mogol*, at my being there, had a very great Lion (I often saw) which went up and down, amongst the people that frequented his Court, gently as a dog, and never did hurt; only he had some Keepers which did continually wait upon him.

For those wild and cruel Beasts, one of our English-men watching in a tree by night, (that stood not far from our dwelling) with a fire-lock charg'd with some small bullets, shot a Tigre, and kil'd him stone-dead, as he was coming towards us. It was a large beast, higher than an Irish-Greyhound, with grizled hair, a long head, & sharp and short picked ears, having a mouth fil'd with cruel teeth; after which (we usually keeping a little fire without our house every night) were not so much troubled; with those night-walkers.

Now to return to that from which I am occasionally digressed, I told you before what their buildings are. And now for the furniture that the greatest men have in them, it is *Curta suppellex*, very little; they being not beautified with hangings, nor with any thing besides to line their walls; but where they are best adorned, they are kept very white, and set off with a little neat painting and nothing else; for they have no Chairs, no stools,

nor

nor Couches, nor Tables, nor Beds, enclosed with Canopies, or Curtains, in any of their Rooms. And the truth is, that if they had them, the extream heat there would forbid the use of many of them; all their bravery is upon their Floors, all which are made even with fine Earth or Plaister, on which they spread their most excellent Carpets in their Tents, as well as in their dwelling houses, laying some coarse thing under to preserve them; on which they sit (as Taylors on their shop-boards) when they meet together, putting off their shooes (which they usually wear as slippers and their feet bare in them) when they come to tread upon those soft Pavements, and keeping them off till they remove thence, this helps to keep cool their feet, and is very pleasant in those hot Countries. On those Carpets they sleep in the night time, or else upon an hard Quilt, or lying upon a slight and low Bedstead they call a *Cot*, bottomed with broad Girt-web made of Cotton-wool. But where-ever they lye, they stretch themselves out at their full length when they go to sleep, usually upon their backs, without any Pillow, or Bolster, to raise up their heads. Very many of the meaner sort of people (as I have often observed) lye thus stretched out to take their rest upon the ground, in the dry season of the year, with a white Callico-cloth spread all over them, which makes them to appear like so many dead corpses laid forth for burial. This lying so even, and at length with their bodies thus extended, may be one reason why the people there are all so straight lim'd, having none crooked amongst them; and another, because they never girt, nor lace in their bodies (as before was observed). Some of those slight Bedsteads, they call *Cots*, in their standing houses hang by ropes, a little above ground, which are fastned to the four corners thereof, moved gently up and down, by their servants, to lull them asleep.

They have no Inns in those parts for the entertainment of strangers; but in some great Towns large Houses they call *Sarraas* very substantially built, with brick, or stone, where any Passengers may find house-room and use it without any recompence; but there is nothing to be had beside room, all other things they must provide and bring with them, as when they lodge in Tents.

Amongst their Buildings I must take special notice of their Wells and Tankes, upon both which in very many places they bestow exceeding much cost in stone-work; for their Wells which are fed with Springs, they make them round, but very wide and large. They are wrought up with firm stones laid in fine Plaister; they usually cover those Wells with a building over-head, and with Oxen draw water out of them, which riseth up in many small Buckets, whereof some are always going down, others continually coming up, and emptying themselves, in troughs, or little rills, made to receive, and convey the water whither they please.

Their Tanks are made in low places, and many of them very deep and large (one mile, and some of them much more in compass) made round or four-square, or in more squares, about which there is a low stone-wall, that hath many doors in it, and within that wall steps, made one below the other round about it, that go down to the bottom thereof, (which is paved likewise): those steps are made of well squared lasting stone, laid firm, and even in very good order, for people that have not plenty of water otherwise, to go down and take it. These great receptacles of water, are made neer places that are very populous; fill'd when that long season of rain (before spoken of) comes, immediately before which time, they cleanse them, that the water may be more clear, and wholsom. They hold water all the dry season of the year.

For their places of pleasure, they are in their Groves, where their curious Fruit-trees (before described) grow; but especially in their Gardens, wherein they plant little Vineyards that afford marvellous fair and sweet Grapes, which they cut green, for their eating, or make Raisins of them. But for Wine, they make none, because their *Mahomet* forbids the drinking thereof. In those Gardens likewise, they have many Pome-granat-trees, with all other of the choicest fruits and flowers their Country affords; to which Nature daily yields such a supply, as that there is beauty to be seen in those Trees, and Plants, and that continually. In the middle of those Gardens, they have such Wells (as before are described) the tops whereof stand a good deal higher than the planted ground, which lyes even, and flat below them, from whence water is conveyed in narrow open passages, (they knowing not the use of Leaden-Pipes) to all the parts of them in the dry season of the year. In those Gardens likewise they have little round Tanks to bathe in; whose sides and bottoms are made firm and smooth with that plaister before named; they are fill'd by *aqua-duits* from those Wells, and they can empty them when they please, as well as fill them. The water that is conveyed into those small Tanks, usually runs down broad stone Tables, that have many hollows made in them, like to scollop-shells, which water in its passage makes such a pretty murmure, as helps to tye their senses with the bonds of sleep, in the hot seasons of the day when they constantly keep their houses, and then they lye down neer them on their Carpets, to be full'd asleep. Those bathing places are within, or very near their Garden-houses, which usually are by far more neat, than any other of their dwelling.

In such a Garden-house, with all those accommodations about it, my Lord Embasiadour lay with his company at *Surat*, the last three moneths before he left *East-India*.

And further, in those hot seasons of the day; the people of better quality lying or sitting on their Carpets, or Pallats, have servants standing about them, who continually beat the air upon them

them with *Flabella's*, or Fans, of stified leather, which keeps off the flies from annoying them, and cool them as they lye. Thustaking their ease, they call for Barbers, who very gently gripe their arms, and shoulders, and other parts, they can in any measure grasp, and they strike likewise very softly those parts with the sides of their hands; it is very pleasing as they do it, and causeth their blood to stir in their veins; it is therefore very much used in those parts, to such as do not heat their blood by bodily motion.

For their pastimes within doors, they have Cards, but much different from ours in the figures made in them, and in their greater number of suits. Those Cards I have often seen; and have been more often told, that they have very good skill in that most innocent and ingenious game we call Chess.

They delight themselves sometimes with the Company of Mountebanks, and Juglers. For their Mountebanks; they keep venomous Snakes in baskets, and will suffer themselves to be bitten or stung by them; which part thus bitten, or stung, presently swells, and immediately after that, they cure themselves again by Oyls and Powders, which they apply unto the place, and then offer to sell them unto the people standing by.

Their Juglers are the cunningst that ever I saw, to do strange things by sleight of hand, as in this trick I shall here name: where I have observed them to lay down scuttles or broad open Wicker-baskets upon the ground, three or four one upon another, all which appeared empty, as they laid them down; but taking them up again one after the other, in the bottom of them there would appear, three or four living Turtle-doves: which they would cover again with the same Scuttles, and tossing and turning them as they took them off, and up the second time, none of those pretty creatures were to be seen any more. But how they first conveyed them thither, and how after thence, we could not possibly discover.

For their Pastimes abroad they have Hawks of divers kinds, greater and less, and Partridges, and other choice Fowl great store to fly at. They have Hares, and Antilops, with other wild Beasts to hunt, and these not a few. Their dogs for chase are made somewhat like our Grey-hounds, but much less, who never open in the pursuit of their game. They hunt likewise with Leopards train'd up and made fit for their sport, who by leaping seize on that they pursue: but by reason of the heat of the Country, those sports are not there much used. The *Mogol* when he hunts, carries Hawks and Dogs, and all things beside with him, to make him pastime; that if one sport fail, he may be pleased with another.

They say, that they have a curious Device to take wild fowls that use the water; into which a fellow goes, with a fowl of that kind he desires to catch, whose skin is stuffed so artificially, as that with a noise he counterfeits that fowl, it appears to be alive, the

the man keeps all his body but head under water, on which he fastens that counterfeit fowl to stand fore-right on the top thereof, and thus coming amongst them, he plucks them (as they say) by their legs under water at his pleasure. But this I have only by tradition.

For other pastimes abroad, this I am sure of, that when the weather is more temperate, they shoot much in their Bows, and are very excellent Marks-men, somewhat like those left-handed men spoken of *Judg.* 20. 16. And with their Guns in which they shoot single bullets (for they have not the use of small-shot) they are somewhat long in taking their aim, but they will come very neer the mark.

Other delight themselves very much in managing their excellent Horses; But so shall not I delight my Reader, if I dwell too long in particulars. And therefore having spoken of their Buildings, I shall now invite him, though not to eat, or taste, yet to take notice

SECTION X.

Of their Diet, their Cookery in dressing it, &c.

AND though this Country affords very much variety of excellent good Provisions, yet the Mahometans feed not freely on any flesh, but on that which is strange, and forbidden (of the Hindoos Diet I shall speak afterwards): but for the Mahometans they are a people, as I conceive, not much given to their Palate; but are very careful of, and temperate in their Diet, as having learn'd by experience, that full bellies do more oppress, than strengthen the body, that too much of the Creature doth not comfort but destroy Nature; It being a tried truth, that Gluttony reacheth, and kills those whom swords cannot touch. All Diseases of the body for the most part being contracted to it by Surfeits, in on kinde or other; and therefore they keep themselves to a thin Diet, and eat not to pamper and please their Appetite, but to satisfy and support nature, which is contented with a little every where, but with less in hot Countries, where mens digestion of food is not so quick and good; this being further a tried truth, that those bodies are most strong, active, and healthy, which are most temperate.

Therefore though they have abundance of flesh and fowl, and have fish too, yet are they temperate in all of them. For Swines flesh, it is an abomination unto the Mahometans; and therefore they touch it not. And for other kind of flesh, they eat very little of them alone, to make their full meals of them, for they dress no kind of flesh in great pieces, or whole joynts, nor scarce any of their fowls whole.

For

For boyling of flesh in water, or baking or roasting any flesh, are pieces of Cookery (if I observed well) they know not; but they stew all their flesh as their Kid and other Venison, &c. cut into sippets, or slices, or little parts, to which they put Onions, and Herbs, and Roots, and Ginger, (which they take there green out of the earth) and other Spices, with some butter, which ingredients when as they are well proportioned, make a Food that is exceedingly pleasing to all Palats, at their first tasting thereof most savoury Meat, haply that very dish which *Jacob* made for his Father *Isaac*, when he got the blessing, *Gen. 27.*

With their flesh and herbs, &c. they sometimes stew Hens and other Fowl cut in pieces, which is like that the *Spaniards* call an *Oleo*, but more toothsome.

But their great common standing dish there is Rice, which they boyl with more Art than we: for they boyl the grain so as that it is full, and plump, and tender, but not broken in boyling; they put to it a little green Ginger, and Pepper, and Butter, and this is the ordinary way of their dressing it, and so 'tis very good.

Sometimes they boyl pieces of flesh, or Hens, and other Fowl cut in pieces in their Rice, which dish they call *Pillaw*; as they order it, they make it a very excellent, and a very well-tasted Food.

Once my Lord Ambassadour had an Entertainment there by *Asaph Chan*, who invited him to dinner (and this was the only respect in that kind he ever had, while he was in *East-India*) That *Asaph Chan* was a Man made by his great Alliances, the greatest Subject and Favourite in all that Empire; for his Sister was the *Mogol's* most beloved Wife, and his Daughter was married unto *Sultan Caroon* the Prince, and very much beloved by him, but of all these, more afterward.

This *Asaph Chan* entertained my Lord Ambassador in a very spacious and a very beautiful Tent, where none of his followers besides my self, saw, or tasted of that Entertainment.

That Tent was kept full of a very pleasant Perfume; in which sents the King and Grandees there take very much delight. The floor of the Tent was first covered all over with very rich and large Carpets, which were covered again in the places where our dinner stood, with other good Carpets, made of stich'd Leather, to preserve them which were richer; and these were covered again with pure white and fine Callico Clothes, and all these covered with very many dishes of Silver, but for the greater part of those Silver dishes they were not larger than our largest trencher-plates, the brims of all of them gilt.

We sate in that large Room as it were in a Triangle; The Ambassadour on *Asaph Chan's* right hand a good distance from him, and my self below; all of us on the ground, as they there all do when as they eat, with our Faces looking each to the other,

other, and every one of us had his several mess. The Ambafadour had more dishes by ten, and I less by ten, than our entertainer had, yet for my part I had fifty dishes. They were all set before us at once, and little paths left betwixt them, that our entertainers servants (for onely they waited) might come and reach them to us one after another, and so they did. So that I tasted of all set before me, and of most did but taste, though all of them tasted very well.

Now of the provision it self, for our larger dishes, they were filled with Rice, dressed (as before describ'd.) And this Rice was presented to us, some of it white, in its own proper colour, some of it made yellow with Saffron, and some of it was made green, and some of it put into a purple colour, but by what Ingredient I know not, but this I am sure, that it all tasted very well; And with Rice thus ordered, several of our dishes were furnished, and very many more of them with flesh of several kinds, and with Hens, and with other sort of Fowl cut in pieces, as before I observed in their *Indian Cookery*.

To these we had many Jellies, and Culices; Rice ground to flower, and then boyled, and after sweetned with Sugar-Candy and Rose-Water to be eaten cold. The flower of Rice mingled with sweet Almonds, made as small as they could, and with some of the most fleshy parts of Hens stewed with it, and after the flesh so beaten into pieces, that it could not be discern'd, all made sweet with Rose-Water and Sugar-Candy, and sented with Amber-Greece; this was another of our dishes, and a most luscious one, which the *Portugals* call *Mangee Real*, Food for a King. Many other dishes we had, made up in Cakes of several forms, of the finest of the wheat-flower, mingled with Almonds and Sugar-Candy, whereof some were sented, and some not. To these Potatoes excellently well dressed, and to them divers Sallads, and the curious fruits of that Country, some preserved in Sugar, and others raw, and to these many Roots candied, Almonds blanched, Raisons of the Sun, Prunellas, and I know not what, of all enough to make up that number of dishes before named; and with these *quelque chose*, was that entertainment made up.

And it was better a great deal, than if it had consisted of full and heaped up dishes, such as are sometimes amongst us provided, for great and profuse entertainments. Our Bread was of very good and excellent Wheat, made up very white and light, in round Cakes; and for our Drink, some of it was brew'd for ought I know, ever since *Noah his Flood*, that good innocent water, being all the Drink there commonly used (as before) and in those hot Climates (it being better digested there than in any other parts) it is very sweet, and allayes thirst better than any other Liquor can, and therefore better pleaseth, and agreeth better with every Man that comes and lives there, than any other Drink.

At

At this entertainment we sat long, and much longer than we could with ease cross-leg'd, but all considered, our Feast in that place was better than *Apicius*, that famous *Epicure* of *Rome*, with all his witty Gluttony (for so *Paterculus* calls it, *ingeniosa Gula*,) could have made with all provisions had from the Earth, and Air, and Sea.

My Lord Ambassadour observed not that uneasie way of sitting at his meat, but as in his own House had Tables and Chairs, &c. Served he was altogether in Plate, and had an English, and Indian Cook to dress his dyet, which was very plentiful, and cheap likewise; so that by reason of the great variety of provisions there, his weekly account for his House-keeping came but to little.

The meaner sort of people there eat Rice boyled with their green-Ginger and a little Pepper, after which they put Butter into it, which is their principal dish, and but seldom eaten by them: But their ordinary Food is made (not of the flower of Wheat) but of a coarse well tasted Grain, made up in round broad and thick Cakes, which they bake upon their thin iron plates (before spoken of) which they carry with them, when as they travel from place to place; when they have bak'd those Cakes, they put a little Butter on them: And doubtless the poor people find this a very hearty Food, for they who live most upon it, are as strong as they could be, if they had their diet out of the King's Kitchen. I shall here say no more of this, but proceed to speak

SECTION XI.

Of the Civilities of this People; Of their Complements, and of their Habits.

AND here the People in general (as before was observed) are as civil to Strangers as to their own Country-men; for they use when they meet one another, or when they meet strangers, to bow their Heads, or to lay their right Hands on their Breasts, and to bow their Bodies as they pass, saluting them further with many well-wishes.

They use not to uncover their Heads at all, as we do in our Salutes, (from which custom of ours, the *Turks* borrow this imprecation for their Enemies, wishing their Souls no more rest after death than a Christians hat hath, which is always stirred) but the meaner sort, instead of uncovering their Heads to their Superiours, use these abject Ceremonies, by putting their right Hand to the Earth, and then laying it on their Heads; or by falling down on their Knees, and then bowing their Heads to the Earth; both signifying, that those unto whom they shew these

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reverences, and respects, may tread or trample on them, if they pleased.

When we visit the people there of better quality, they entertain us with much humanity; first rising up to us, they bow their Bodies, and then entreat us to sit with them on their Carpets, where they are free in their discourse, which we usually exchange with them by an Interpreter. If we have any business with them, they return very civil and fair Answers, and for our further entertainment give us *Beetle* or *Panne* to chew, (before spoken of.)

In their near, and more close and hearty Salutes, they do not joyn Hands as we, but do that which is hateful to the *Spaniard*, and not at all in use with us; for they take one another by the Chin, or Beard, and cry *Bobba*, which is, Father; or *Bij*, which is, Brother: And this appears to be a very ancient Complement, for thus *Joab* long ago saluted *Amasa*, 2 Sam. 20. 9. But this they do in love, not as *Joab* did there, in Treachery.

In their Complements they express many good wishes to one another, as *Salam Allacum*, God give you health; the reply, *Allacum Salam*, The same health God give you. And *Greb-a Nemoas*, I wish you the prayers of the poor. And *Tere gree gree kee Bulla doore*, which made-English speaks thus, I wish one good to come unto you after another, every *Gra*, (which is a space of time a little more than a quarter of an hour); and they have many more Complements like these, handsome, and significant. As inferiour people (who have their dependance on others) use to say unto them, *I eat your Bread and Salt*, (as much to say) I am your Servant, I live by you, and you may do with me, or to me, what you please.

Now as this People of *East-India* are civil in their speeches, so are they civilly clad; for there are none who wear their own skin alone for their covering, as very many in the western *India* do.

For the Habits of this People, from the highest to the lowest, they are all made of the same fashion, which they never alter nor change; their Coats fitting close to their Bodies unto their Wastes, then hanging down loose a little below their Knees, the lower part of them sitting some-what full; those close Coats are fastned unto both their Shoulders, with slips made of the same Cloth, which, for the generality, are all made of coarser, or finer white *Callico*; and in like manner are they fastned to their Waste, on both sides thereof, which Coats coming double over their Breasts, are fastned by like slips of Cloth, that are put thick from their left Arm-holes to their middle; The sleeves of those Coats are made long, and some-what close to their Arms, that they may ruffle, especially from their Elbows to their Wrists. Under this Coat they usually wear another sleight one, made of the same Cloth, but shorter than the other, and this is all they commonly wear upon the upper part of their bodies. But some of the greater sort in the cooler seasons of the day

day there, will slip on loose Coats over the other, made either of quilted Silk, or Callico, or of our English Scarlet-broad-cloth (for that is the colour they most love.) Under their Coats they have long Breeches like unto Irish-trouses, made usually of the same cloth, which come to their Anckles, and ruffle on the small of their legs. For their feet, they keep them (as was before observed) always bare in their shooes.

Some of their Grandees makes their Coats and Breeches of striped Taffata of several colours, or of some other silk stuff all of the same colour, or of flight cloth of Silver or Gold, all made in that Country. But pure white and fine Callico-laune, (which they there make likewise) is for the most part the height of all their bravery; the collars, and some other parts of their upper coats, being set off with some neat stitching.

Upon their heads they wear a long wreath of cloth, about half a yard broad, usually white, but sometimes of other colours. Which cloth worn for their head-covering, is sometimes inter-woven in spaces with threds of coloured silk, or silver, or gold; and when not so, one end of that wreath of cloth worn by Gallants is usually thus inter-woven; and so put upon their heads, that its gayness may appear. This head-covering of theirs, they call a Shash, which incircles their heads many times, and doth mervellously defend them from the violence of the Sun. And because this covering must needs keep their heads hot, they provide for this, as well as they can, by shaving the hair continually from off them. And they have girdles made of the same wreaths of cloth for the better sort, thus inter-woven, which come twice at least about them, made very trim with that kind of weaving, especially on both ends, which hang down directly before them.

And thus have I presented a Mahometan there in his proper drefs whose habit will more visibly appear together in the *Mogols* Picture, portrayed and after put into this discourse.

Now for the Mahometan women, (because I had never sight of those of the greatest quality) I cannot give such an account of them in respect of the Habits. For these, unless they be dishonest, or poor, come not abroad; but for the fashion of their Garments, they do not differ much from those the men wear, for they wear Coats, and Breeches one very like the other, only women bind their long hair with Phillets, which hang down behind them. They wear likewise upon their heads Mantles or Vails (usually made of white Callico, or of their Pintado's) which hang down over their other Garments. Further, the women have their Ears boared, not only in their flaps, but round about them, wherein they wear very little Pendants; those of the richer sort are made of flat, narrow and thin pieces of Gold or Silver; those worn by the poorer sort made of Brass, or Iron kept bright, so that all are in the same fashion; they bestow some work upon the edges and ends of those Pendants. And those

women have the lower part of their left Nostrils pierced, wherein they wear a Ring (when they please) of Gold, or Silver, or of some other baser Metals. Those Rings of Gold have little Pearls fastned to one end of them, and that Pearl is drill'd through, that both ends of the ring may meet in it. And doubtless, the women of the greatest quality (though I saw it not) are bedeck'd with many rich Jewels. This I have observed in some of those of the better sort I there saw, that they did wear great broad hollow Rings of Gold enamel'd; and some made of Silver, or Brass, upon their wrists, and upon the small of their legs, to take off and on; two or three of them upon each Arm, and Leg, which make a tinkling noise, very probably such Ornaments as the Jewish women were threatned for, *Isaiah 3.* where Almighty God tells them, *that he would take away their tinkling Ornaments about their feet, the Bracelets, and the Ornaments of their legs, their Rings, and Nose-jewels.*

For my Lord Embassadour, and his Company, we all kept to our English Habits, made as light and cool as possibly we could have them. His waiters in red Taffata Cloaks guarded with green Taffata, which they always wore when they went abroad with him, my self in a long black Cassock; and the colours and fashion of our garments were so different from theirs, that we needed not, wheresoever we were, to invite spectators to take notice of us.

And now, the Constancy there observed by the Natives of both sexes, in keeping to their old fashions in their Habits, exempl'd to them by their Predecessors in many foregoing Generations, and by them still continued, is the great praise of this people, as the commendation of every Nation in the World almost, besides ours, still constant to their ancient fashions in their Apparel.

SECTION XII.

Of their Language, their Books, their Learning, &c.

THE Language of this Empire, I mean the Vulgar, bears the name of it, and is called Indostan; it hath much affinity with the Persian, and Arabian Tongues: but the Indostan is a smooother Language, and more easie to be pronounced than the other, a Language which is very significant, and speaks much few words; They write it (as we) to the right hand. It is expressed by letters, which are very much different from those Alphabets, by which the Persian and Arabian Tongues are formed. The Persian there is spoken as their more quaint and Court-tongue. The Arabian is their learned Language, both written backward to the left hand like the *Hebrew*, from whence they

they borrow many words, which come so near it, as that he who is a good Critick in the *Hebrew* may very well guess at the meaning of much in both those Languages. The *Persian* is a Language, as if it consisted all of Guttural letters (as some in the *Hebrew* Alphabet are called) filling the mouth in the pronunciation of them; for as the words in that Language are full of sense, so in their speaking they are full of sound.

For the *Latin* and *Greek*, by which there hath been so much knowledge conveyed into the World, they are as ignorant of them both, as if they had never been; and this may be one great reason why there is so little learning amongst them. But for the people themselves, they are men of very strong reason, and will speak *ex re nata*, upon any offered occasion, very exceeding well; and doubtless they are a people of such strong Capacities, that, were there literature amongst them, they might be the Authors of many excellent works; but as the case stands with them, all that is there attainable towards Learning, is but to read and write.

And hereby the way let me insert this, that I never saw any Idiot or natural Fool, nor any deformed person amongst them, in any of those parts.

For *Logick* and *Rhetorick* which are so instrumental, the first to enlarge, and the second to polish discourses, they have none but what is Natural. They say, that they write some witty Poems, and compose many handsom Annals and Stories of their own, and other adjacent Countries.

They delight much in Musick, and have some stringed, but many more Wind-instruments; They have the use of Timbrels likewise; but for want of pleasing Airs, their Musick in my ears never seemed to be any thing but discord.

Their Books are not many, and those are Manuscripts. That rare and happy invention of Printing, which hath been the advancement of so much learning within Christendom; is not known without it.

They have heard of *Aristotle*, whom they call *Aplis*, and have some of his Books (as they say) in the *Arabian* Tongue, in which Language (they further say) they have many Books written by *Avicenna*, that ancient Physician, who was born in *Samarchandia*, one of the most fam'd places within the *Tartarian* Empire, the Country (as they believe) where *Tamberlain*, the *Mogols* great Ancestor, drew his first breath.

Some parts or fragments they have of the old Testament; of which more, when I shall come to speak of their Religion.

Many amongst them profess themselves to have great skill in judicial Astrology, that great Cheat, which hath been very anciently, and often put upon (as the Sacred Story witnesseth) the people inhabiting the East, and South parts of the World. I call it a Cheat, because there is, and must needs be, so much uncertainty in it; all things here below being ordered, and over-ruled,

ruled, by the secret, and unerring providence of Almighty God, *which frustrateth the tokens of the Lyars, and maketh Diviners mad; that turneth wise men backward, and maketh their knowledge foolish*, Esay 44. 25. First, these Diviners are mad when things fall not out according to their bold predictions; And secondly, they have been, and not without cause, esteemed as mad-men, in foretelling things which they could not know, and much less bring to pass.

And therefore I have heard a great Master in, and a publick Professor of, Astronomy, who could see as far into Constellations, and observe as much from them as any other, often say, that he would go by the very self same rules that others did, to predict things to come; and would write that which was quite contrary to what they observed, yet what he wrote should as often fall to be as true as what they foretold.

Yet notwithstanding the truth of these premises, the great Mogol puts so much confidence in his Astrologers, that he will not undertake a journey, nor yet resolve to do any thing besides of the least consequence, unless his Wizards tell him, it is a good and a prosperous hour, to begin; and set upon such an undertaking, and at the very instant he hath his directions from them, he sets upon the thing he undertakes, and not before.

SECTION XIII.

Of their Physitians, Diseases, Cures; When they begin their year; How they measure their time, &c.

Here are those which pretend unto much skill in Physick, though (for ought I could ever there observe) the people make but little use of them, they fearing more *Medicum quam Morbum*; and therefore do believe the Physitian to be the more dangerous disease.

The common Diseases of that Countrey are Bloody-Fluxes, with others that come not to blood, Hot-Fevers, Calentures, which seize on and fire the head and brain, more than other parts. These, many times put our men at Sea into very high distempers, especially while they are under the Torrid Zone, which makes the poor creatures visited with them, sometimes to conceit the spacious Sea and Waves therein to be great Fields full of Haycocks; and if they were not sometimes happily prevented, would leap over-board to tumble in them.

For ordinary Agues, such as are so common among us, and for those two torments rather than diseases (when they are felt in extremity) the Gout and the Stone, they have the happiness to be ignorant of them.

But sometimes they are visited with an inflammation, or an extream

treme Burning, such as is spoken of, *Dent. 28. 22.* or rather with a most grievous *Pestilence*, which on a sudden sweeps away many thousands when it comes into great populous Cities. This *Pestilence* makes the bodies of Men there which are visited with it, like an House, which on a sudden is covered all over with fire at once. The City *Amadavar* (at our being there with the King) was visited with this *Pestilence* in the moneth of *May*, and our Family was not exempted from that most uncomfortable visitation; for within the space of nine dayes, seven persons that were English of our Family were taken away by it, and none of those which dyed lay sick above twenty hours, and the major part well and sick, and dead in twelve hours. As our Surgeon (who was there all the Physician we had, and he led the way) falling sick at mid-day, and the following mid-night dead. And there were three more that followed him, one immediately after the other, who made as much haste to the Grave as he had done, and the rest went after them, within that space of time (I named before.) And (as before I observed) all those that dyed in our Family of this *Pestilence*, had their Bodies set all on fire by it, so soon as they were first visited; and when they were dying, and dead, broad spots of a black and blew colour appeared on their Breasts; and their flesh was made so extreme hot by their most high distemper, that we who survived, could scarce endure to keep our hands upon it.

It was a most sad time, a *fiery Tryal* indeed. But such is the goodness of Almighty God, that he makes the miseries of Men here, *Aut tolerabiles, aut breves*, either sufferable, or short; so that if the thing imposed be extreme heavy to be born, it continues not long, as this most grievous visitation, most violent for the time, like a mighty storm, and then blown away. For here the mercy of God suddenly *stept in, betwixt the living and the dead*; so that not onely in our Family, but also in that great City, the Plague was stayed.

All our Family [my Lord Ambassadour onely excepted] were visited with this sickness; and we all, who through Gods help and goodness out-lived it, had many great blisters, fill'd with a thick yellow watery substance, that arose upon many parts of our bodies, which when they brake, did even burn and corrode our skins, as it ran down upon them.

For my part I had a *Calenture* before at *Mandoa*, which brought me even into the very *Jaws of Death*, from whence it pleased God then to rescue and deliver me, which amongst thousands and millions of mercies more received from him, hath, and shall for ever give me cause to *speak good of his Name*.

There are very few English which come thither, but have some violent sickness, which if they escape, and live temperately, they usually enjoy very much health afterward. But Death made many breaches unto my Lord Ambassador's Family, for of four and twenty Waiters, besides his Secretary and my self, there

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was not above the fourth Man returned home. And he himself by violent Fluxes, was twice brought even to the very brink of the Grave.

The Natives of *East-India* in all their violent hot diseases, make very little use of Physicians, unless it be to breathe a Vein sometimes, after which they use much fasting as their most hopeful remedy.

The foul Disease is too common in those hot Climates, where the people that have it are much more affected with the trouble it brings, than with the sin or shame thereof.

The people in *East-India* live up to our greatest Ages; but without all question they have more old people than we; a thing not to be wondered at, if we consider the great Temperance of that people in general in their eating and drinking.

But to proceed. The *Hindooes* or *Heathens* there begin their year the first day of *March*. The *Mahometans* begin theirs, the tenth, at the very instant as the Astrologers there guess that the Sun enters into *Aries*, their year as ours is divided into twelve Moneths, or rather into thirteen Moons, for according to them they make many payments. They distinguish their time in a much different manner from us, dividing the day into four, and the night into as many parts, which they call *Pores*; which again they subdivide each of them into eight parts, which they call *Grees*; measured according to the ancient custom, by water dropping out of one vessel into another, by which there always stands a Man appointed for that service, to turn that vessel up again when it is all dropped out, and then to strike with an hammer (upon the brim of a concave piece of Metal, like the inner part of a large Platter, hanging by the brim on a wire) the number of those *Pores*, and *Grees* as they pass. It hath a deep sound, and may be heard very far; but these are not common amongst them. Neither have they any Clocks, or Sun-Dials, to shew them further how their time passeth.

We lived there some part of our time a little within, or under the *Tropick of Cancer*, and then the Sun was our *Zenith*, or *Verticle* at noon-day directly over our heads, at his return to his Northern bounds (of which I have spoken something before.) The Sun-rising there, was about six hours in the Morning before it's appearing here, so that it is twelve of the Clock with them, when it is but six with us. We had the Sun there above the *Horizon* in *December*, when the dayes are shortest near eleven hours; and in *June* when they are at their fullest length, somewhat more than thirteen hours; which long absence of the Sun there from the face of the Earth, was very advantagious to cool both the Earth and Air. I proceed to speak

SECTION XIV.

Of the most excellent Moralities which are to be observed amongst the People of those Nations.

NEXT to those things which are *Spiritually* good, there is nothing which may more challenge a due and deserved commendation, than those things which are *Morally* and *Materially* so; and many of these may be drawn out to life, from the examples of great numbers amongst that people.

For the *Temperance* of very many, by far the greatest part of the *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*, it is such, as that they will rather choose to dye, like the *Mother* and her *seven Sons* mentioned in the second of *Macchabees* and seventh Chapter, then eat or drink any thing their Law forbids them. Or like those *Rechabites*, mentioned, Jer. 35. *Where Jonadab their Father commanded them to drink no Wine, and they did forbear it for the Commandement sake.* Such meat and drink as their Law allows them, they take, onely to satisfy *Nature*, (as before) not *Appetite*; strictly observing *Solomon's Rule*, Prov. 23. 2. *in keeping a knife to their throats*, that they may not transgress in taking too much of the Creature; hating *Gluttony*, and esteeming *Drunkenness*, as indeed it is, another *Madness*; and therefore have but one word in their Language, (though it be very copious) and that word is *Mest*, for a *drunkard*, and a *mad-man*. Which shews their hatred of drunken distempers; for none of the people there, are at any time seen drunk, (though they might find liquor enough to do it) but the very offal and dreggs of that people, and these rarely, or very seldom.

And here I shall insert another most needful particular to my present purpose, which deserves a most high commendation to be given unto that people in general, how poor and mean soever they be; and that is, the great exemplary care they manifest in their piety to their *Parents*, that, notwithstanding they serve for very little (as I observed before) but five shillings a Moon for their whole livelyhood and subsistence; yet, if their *Parents* be in want, they will impart at the least half of that little towards their necessities, choosing rather to want themselves, than that their *Parents* should suffer need.

For the *Mahometans* [who live much upon the labours of the *Hindoes*, keeping them under, because they formerly conquered them] there are many of them idle, and know better to eat than work, and these are all for to *morrow*, a word very common in their mouths; and the word is *Sub-ba*, which signifies to *morrow*, and when that day comes to *morrow*, and so still to *morrow*, they will set down upon their businesses to *morrow*, will do any thing you would have them to do to *morrow*,

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they will bestow any thing upon you *Sub-ba*, to morrow. *Pollicitis divites*, most rich in promises, in performances not so. That being true of many of those *Mahometans*, which *Livie* sometimes spake of *Hannibal*, that he stood most to his Promise, when it was most for his Profit, [though, to do the *Mahometans* in general right, such as are Merchants and Traders, are exact in their dealings] or, as *Plutarch* writes of *Antigonus* the King, who was called *Δωρογ*, as being ever about to give, but seldom giving.

But for the *Hindooes*, or *Heathens*, the ancient inhabitants of *East-India*, they are a very industrious people, very diligent in all the works of their particular Callings, believing that Bread sweetest, and most savory, which is gain'd by sweat. These are for the generality the people that plant and till the ground: These they which make those curious Manufactures that Empire affords; working, as we say, with tooth and nail; imploing their ears and toes, as well as their fingers, to assist them [by holding threds of silk] in the making of some things they work. These are a people who are not afraid of a *Lion in the way*, of a *Lion in the streets*, as the slothful man is, *Prov.* 26. 13. but they lay hold on the present time, the opportunity, to set upon their businesses which they are to do to day, they being very laborious in their several employments, and very square and exact to make good all their engagements.

Which appears much in their justness manifested unto those that trade with them; for if a Man will put it unto their Consciences to sell the Commodity he desires to buy at as low a rate as he can afford it, they will deal squarely, and honestly with him; but if in those bargainings a man offer them much less than their set price, they will be apt to say, What, dost thou think me a *Christian*, that I would go about to deceive thee?

It is a most sad and horrible thing to consider, what scandal there is brought upon the *Christian Religion*, by the looseness, and remissness, by the exorbitances of many which come amongst them, who profess themselves Christians; of whom I have often heard the Natives [who live near the Port where our Ships arrive] say thus, in broken English, which they have gotten, *Christian Religion, Devil Religion; Christian much drunk, Christian much do wrong, much beat, much abuse others.*

But to return again unto the people of *East India*: Though the Christians which come amongst them do not such horrible things, yet they do enough to make Christianity it self evil spoken of; as a Religion that deserves more to be abhorred, than imbraced. For truly it is a sad sight there to behold a drunken Christian, and a sober Indian; a temperate Indian, and a Christian given up to his Appetite. An Indian that is just and square in his dealing, a Christian not so; a laborious Indian, and an idle Christian; as if he were born onely to fold his

Arms,

Arms, or *fruges tantum consumere natus*: to devour *Corn*, and wear out *Wool*. O what a sad thing is it for *Christians* to come short of *Indians*, even in *Moralities*, come short of those, who themselves believe, to come short of *Heaven*.

SECTION XV.

Of their Religion, their Priests, their Devotion, their Churches, &c.

And now I come to speak of their Religion, I shall first take notice of the *Mahometan Religion* there professed. That of the *Hindoos* or *Heathens* shall find a place wherein I may speak of it afterwards.

But first of the *Mahometan Religion*, because the Great *Mogol* with his *Grandeers*, and all other of quality about him are *Mahometans*; which Religion (if it deserve that name) took its first Rise, and began to be professed in the world about the year of *Christ* 620, as hath been observed by many Writers.

The Ring-leader to it, and chief Founder of it was *Mahomet*, an *Arabian* by Birth, born (as is said) in a very obscure place, and of very mean and low *Parentage*, but a Man fill'd with all *Subtilty* and *Craft*; who, (as they write) after that he had much enriched himself by *Wives*, came to be the *Commander* of a Company of *Arabian Volunteers* that followed *Heraclius* the Emperour in his *Persian Warrs*; but not long after, himself and Souldiers, falling first into *Mutiny*, and after that to *Rebellion*, which was an excellent preparative to put an innovation or change on Religion, and his Souldiers standing close unto him, he himself, with the help of *Sergius*, a Christian by profession, but an Heretical *Nestorian Monk*, and of *Abdala* a Jew, composed a Religion that hath nothing in it, or that favours of nothing so much, as of rude Ignorance, and most palpable Imposture; it being a *Monster* of many Heads; a most damnable mixture of horrid impieties, if it be considered altogether.

Yet because it contains much in it very pleasing to flesh and blood, and soothes up, and complies exceedingly with corrupt Nature, it wanted no followers presently to embrace, and assert it; so that in a little time, like a *Gangrene*, it spread it self into many parts of *Asia*, and since that hath enlarged it self like Hell; so that, at this present day, it hath more that profess it in the world, than those which profess *Christianity*, if we take in all collectively that do but bear the Names of Christians, the world over.

The poor people, that are so much abused by the strong delusions of that great Impostor, say for themselves thus, that

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God hath sent three great Prophets into the world, first *Moses*, and after him *Christ*, and then *Mahomet*; and further add, that when *Christ* left the world he promised to send a Comforter into it, and that Comforter was *Mahomet*, and therefore they close with him.

I shall not need amongst men professing Christianity to write any thing in answer to those their frantick assertions, neither will I make it my business to enlarge my self in the discovery of the *Mahometan* Religion, because that hath been done by so many hands already; only this I will say of it, and not much more, that it hath Will-worship for its Foundation; Fables and Lies for its support; and a groundless presumption for its superstructure.

For its Foundation; first, abundance of Will-worship, manifested in many outward performances, which are not hard to be performed, because the depraved will of man, is ready prest and bent to perform things of that kind with readiness, cheerfulness, and delight. *The works of your Father the Devil you will do*, saith our Saviour, of the obstinate Jews; do them, be they never so hard, with content and willingness.

Secondly, the *Mahometan* Religion hath abundance of strange Monstrous Fables and Lyes for its support, their *Alcoran* (for the substance of it) being a fardle of foolish impossibilities, fit to be received by none but fools and mad-men; for they can gain no more credit with those that are judicious, then what is related in the ryming story of that antient Knight Errant, *Bevis of Southampton*; or in the Poems of *Orlando*, the furious, where may be found some such like parallel fictions, as of *Astolfo* who mounted a Griffin, which carried him up immediately into the Moon, where (they say) *Mahomet* sometime was; the reason I conceive which made himself, and his followers, ever since so full of Lunacy or madness.

Thirdly, it hath a groundless presumption for its superstructure, which presumption draws that misled people into a careless security, they esteeming themselves the only true believers of the world, and none true believers but themselves.

Yet it cannot be denied, but that there are some things in the precepts which *Mahomet* hath prescribed to be received and observed by his followers, that are good; laid down in eight commandments which are these.

First, *That God is a great God, and the only God, and Mahomet is the Prophet of God.*

Second, *That Children must obey their Parents, and do nothing to displease them either in word or deed.*

Third, *That every one must do to another that, and only that, which he would have another do to him.*

Fourth, *That every man five times every day must repair to the Mosquit or Church, to pray there; or, wheresoever he is, he must pray every day so often, if not in the Church, then elsewhere.*

Fifth,

Fifth, That one whole Moon in every year, every man, come to years of discretion, must spend the whole day, 'twixt the rising, and setting of the Sun, in fasting.

Sixth, That every one out of his store, must give unto the poor liberally, freely, and voluntarily.

Seventh, That every one (except those Votaries which renounce marriage) must marry, to increase and multiply the Sect and Religion of Mahomet.

Eighth, That no man must kill, or shed blood.

Now much in these Commandments agrees with the word of Truth; and we need not wonder at it, when we consider, that even the Devil himself (as we may observe in the Gospel) hath sometimes had a Scripture in his mouth. So have Hereticks, and so did *Mahomet* and his Assistants mix some Scripture in their *Alcoran*, to put a fairer gloss upon their irreligion. But what Scriptures they all urge, are for the most part, if not ever, wrested, by their maiming, or perverting, or mis-applying of them. Thus the Devil quotes a Scripture, *Mat. 4. 6.* but one part is left out, and the rest mis-applied. Those therefore who wrest or mangle Scripture to serve their own turn, we may see from whose School they have it. Thus *Mahomet* cites Scripture to do more mischief by it; let no man content himself, and think all is well, because he can sometimes speak good words, have a Scripture in his mouth; when he considers that Hereticks, Hypocrites do so, that *Mahomet*, nay Satan himself hath done as much.

But to proceed; the *Mahometan*-Priests are called *Moolaas*, who read some parcels out of their *Alcoran*, upon Fridays (which are their Sabbaths or days of rest) unto the people assembled in their Mosquits or Churches, and then further deliver some precepts, which they gather out of it, unto their miserably deluded hearers.

These *Moolaas* are they which joyn those of that Religion in marriage; and these employ much of their time as Scriveners to do busineses for others; or to teach their young Children to write and read their language in written hand, for (as before) they have no Printing. Those *Moolaas* are more distinguished from the rest of the *Mahometans* by their Beards (which they wear long) then by any other of their habits. Their Calling gains, and gives them very much reverence and esteem amongst the People; as another sort of Priests there have, of an high order or rank, which live much retired; but when they appear openly are most highly revered; they are called *Scaids* who derive themselves from *Mahomet*.

The *Mahometans* have fair Churches which (as before) are called *Mosquits*; their Churches are built of Marble or coarser stone, the broad-side towards the West is made up close like a firm wall, and so are both ends, in which there are no lights;
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the other broad side towards the East is erected upon Pillars (where a man may take notice of the excellent workmanship both in Vaults, and Arches) the spaces betwixt them Pillars stand open. Their Churches are built long and narrow, standing North and South which way they lay up the bodies of their dead, but none of them within their Churches.

At the four corners of their *Mosquits* which stand in great Cities or in other places much peopled, there are high and round, but small Turrets; which are made open with lights every way, wherein a man may be easily seen, and heard; their devout *Moolaas* five times every day ascend unto the tops of those high Turrets, whence they proclaim, as loudly as they can possibly speak, their Prophet *Mahomet*, thus in Arabian, *La alla illa alla, Mahomet Reful-alla*, that is, There is no God but one God, and *Mahomet* the Messenger from God, That voice instead of Bells (which they use not in their Churches) puts the most devout in mind of the hours of their devotion, those Priests being exceedingly zealous to promote the cause, and to keep up the honour of their *Mahomet*, as the men of *Ephesus* sometime were: when they feared that the credit of their Baggage *Diana* was like to be called into question, they took up a Cry which continued for the space of two hours, Crying out with one voice, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*, Acts 19. 24.

But to return again to those Mahometan Priests, who out of zeal do so often proclaim their *Mahomet*. *Tom Coryat* upon a time having heard their *Moolaas* often (as before) so to cry, got him upon an high place directly opposite to one of those Priests, and contradicted him thus: *La alla illa alla, Hafsaret Eesa Ben-alla*, that is, No God, but one God, and the Lord Christ the Son of God, and further added that *Mahomet* was an Impostor: and all this he spake in their own language as loud as possibly he could, in the ears of many Mahometans that heard it. But whether (circumstances considered) the zeal, or discretion of our Pilgrim were more here to be commended, I leave to the judgment of my Reader. That he did so, I am sure, and I further believe how that bold attempt of his, if it had been acted in many other places of *Asia*, would have cost him his life with as much torture as cruelty could been invented. But he was here taken for a mad-man, and so let alone.

Haply the rather, because every one there hath liberty to profess his own Religion freely, and, if he please, may argue against theirs, without fear of an inquisition, as *Tom Coryat* did at another time with a *Moolaa*, and the Question was, Which of these two was the Musleman or true Believer: after much heat on both sides, *Tom Coryat* thus distinguished, that himself was the Orthodox Muslemam or true true-believer, the *Moolaa* the *pseudo Musleman* or false true believer; which distinction, if I had not thought it would have made my Reader smile had been here omitted.

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The Mahometans have a set form of prayer in the Arabian Tongue, not understood by many of the common people, yet repeated by them as well as by the *Moolaas*: they likewise rehearse the Names of God and of their *Mahomet* certain times every day upon Beads, like the miss-led Papists, who seem to regard more the Number, then the weight of prayers.

But for the carriage of that people in their devotions, before they go into their Churches they wash their feet, and entering into them put off their shooes. As they begin their devotions they stop their ears, and fix their eyes, that nothing may divert their thoughts; then in a soft and still voice they utter their prayers, wherein are many words most significantly expressing the Omnipotency, and Greatness, and Eternity, and other Attributes of God. Many words likewise that seem to express much humiliation, they confessing in divers submissive gestures, their own unworthiness, when they pray casting themselves low upon their Face sundry times, and then acknowledg that they are burdens to the Earth, and poyson to the Air, and the like, being so confounded and asham'd as that they seem not to dare so much as to lift up their eyes towards Heaven; but after all this, comfort themselves in the mercies of God, through the mediation of *Mahomet*.

If this people could as well conclude, as they can begin and continue their prayers, in respect of their expressions, and carriages in them, they might find comfort; but the conclusion of their devotions marrs all.

Yet this, for their commendation (who doubtless, if they knew better would pray better) that what diversions, and impediments soever they have arising either from pleasure or profit, the Mahometans pray five times a day. The *Mogol* doth so, who sits on the Throne; the Shepherd doth so that waits on his flock in the field (where, by the way, they do not follow their flocks; but their flocks, them) all sorts of Mahometans do thus whether fixed in a place or moving in a journey, when their times, or hours of prayer come, which in the morning are at Six, Nine, and Twelve of the clock; and at three and six in the afternoon.

When they pray, it is their manner to set their Faces that they may look towards *Medina* neer *Mecha* in *Arabia* where their great Seducer *Mahomet* was buried, who promised them after one thousand years, to fetch them all to Heaven; which term, when it was out, and the promise not fulfilled, the Mahometans concluded that their Fore-fathers mis-took the time of the promise of his coming; and therefore resolve to wait for the accomplishment of it one thousand years more. In the mean time they do so reverence that place where the body of *Mahomet* was laid up, that whosoever hath been there (as there are divers which flock yearly thither in Pilgrimage) are for ever after called, and esteemed Hoggees, which signifies Holy men.

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And here the thing being rightly and seriously considered; it is a very great shame that a Mahometan should pray five times every day, that Pagans and Heathens should be very frequent in their devotions, and Christians (who only can hope for good answers in prayer) so negligent in that great prevailing duty. For a Mahometan to pray five times every day, what diversions soever he hath to hinder him, and for a Christian to let any thing interrupt his devotion; for a Mahometan to pray five times a day, and for one that is called a Christian not to pray (some believing themselves above this and other Ordinances) five times in a week, a moneth, a year!

But this will admit less cause of wonder if we consider how that many bearing the Names of Christians cannot pray at all, those I mean which are prophane and filthy, and who live as if there were no God to hear, or to judge, and no Hell to punish. Such as these can but babble, they cannot pray, for they blaspheme the Name of God, while they may think they adore it.

I shall add here a short story; It happened that I once having some discourse with a Mahometan of good quality, and speaking with him about his frequent praying, I told him that if himself, and others of his profession who did believe it as a duty to pray so often, could conclude their Petitions in the Name of Jesus Christ, they might find much comfort in those their frequent performances, in that great duty; He answered, that I needed not to trouble my self with that, for they found as great comfort as they could desire in what they did. And presently he would needs infer this Relation.

There was (said he) a most devout Musleman who had his habitation in a great City where *Mahomet* was zealously professed, that man for many years together spent his whole day in the *Mosquit*, or Church; in the mean time, he minding not the world at all, became so poor that he had nothing left to buy bread for his family; yet, notwithstanding his poor condition, he was resolved still to ply his devotions: and in a morning (when he perceived that there was nothing at all left for the further subsistence of himself and household) took a solemn leave of his wife and children, resolving for his part to go and pray and dye in the *Mosquit*, leaving his family (if no relief came) to famish at home. But that very day he put on this resolution, there came to his house in his absence a very beautiful young man (as he appeared to be) who brought and gave unto his wife a very good quantity of Gold bound up in a white Napkin, telling her, that God had now remembered her husband, and sent him his pay for his constant pains taken in his devotion; withall charging her not to send for her husband, for though he had taken such a solemn leave of her that morning, yet he would come home to her again that night; and so he departed from her. The woman presently bought in some necessaries for her house (for they had eaten up all before), and further made some good

good provision for her husband against his coming home in the evening (for so he did); and finding all his family very cheerful and merry, his wife presently told him, that there had been such a one there (as before described) and left so much gold behind him, with that fore-mentioned message delivered with it. Her husband presently replied that it was the Angel *Gabriel* sent from God (for the Mahometans speak much of that Angel) and he further added, that himself had nothing to bring home unto her but a little grett, or sand, which he took up in his way homeward, and bound it in his girdle, which he presently opening to shew her, it was all turn'd into precious stones, which amounted unto a very great value in money. The seventh part of which, as of his gold likewise, he presently gave to the poor, (for, said he, a Mussleman is very charitable) and then inferr'd, that if we do not neglect God, God will not forget us; but when we stand most in need of help will supply us. Unto which conclusion we may all subscribe, leaving the premises which are laid down in that story, unto those that dare believe them.

The Mahometans say, that they have the Books of *Moses*, but they have very much corrupted that story, in ascribing that to *Ishmael* which is said of *Isaac*, Gen. 22. as if *Ishmael* should have been sacrificed, not *Isaac*, (of which more afterward). They say, that they have the Book of *David's* Psalms; and some Writings of *Solomon*, with other parcels of the Old Testament; which, if so, I believe are made much to vary from their Original.

They speak very much in the honour of *Moses* whom they call *Moosa Calim-Alla*; *Moses*, the publisher of the mind of God. So of *Abraham* whom they call *Ibrahim Carim-Alla*, *Abraham* the honoured or friend of God.

So of *Ishmael* whom they call *Ismael*, The Sacrifice of God. So of *Jacob*, whom they call *Acob*, The blessing of God. So of *Joseph*, whom they call *Eesoff*, The betrayed for God. So of *David*, whom they call *Dahood*, The lover, and praiser of God. So of *Solomon*, whom they call *Selymon*, The wisdom of God; all expressed, as the former, in short Arabian words, which they sing in Ditties unto their particular remembrances.

And, by the way, many of the Mahometans there are called by the names of *Moosa*, or *Ibrahim*, or *Ismael*, or *Acob*, or *Eesoff*, or *Dahood*, or *Selymon*: so others are called *Mahmud*, or *Chaan*, which signifies the Moon; or *Frista*, which signifies a Star, &c. And they call their women by the names of Flowers or Fruits of their Country, or by the names of Spices or Odours, or of Pearls, or precious Stones, or else by other names of pretty or pleasing signification. As *Job* named one of his daughters *Jemimah*, which signifies, Clear as the day; the second *Keziah*, which signifies pleasant, as *Cassia* or sweet Spice. And the name of the third *Keren-happuch*, signifying, The Horn or strength of beauty, *Job* 42. 14.

But I'll return again to that people, that I may acquaint my Reader with one thing of special observation, and 'tis this: That there is not one among the Mahometans (of any understanding) which at any time mentions the name of our blessed Saviour called there *Hazaret Eesa*, the Lord Christ, but he makes mention of it with high reverence and respect. For they say of Christ that he was a good man, and a just, that he *lived without sin*, that he did greater miracles then ever any before or since him; nay further they call him *Rha-how-Alla*, the breath of God, but how he should be the Son of God, they cannot conceive, and therefore cannot believe.

Perhaps the Socinians first took that their opinion from these, which bids them to have every thing they receive as truth, to be cleared up unto them by the strength of Reason, as if there were no need of the exercise of Faith.

And truly (I must needs confess) that to believe the Incarnation of the Son of God, is one of the hardest and greatest tasks for Faith to encounter withall, that God should be made a Man, that this Man Christ should be born of a Virgin, that Life should spring from Death; and that from Contempt and Scorn, Triumph, and Victory should come, &c. But Christians must bind up all their thoughts, as to these, in that excellent meditation of *Picus Mirandula*, saying, *Mirandam Dei Incarnationem*, &c. concerning that admirable, and wonderful Incarnation of Christ the Son of God, I shall not say much; it being sufficient for me, as for all others that look for benefit by Christ, to believe, that he was begotten, and that he was born. These are Articles of our Faith; and we are not Christians, if we believe them not.

I may seem very strange therefore, that the Mahometans (who understand themselves better) should have such a very high esteem of our Blessed Saviour Christ, and yet think us who profess our selves Christians to be so unworthy, or so unclean, as that they will not eat with us, any thing that is of our dressing, nor yet of any thing that is dressed in our vessels.

There are more particulars which challenge a room in this Section as their proper place: but because I would not have it swell too big, I shall here part it, and speak further

SECTION

SECTION XVI.

Of their *Votaries* ; where, of the voluntary and sharp Penances, that people undergo. Of their *Lent* ; and of their *Fasts*, and *Feasts*, &c.

Among the Mahometans there are many *Votaries* they call *Dervesses* who relinquish the world, and spend all their days following in solitude and retiredness, expecting a recompence (as they say, and are very well content to suffer and wait for it) in that better life. Those very sharp and very strict Penances which many of this people for the present voluntarily undergo, far exceed all those the Romanists boast of; for instance, there are some who live alone upon the tops of Hills (which are clothed or covered with trees, and stand remote from any Company) and there spend the whole time of their following lives in Contemplation, stirring not at all from the places they first fix on, but *ad requisita naturæ*, crying out continually in these or the like expressions, *Alla Achabar*, &c. that is, God Almighty look upon me, I love thee, I love not the world; but I love thee, and I do all this for thy sake; look upon me, God Almighty.

These, after they thus retire, never suffer the Razer or Scissors to come again upon their heads, and they let their Nails grow like unto Birds Claws, As it was written of *Nebuchadnezzar*, Dan. 4. when he was driven out from the society of men.

This people after their retirement, will chuse rather to famish than to stir from their Cells: and therefore they are relieved by the Charity of others, who take care to send them some very mean covering for their bodies (for it must be such, otherwise they will not accept of it) when they stand in need thereof, and something for their bodily sustenance, which must be of their coarser food, otherwise they will not take it, and no more of that at one time than what is sufficient for the present support of nature.

Some again impose long times of Fasting upon themselves, and will take no food at all, till the strength of Nature in them be almost quite spent.

And others there are amongst them they call Religious men, who wear nothing about them but to hide their shame; and these (like the mendicant Friars) beg for all they eat. They usually live in the skirts or out-sides of great Cities, or Towns, and are like the man our blessed Saviour mentions, Luk. 8. 27. about the City of the *Gadarens*, which had Devils, and wore no clothes, neither abode in any house but in the Tombs. And so do these, making little fires in the day, sleeping at nights in the warm ashes thereof, with which they besmear and discolour their bodies

dies. These *Ash-men* will sometimes take intoxicating things which make them to talk wildly, and strangely (as some of our Quakers do in their strange distempers) and then the foolish common people will flock about them, and (believing they then Prophesie) hearken unto them with all attention.

A very great difference 'twixt that people and ours; for there they call mad-men Prophets, and amongst us there are many Prophets which are accounted but mad-men.

There are another sort among them called *Mendee*, carried on likewise meerly by mis-takes and mis-conceivings in Religion; who like the *Priests of Baal*, mentioned 1 King. 18. often cut their flesh with knives and lancers.

Others again I have there seen, who meerly out of Devotion put such massie Fetters of Iron upon their legs as that they can scarce stir with them, and then covered with blew mantles (the colour of mourners in those parts) as fast as they are able, go many miles in Pilgrimage bare-foot upon the hot parching ground, to visit the sepulchres of their deluding Saints; thus, putting themselves upon very great Hardships, and submitting unto extreme sharp penances, and all to no purpose.

But to return again to those Indian Votaries who undergo such hard things and out of this mistake that they do God good service in the things they do. Concerning which actings, *Lucretius* (though accounted an Epicurean and an Atheist) in his first book, speaks to purpose about the Error of Religion.

-----*Sapientia olim*
Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.

oft of old,
Religion bred acts impiously bold.

The Mahometans keep a solemn *Lent*, they call the *Ramjan* or *Ramdam*, which begins the first New-moon, which happens in *September*, and so continues during that whole Moon. And all that time, those that are strict in their Religion, forbear their Women, and will not take either Meat or Drink any day during that time, so long as the Sun is above their *Horizon*, but after the Sun is set they eat at pleasure. The last day of their *Ramjan*, they consecrate as a day of mourning to the memory of their deceased friends, when I have observed many of the manner sort, seem to make most bitter lamentation. But when that day of their general mourning is ended, and begins to die into night, they fire an innumerable company of lamps and other lights; which they hang or fix very thick, and set upon the tops of their houses, and all other most conspicuous places near their great *Tanks*, that are surrounded with buildings, where those lights are doubled by their Reflection upon the water, and when they are all burnt out; the ceremony is done, and the people take food.

The

The day after this *Ram-jan* is fully ended, the most devout Mahometans in a solemn manner assemble to their Mosquits, where by their *Moolaas* some selected parts of the *Alcoran*, are publickly read unto them, which book the *Moolaas* never touch without an expression of much outward reverence.

For their works of charity, there are some rich men that build *Sarraes* in great Cities and Towns (spoken of before) where passengers may find house-room and that freely, without a return of any recompence, wherein themselves and goods may be in safety.

Others make Wells and Tanks for the publick benefit; Or maintain servants, which continually attend upon road-ways that are much travelled, and there offer unto Passengers water for themselves and beasts, which water they bring thither in great skins hanging upon the back of their Buttelos; which as it is freely given, so it must be freely taken by all those, who desire to refresh themselves by it.

There are some which build rich Monuments to preserve the memories of those whom they have esteemed eminent for their austerity and holiness: these they call *Peres* or *Saints*, amongst whom some of those (before-mentioned) help to fill their Number, who sequester themselves from the world (as they think) and spend their life alone upon the tops of Hills, or in other obscure corners.

SECTION XVII.

Of the Marriages of the Mahometans, and of their Polygamy, &c.

Amongst many other things that confirm the Mahometans in their irreligion, this certainly is not the least, the indulgence which *Mahomet* gives them to take more wives than one (for they make take four if they please) and that further promise which that monstrous *Seducer* hath made unto his followers of a fleshly Paradise hereafter, wherein he will provide for them all wives which shall have large rowling eyes, which they look upon in that sex as a great beauty. And it is a very sutable comfort for such as walk so much after the flesh.

For Polygamy, or the having of more wives than one, *Lamech* a great Grand-child of *Cain*, was the first that brought it into the World, Gen 4. 19. And it was first brought into the Church by *Abraham*: which act of his, as of others after him (good men in their generation) though it found permission, never had approbation from Almighty God. And further, though under the times of the Law; it found some connivence, yet since the Gospel there hath been *no such custom in any of the Churches of Christ*.

I remember

I remember that my Lord Ambassadour had a Servant of that Nation, who desired leave to be absent one day, and being asked why, he told us, that he was then to marry a Wife, though he had three living then, a Man would think enough for his means but five shillings a Moon, the usual pay of Servants there (as before I observed) to maintain himself, and all the rest of his family.

Often have I heard this Question put, How these Mahometans can do with so many Wives; some of which they keep pent up in little Cottages, or Tents? And in other places and parts of the World, where mens dwellings are very large and spacious, there is scarce room enough to be found for one Wife in a great House.

The Mahometans, who have most Wives, and Women, are most jealous; and their jealousy such, as that they will not suffer the Brothers, or Fathers of their Wives, to come to them, or to have any speech with them, except it be in their presence. And a continued custom by this restraint hath made it odious for such Women, as have the reputation of honesty, to be seen at any time by any Man, besides their own Husbands, or by those before named, and by them but very seldom. But if they dishonour their Husbands beds, or being unmarried are found incontinent and filthy, professing Chastity; rather than they shall want the severest punishment, their own Brothers hands will be first against them to take away their lives, and for so doing, shall be commended, but not questioned.

The Women there of the greater quality, have Eunuchs instead of men to wait upon them, who in their minority are deprived of all that might provoke jealousy.

Here is a free toleration for Harlots, who are listed and enrolled (as they say) before they can have liberty to keep such an open house. Which Creatures in general there, and so all the World over whosoever they be, imbrace those they pretend to love, as Monkies and Apes do their little ones; for they kill them with kindness. Those base Prostitutes are as little ashamed to entertain, as others are openly to frequent their houses.

Other Creatures (as they say) are there kept for base, and abominable ends; many of those Nations being deeply engaged in those sins of the Gentiles, Rom. 1. in doing things which should not be named, and make no scruple at all for their so doing, *ut honeste peccare videantur*, (as *Lactantius* speaks) as if they might sin honestly.

Some of the finer sort of those base Strumpets before named, at certain Times appear in the presence of the *Mogol*, before whom they sing their wanton Songs, playing on their Timbrels.

The Marriages of all the Mahometans are solemnized with some Pomp; for after the *Moolaa* hath joyned their Hands, and performed other Ceremonies, and bestowed on the parties some words of Benediction, (which is done in the Evening); immediately

diately after the night coming on, they begin their jollity. The man on horse-back, be he poor or rich, with his kindred and friends about him, many Lights before him, with Drums and Wind-instruments, and some mixt pastimes to increase the merriments. The Bride she follows with her Women-friends in Coaches covered, and after they have thus passed the most eminent places of the City, or Town they live in, return to the place of the married couples abode, where (they say) if the parties be able, they make some slight entertainment for them, immediately after which, they all disperse, and the show is over.

Women there, have a very great happiness; above all I have heard of, in their easie bringing forth of Children into the world; for there it is a thing very common, for Women great with Child, one day to ride, carrying their Infants in their Bodies, and the next day to ride again, carrying them in their Arms.

How those of the greater quality, order their little Children when they are very young, I could not observe, but those of the meaner sort keep them naked for some years after they are born, covering them onely, and that but sometimes, with slight Callico-Mantles.

The Mohometans (as I have before observed) who please so to do, may take to themselves each four Wives; and that filthy liberty given unto them by their fleshly *Mahomet*, allows them in it. I have heard of some in this Nation of late times, who have been married here to more than so many at once, but that wickedness here is not (as amongst them) committed by a Law, but by Law made Capital, and so punished.

The eldest Son they have by any of their married Wives, hath a prerogative above all the rest, whom their other Children call *Budda*, by their great Brother. And so much of their Mariages, of their Children, and of their Births. In the next place, I shall speak

SECTION XVIII.

Of their Burials, of their mourning for their Dead, and of their stately Sepulchres and Monuments.

FOR the Mahometans, it is their manner to wash the Bodies of their Dead before they interr them. An ancient custom as it should seem among the *Jews*; for it is said of *Dorcas*, that after she was dead, they washed her Body, as a preparative to her Burial.

They lay up none of the Bodies of their Dead in their *Misquits*, or Churches, (as before) but in some open place in a Grave, which they dig very deep and wide, a Jewish custom, likewise to carry the Bodies of their Dead to bury them out of their Cities and Towns.

Their mourning over their Dead is most immoderate: for, besides

besides that day of general lamentation at the end of their *Ram-jan*, or Lent, (before-mentioned) they howl and cry many whole days for their friends departed, immediately after they have left the world; and after that time is passed over many foolish women, so long as they survive, very often in the year, observe set days to renew their mourning for their deceased friends; and as a people without hope, bedew the graves of their husbands, as of other their near relations, with abundance of (seemingly) affectionate tears; as if they were like those mourning women mentioned *Jer. 9. 17.* who seemed to have tears at command; and therefore were hired to mourn and weep in their solemn lamentations.

And when they thus lament over their dead, they will often put this question to their dead and dead Carcasses, Why they would die? they having such loving wives, such loving friends, and many other comforts: as if it had been in their power to have rescued themselves from that most impartial wounding hand of death.

Which carriage of theirs deserves nothing but censure and pity; though, if it be not Theatrical, we may much wonder at it, and say of it, as it was said of the mourning in the floor of *Atad*, *Gen. 50. 11.* *That it is a grievous mourning*; or, as the mourning of *Hadadrimmon* in the valley of *Megiddon*, *Zech. 12. 11.* if we take those lamentations only in a literal sense.

But now further concerning their places of Burial, many Mahometans of the greatest quality in their life-time provide fair Sepulchres for themselves and nearest friends, compassing with a firm wall a good circuit of ground near some Tank, (before spoken of) about which they delight to bury their dead; or else they close in, a place for this use, near springs of water, that may make pleasant fountains, near which they erect little Mosquits, or Churches, and near them Tombs built round, or four-square, or in six, or eight squares, with round Vaults, or Canopies of stone over-head, all which are excellently well wrought, and erected upon Pillars, or else made close to be entered by doors every way, under which the bodies of their dead lye interred. The rest of that ground thus circled in, they plant with Fruit-trees; and further set therein all their choicest flowers, as if they would make Elysian fields (such as the Poets dream'd of) wherein their souls might take repose.

There are many goodly Monuments which are richly adorned, built (as before was observed) to the memory of such as they have esteemed *Peres*, or Saints (of whom they have a large Kalender) in which are Lamps continually burning; attended by votaries, unto whom they allow Pensions for the maintaining of those lights, and many (transported there with wild devotion) daily resort to those Monuments, there to contemplate the happiness those *Peres* (as they imagine) now enjoy.

And certainly of all the places that Empire affords, there are
none

none that minister more delight, than some of their Burying places do; neither do they bestow so much cost, nor shew so much skill in Architecture in any other Structures as in these.

Now amongst many very fair Piles there dedicated to the remembrance of their dead, the most famous one is at *Secandra*, a Village three miles from *Agra*; it was begun by *Achabar-sha* the late *Mogol's* Father, who there lies buried; and finished by his Son, who since was laid up beside him. The materials of that most stately Sepulchre are Marble of divers colours, the stones so closely cemented together, that it appears to be but one continued stone, built high like a Pyramid with many curiosities about it; and a fair Mosquit by it; the Garden wherein it stands very large planted (as before) and compassed about with a wall of Marble: this most sumptuous Pile of all the Structures that vast Monarchy affords, is most admired by strangers. *Tom Coryat* had a most exact view thereof, and so have many other Englishmen had, all which have spoken very great things of it.

And now Reader I have done with this, and shall proceed to speak more particularly,

SECTION XIX.

Of the Hindoo's; or Heathens, which inhabit that Empire, &c.

AND for these, the first thing I shall take notice of, is, that they agree with others in the world, about the first Roots of Mankind *Adam* and *Eve*: and the first of them they call *Babba Adam*, or *Adamah*, Father *Adam*; and the second *Mamma Havah*, Mother *Eve*. And from *Adam* they call a man, *Adami*.

For *Adam* they further say, that when his wife was tempted to eat the forbidden fruit, she took it and chaw'd it, and then swallowed it down; but, when the husband was swallowing it, the hand of God stop'd it in his Throat, and from hence (they say) that every man hath there an hollow bunch which women have not.

The names they give to distinguish one man from another are many, and amongst them these following are very common. As *Juddo*, or *Midas*, or *Cooregee*, or *Hergee*, and the like. *Casfurra* and *Prescottia*, are Womens names amongst them; but whether these, as those names they call their men or women by, are names of signification, or only of sound, I know not.

Those Hindoo's are a very laborious, and an industrious people: these are they which Till and Plant the Ground, and breed the Cattle, these are they which make and sell those

curious Manufactures, or the Cloath and Stuff which this Empire affords.

This people marry into, and consequently still keep in their own Tribes, Sects, Occupations, and Professions. For instance, all *Bramins* (which are their Priests, the Sons of all which are Priests, likewise) are married to *Bramins* daughters; so a Merchants son marries a Merchants daughter; and so men of several Trades marry to the same Trade. Thus a *Coollee* (who is a Tiller of the Ground) marries his son to a *Coollee*s daughter; and so in all other professions they keep themselves to their own Tribes and Trades, not mixing with any other; by which means they never advance themselves higher than they were at first.

They take but one wife, and of her they are not so fearful and jealous as the Mahometans are of their several wives and women, for they suffer their wives to go abroad whither they please. They are married very young, about six, or seven years old, their Parents making Matches for them, who lay hold of every opportunity to bestow their Children. Because confin'd to their own Tribes, they have not such variety of choice as otherwise they might have; and when they attain to the age of thirteen, or fourteen, or fifteen years at the most, they bed together.

Their Marriages are solemnized (as those of the Mahometans) with much company, and noise; but with this difference, that both the young couple ride openly on horse-back, and for the most part, they are so little, that some go on their horse sides to hold them up from falling. They are bedeck'd, or strewed all over their cloathing, with the choice flowers of that Country, fastned in order all about their Garments.

For their Habits they differ very little from the Mahometans, but are very like them civilly clad, but many of their women wear Rings on their Toes; and therefore go bare foot. They wear likewise broad Rings of Brass, or better metal, upon their Wrists, and small of their Legs, to take off and on.

They have generally (I mean the Women) the flaps, or tips of their ears, boared when they are young; which holes daily extended and made wider, by things put and kept in them for that purpose, at last become so large, as that they will hold Rings (hollowed on the out-side like Pullies) for their flesh to rest in that are as broad in their circumference, some of them (I dare say) as little Sawcers. But though those fashions of theirs seem very strange at first sight, yet they keep so constantly to them, as to all their other habits, without any alteration, that their general and continual wearing of them makes them to seem less strange unto others which behold them.

And for their Diet very many of them (as the Banians in general (which are a very strict Sect) will eat of nothing that hath had, or may have life. And these live upon Herbs, and Roots, and Bread, and Milk, and Butter, and Cheese, and Sweet-meats,

meats, of which they have many made very good by reason of their great abundance of Sugar. Others amongst them will eat Fish, but of no living thing else. The Rashboots will eat Swines-flesh, which is most hateful to the Mahometans, some will eat of one kind of flesh, some of another (of all very sparing); but all the Hindoo's in general abstain from Beef, out of an high and over-excellent esteem they have of Kine; and therefore give the *Mogol* yearly, besides his other exactions, great sums of money as a ransom for those Creatures; whence it comes to pass, that amongst other good provisions, we meet there but with little Beef.

As the Mahometans bury: so the Hindoos in general (not believing the Resurrection of the Flesh) burn the bodies of their dead near some Rivers (if they may with convenience) wherein they sow their ashes.

And there are another Sect, or sort of Heathens, living amongst them, called Persees, which do neither of these; of whom, and how they bestow the bodies of their dead, you shall hear afterward.

The Widows of these Hindoos (first mentioned) such as have lived to keep company with their Husbands, for (as before) there is usually a good space of time 'twixt their wedding and bedding. The Widows (I say) who have their Husbands separated from them by death, when they are very young, marry not again; but whether, or no, this be generally observed by them all, I know not; but this I am sure of, that immediately after their Husbands are dead, they cut their hair, and spend all their life following as creatures neglected both by themselves, and others; whence to be free from shame, some of them are ambitious to dye with honour (as they esteem it) when their fiery love carries them to the flames (as they think) of Martyrdom, most willingly following the dead bodies of their Husbands unto the fire, and there embracing them, are burnt with them.

A better agreement in death than that of *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, the two Theban brothers, of whom it is said, that they were such deadly enemies while they were alive, that after, when both their bodies were burnt together in the same fiery Pile, the flame parted and would not mix in one, of which *Statius* thus:

*Nec furis post fata modus; flammæque rebelles
Seditione Rogi.* —————

But those, which before I named, agree so well in life, that they will not be divided by death, where their flames unite together. And although the woman, who thus burns with her Husband, doth this voluntarily, not by any compulsion (for the love of every Widow there is not thus fired) and though the poor crea-

ture, who thus dies may return and live if she please, even then when she comes to the Pile, which immediately after turns her into ashes : yet she who is once thus resolved, never starts back from her first firm and settled resolution, but goes on singing to her death, having taken some intoxicating thing to turn or disturb her brains ; and then, come to the place where she will needs dye, she settles her self presently in the midst of that combustible substance provided to dispatch her, which fuel is placed in a round shallow trench, about two foot deep, made for that purpose near some River, or other water (as before), and though she have no bonds but her own strong affections to tie her unto those flames, yet she never offers to stir out of them.

And thus, she being joyfully accompanied unto the place of her dying by her Parents and other friends ; and when all is fitted for this hellish sacrifice, and the fire begins to burn, all which are there present shout, and make a continued noise so long as they observe her to stir, that the screeches of that poor tortured creature may not be heard. Not much unlike the custom of the Ammonites, who, when they made their children pass through the fire to *Molech*, caused certain Tabrets, or Drums to sound, that their cries might not be heard, whence the place was called *Tophet*.

Now after their bodies are quite consumed, and lie mixed together in ashes, and those ashes begin to grow cold, some of them are gathered up by their nearest friends, and kept by them as choice Relicks ; the rest are immediately sown by the standers by, upon the adjacent River, or water.

But for those poor silly souls, who sing themselves into the extremity of misery, and thus madly go out of the world, through one fire into another, through flames that will not last long into everlasting burnings, and do it not out of necessity, but choice, led hereunto by their tempter and murderer, and consequently become so injurious and merciless to themselves ; certainly they deserve much pity from others, who know not how to pity themselves. For *nemo miserior misero non miserrante seipsum*. There are none so cruel as those, which are cruel, and pitiless to themselves. But though (I say) there are some which thus throw away their own lives ; yet if we consider those Hindoos in general we may further take notice

SECTION XX.

Of the tenderness of that people in preserving the lives of all other inferior Creatures, &c.

For they will not (if they can help it by any means) take, but, on the contrary, do what they can to preserve the lives

lives of all inferiour Creatures, whence (as before I told you) they give large money to preserve the lives of their Kine, (a reason for this you shall have afterward) and I have often observed, that when our English boyes there have out of wantonness been killing of Flies (there swarming in abundance) they would be very much troubled at it; and, if they could not persuade them to suffer those poor Creatures to live, they would give them money, or something else, to forbear that (as they conceived) Cruelty.

As for themselves (I mean a great number of them) they will not deprive the most useless, and most offensive Creatures of Life; not Snakes, and other venomous things that may kill them, saying, that it is their nature to do hurt, and they cannot help it: but as for themselves they further say, that God hath given them Reason to shun those Creatures, but not liberty to destroy them.

And in order to this their conceit, the *Banians* (who are the most tender-hearted in this case of all that people) have *Spittles* (as they say) on purpose to recover lame Birds and Beasts.

Some ground for this their tenderness haply proceeds from this consideration; that they cannot give Life to the meanest of the sensible Creatures, and therefore think that they may not take the Lives of any of them: for the poorest worm which crawleth upon the face of the Earth, *tam Vita vivit, quam Angelus*, (as one of the Ancients speaks) live for the present as much as the Angels, and cannot be willing to part with that Life, and therefore they imagine that it is most injurious by violence to take it.

But (as I conceive) the most principal cause why they thus forbear to take the lives of inferiour Creatures, proceeds from their obedience unto a precept given them by one of their principal, and most highly esteemed Prophets and Law-givers they call *Bremaw*; others they have in very high esteem, and the name of one of them is *Ram*, of another *Permissar*. I am ignorant of the names of others, and I conceive that my Reader will not much care to know them. But for him they call *Bremaw*, they have received (as they say) many precepts, which they are careful to observe, and the first of them, This

Thou shalt not kill any living Creature whatsoever it be, having Life in the same; for thou art a Creature, and so is it; thou art indued with Life, and so is it; thou shalt not therefore spill the Life of any of thy fellow-Creatures that live.

Other Precepts (they say) were delivered unto them by their Law-giver about their devotions, in their washings and worshippings, where they are commanded,

To observe times for fasting, and hours for watching, that they may be the better fitted for them.

----- Other directions they have about their Festivals where-in they are required,

To

To take their Food moderately, in not pampering their Bodies.

-----Concerning *Charity*, they are further commanded,

To help the poor as far as they are possibly able.

----- Other Precepts (they say) were given them likewise in charge; as

Not to tell false Tales, nor to utter any thing that is untrue.

Not to steal any thing from others, be it never so little.

Not to defraud any by their cunning in bargains, or contracts.

Not to oppress any, when they have power to do it.

Now all those particulars are observed by them with much strictness; and some of them are very good, having the impression of God upon them, but that scruple they make in forbearing the lives of the Creatures made for mens use, shews how that they have their dwellings in the dark, which makes them by reason of their blindness, to deny unto themselves that liberty, and Sovereignty which Almighty God hath given unto Man over the Beasts of the Field, the Fowls of the Air, and the Fishes of the Sea, appointed for his Food, given unto him for his service and sustenance, to serve him, and to feed him, but not to make havock and spoil of them.

However, the tenderness of that people over inferiour Creatures, shall one day rise up in judgement against all those who make no scruple at all in taking the Lives, not of sensible Creatures, but Men, not legally to satisfy good and known Laws, but violently to please their cruell and barbarous Lusts.

SECTION XXI.

Of other strange and groundless, and very gross Opinions, proceeding from the blackness and darkness of Ignorance in that people.

ALL Error in the World proceeds either from Ignorance (commonly joyned with Pride) or else from Wilfulness. This is most true as in natural, and moral, so in spiritual things: For as Knowledge softens and sweetens Men's manners, so it enricheth their Minds; which Knowledge is certainly a most divine, a very excellent thing, otherwise our first Parents would never have been so ambitious of it. This makes a Man here to live twice, or to enjoy here a double Life in respect of him that wants it. But for this Knowledge, it certainly must be esteemed better, or worse, by how much the object of this Knowledge is worse, or better. Now the best object of this Knowledge is a right Understanding, and Knowledge of the true God, which that people wants.

Now touching this people, they are altogether ignorant of God,

God, as they ought to know him; and they have no learning amongst them, but as much as enables them to write and to read what they have written; and they having no insight into the reasons and causes of things (I mean the ruder sort, both of the Mahometans and Gentiles) when they observe things which are not very ordinary, as when they see any Eclipses, but especially of the Moon (haply some of them sacrificing to her, and calling her the Queen of Heaven, as those Idolaters did, Jer. 44. 18.) they make a very great stir and noise, bemoaning her much, which helps (as they conceive) to free, and bring her out of it. *Juvenal* observing that custom (which appears to be very ancient among the Heathens) reproves a very brawling clamorous Woman in his sixth *Satyre* thus,

Una, laboranti poteris succurrere Lunæ,

that she made noise enough to deliver the Moon out of an Eclipse.

Their ignorance in this, as in many-many other things, is much to be pitied: as the knowledg and learning of many others, which (by their not improving of it) is to them as the Letters which *Uriah* sometimes carried against himself; it condemns the hearer.

But though the *Hindoo*s, or Heathens there, have no learning; yet they want not opinions: for their divided hearts are there distracted into four-score and four several Sects, each differing from others, very much in opinion about their irreligion; which might fill a man, even full of wonder, that doth not consider, how that Satan, who is the author division, is the seducer of them all.

Those many Sects (as I conceive among them) consist of people there of several Trades, Occupations, and Conditions of Life; which several sorts of people (as before I observed) marry into their own Tribes; and so unite and keep together amongst themselves, that they have not much correspondency with any other people. These without doubt have several ways of worship within themselves, which makes them so separate from others, as that they will not eat with any, but those of their own Tribes.

The illiterate Priests of all that people for the generality of them are called *Bramins*, who derive themselves from *Bramon*, whom (they say) was one of the first men that inhabited the World; and, after the sin of that first World brought the Flood, the race of that *Bramon* (whose very name they highly reverence) was continued in *Bremaw*, who (as they say) out-lived that deluge, and is honoured by them likewise as one of their great Prophets and Law-givers.

Those *Bramins* (as I conceive) are they, which the ancient stories call *Brachmans*, but with this difference, that those

Brachmans

Brachmanes were accounted learned men, for the learning of those times wherein they lived: But these *Bramins* are a very silly, sottish, and an ignorant sort of people; who are so inconstant in their Principles, as that they scarce know what the particulars are which they hold and maintain as truths.

As anciently amongst the Jews, their Priest-hood is hereditary; for all those *Bramins* Sons are Priests, and they all take the Daughters of *Bramins* to be their Wives. (Of which something before.)

They have little Churches they call *Pagods*, standing near, or under their green Trees, built round; but as their ancient *Brachmanes* were said not to endure, these, on the contrary, have Images in their *Pagods* made in monstrous shapes, but for what end they have them, I know not.

Now, from the manner of those Heathens, which I believe hath been for many-many years retained in their Idolatrous worships; I conceive that the Jews long ago borrowed that unwarrantable custom of worshipping God in Groves, or under green Trees.

Both men and women before they go to their devotions (which are very frequently performed) wash their bodies, and keep off all their cloaths, but the covering of modesty, till they have done; led hereunto by a Precept (as they say) commanded them to be performed by their Law-giver *Bremaw*, which requires them daily to observe their times of devotion, expressed by their washings, and worshippings, and prayer to God; which must be all done with purity of hearts.

And it is the manner of this people before they take their food to wash their bodies; then (which I much observed while we lived in Tents) they make a little Circle upon the ground, which they seem to consecrate; after which they sit down within that compass, and eat what they have provided; and if any come within that Circle before they have ended their meal, they presently quit the place, and leave their food behind them.

That outward washing (as this people think) avails very much to their cleansing from sin, not unlike the Pharisees, who were all for the out-side of Religion, and would not eat with unwashen hands, *Mark. 7. 2.* unless they washed themselves up to the Elbows (as *Theophylact* observes); hence those Hindoos ascribe a certain divinity unto Rivers, but above all to that famous River *Ganges*, whither they flock daily in troops, that there they may wash themselves; and the nearer they can come to the head of that River, the more virtue they believe is in the water. After they have thus washed, they throw pieces of Gold, or Silver (according to their devotion and ability) into that River, and so depart from it.

Thus Reader thou hast somewhat of the carriages of this people in life. Now after death some of them talk of Elyzian fields

fields (such as the Poets dream'd of) to which their souls must pass over at *Styx*, or *Acheron*, and there take new bodies. Others of them think that ere long the World will have an end, after which they shall live here again on a new earth. Some other wild conceivings of this people follow afterward.

Some *Bramins* have told me that they acknowledge one God, whom they describe with a thousand eyes, with a thousand hands, and as many feet, that thereby they may express his power, as being all eye to see, and all foot to follow, and all hand to finite offenders. The consideration whereof makes that people very exact in the performances of all moral duties, following close to the light of Nature in their dealings with men, most carefully observing that Royal Law, in doing nothing to others, but what they would be well contented to suffer from others.

Those *Bramins* talk of two books, which not long after the Creation, when the World began to be peopled, (they say) were delivered by Almighty God to *Bramon* (before spoken of): one of which Books (they say) containing very high, and secret, and mysterious things was sealed up, and might not be opened; the other to be read, but only by the *Bramins*, or Priests. And this Book, thus to be read, came after (as they further say) into the hands of *Bremaw* (of whom likewise something before) and by him it was communicated unto *Ram*, and *Permissar*, two other fam'd Prophets amongst them, which those Heathens do likewise exceedingly magnifie; as they do some others, whose names I have not. Now that Book which they call the *Shefter*, or the Book of their written word, hath been transcribed in all ages ever since by the *Bramins*, out of which they deliver Precepts unto the people.

They say that there are seven Orbs, above which is the seat of God; and that God knows not small and petty things, or, if he do, regards them not.

They further believe that there are Devils, but so fettered and bound in chains, as that they cannot hurt them.

I observed before the tenderness and scruple, which is in very many of that people in taking the lives of any inferiour, and meerly sensible, yea and of hurtful creatures too. And those which are most tender-hearted in this case are called Banians, who are by far more numerous than any other of those Indian Sects; and these hold *Pythagoras* his *Metempsychosis*, as a prime Article of their Faith. Which that untaught people come up very near unto, thinking that all the souls, both of men and women after they leave their bodies make their repose in other Creatures, and those Souls (as they imagine) are best lodged that go into Kine, which (in their opinion) are the best of all sensible creatures; and therefore (as before) they give yearly large sums of money unto the *Mogol* to redeem them from slaughter. And this people further conceit, that the Souls of the wicked go into vile Creatures, as the Souls of Gluttons

and Drunkards into Swine. So the Souls of the Voluptuous and incontinent into Monkeys and Apes. Thus the Souls of the Furious, Revengeful, Cruel People, into Lions, Wolves, Tygres, other beasts of prey. So the Souls of the Envious into Serpents, and so into other Creatures according to peoples qualities and dispositions, while they lived successively from one to another of the same kind, *ad infinitum* for ever and ever, by consequence they believing the immortality of the World. And upon that same mad and groundless phansie, probably they further believe, that the Souls of Froward, Peevish, and Teachy Women go into Wasps, and that there is never a silly Fly, but (if they may be credited) carries about it some Souls (haply they think of light Women) and will not be perswaded out of their wild conceivings, so incorrigible are their sottish errors.

The day of rest which those Hindoos observe as a Sabbath is Thursday, as the Mahometans Friday. Many Festivals they have which they keep solemnly, and Pilgrimages, the most famous briefly spoken of before in those short descriptions of *Nagrai*, and *Syba*, observed in my first Section.

Now there are a race of other Heathens (I named before) living amongst those Hindoos, which in many things differ very much from them: they are called Persees, who (as they say) originally came out of *Persia*, about that time *Mahomet* and his followers gave Laws to the Persians, and imposed a new Religion on them; which these Persees not enduring left their Country, and came and settled themselves in *East-India*, in the Province of *Guzarat*, where the most part of them still continue (though there are some of them likewise in other parts of *India*) but where-ever they live they confine themselves strictly to their own Tribe, or Sect.

For their Habits, they are clad like the other people of that Empire; but they shave not their hair close as the other do, but suffer their beards to grow long.

Their profession is for the generality all kinds of Husbandry, employing themselves very much in Sowing and Setting of Herbs; in Planting and Dressing of Vines, and Palmeeto, or Toddy-Trees, as in Planting and Husbanding all other Trees bearing fruit; and indeed they are a very industrious people, and so are very many of the Hindoos (as before I observed) and they do all very well in doing so, and in this a due, and deserved commendation belongs unto them. For,

There is no condition whatsoever can privilege a folded arm. Our first Parents before their fall were put into the Garden of Eden to dress it. Certainly, if idleness had been better than labour, they had never been commanded to do work, but they must labour in their estate of innocency, because they were happy, and much more we in our sinful lost estate that we may be so. It was a law given before the Law, *that man should eat bread by the sweat of his brows*, and it is a Gospel-precept too
that

that he, who will not work, should note. The sluggard desireth and hath nothing (saith Solomon) because he doth nothing but desire; and therefore his desires do him no good, because his hands refuse to labour. That body therefore well deserves to pine and starve without pity, when two able Hands cannot feed one Mouth.

But further, for those Persees; they use their liberty in meats and drinks, to take of them what they please; but because they would not give offence, either to the Mahometans, or Bani-ans, or other Hindoos amongst whom they live, they abstain from eating Beef, or Swines flesh.

It is their usual manner to eat alone, as for every one of them to drink in his own Cup; and this is a means (as they think) to keep themselves more pure, for if they should eat with others, they are afraid that they might participate of some uncleanness by them.

Alas poor Creatures, that do not at all understand themselves, and their most miserable condition: *for to them that are defiled, and unbelieving is nothing pure.*

Yet I observed before, the Mahometans and Gentiles there are very strict in this particular; so that they will not eat with any mixt company, and many of the Gentiles not eat with one another. And this hath been an ancient custom among Heathens. *It is said, Gen. 43. 32. that the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that was an abomination to the Egyptians.*

For those Persees; further they believe that there is but one God, who made all things, and hath a Sovereign power over all. They talk much of *Lucifer*, and of other evil spirits, but they say, that those and all Devils besides are kept so under, and in aw by two good Angels, that have power over them, as that they cannot hurt or do the least mischief, without their leave, and license.

As, many of the Hindoos ascribe to much unto water (as before) so these to fire: and the reason of it, is this, because they have had this tradition from many ages and generations past, that their great Law-giver, whom they call *Zertooft* was rapt up into Heaven, and there had fire delivered unto him, which he brought down thence; and he ever after commanded his followers to worship it and so they do; and further, they love any thing that resembles fire, as the Sun and Moon; and therefore, when they pray in the day time they look towards the Sun, and so towards the Moon in their night-devotions, and from that so over-high esteem they have of fire, they keep fires continually burning in their Eggarees, or Temples in Lamps fed with Oyl, which are always attended by their Priests; and they talk of many of these which have burned without extinguishment from many foregoing generations.

And, by the way, that wild and mad phansie of theirs, that

their *Zertoost* did fetch fire from Heaven is as certainly true, as that ancient Fiction and Fable of *Prometheus*, that he did steal fire thence.

But to proceed: their Priests they call *Daroos*, or *Harboods*, above both which, they have a Chief, or High-Priest, they call the *Deftoor*, who not often appears openly, but, when he doth, he meets with much Reverence and Respect given unto him by the common people, and so do those other Church-men which are his inferiours: unto all which they allow free maintenance for their more comfortable subsistence.

Those Church-men by their Law are commanded to dwell near, and to abide much in their *Eggarees*, or *Temples*, to give advice, or direction to any that shall repair unto them for it. They observe divers Feasts, and immediately after each of them a Fast follows.

That living sensible Creature, which they first behold every Morning (that is good and serviceable) is to them (as they say) a Remembrancer all the day after, to draw up their thoughts in Thanksgiving unto Almighty God, who hath made such good Creatures for mans use and service.

There are good things (as I have been informed) in that Book of their Religion delivered them in precepts, which their Law-giver hath left unto them for the direction of their Lives.

As first, *To have shame and fear ever present with them, which will restrain, and keep them from the committing of many evils.*

Secondly, *When they undertake any thing, seriously to consider whether it be good or bad, commanded or forbidden them.*

Thirdly, *To keep their Hearts and Eyes from coveting any thing that is anothers, and their Hands from hurting any.*

Fourthly, *To have a care always to speak the Truth.*

Fifthly, *To be known onely in their own businesses, and not to enquire into, and to busie themselves in other mens matters.*

All which are good moral precepts: but they have another which marring and spoils all the rest, and that is, upon the greatest penalties they can be threatned withall,

Sixthly, *Not to entertain, or believe any other Law besides that which was delivered unto them by their Law-giver.*

This people take but one Wife; which hath liberty, as the Wives of the *Hindoos*, to go abroad. They never resolve to take Wives, or Husbands without the advice of their Church-men: and when they come to be married, they stand some distance one from the other, there being two Church-men present, one in the behalf of the Man, and in behalf of the Woman the other. The first of these asks the Woman, whether or no she will have that Man to be her Husband; and the other asks the Man, whether or no he will have that Woman to be his Wife: and they both consenting, the Priests bring them together and joyn their Hands, praying that they may live in Unity and Love together; and

and then both those Church-men scatter Rice upon the Married Couple, intreating God to make them fruitful in sending them many Sons and Daughters, that they may multiply as much as that seed doth in the ears that bear it. And so, the Ceremony being thus performed,* which is about the time of mid-night, the whole Company depart, leaving the Married Couple together.

At the Birth of every Child, they immediately send for the *Daroo*, or Church-man, who comes to the parties House, and there being certainly enform'd of the exact time of the Childs birth, first, undertakes to calculate its Nativity, and to speak something of it by way of prediction; after which he confers with the Parents about a Name whereby it shall be called; which when they have agreed upon, the Mother, in the presence of the Company there assembled, gives it that Name.

And now lastly, touching the Burials of that People, they *incircle pieces of ground* with a round Wall, that is of a good height, set a part for that purpose. These burying places stand remote from Houses and Road-ways, the ground within them is made smooth, or else paved on the bottom, in the midst whereof they have a round pit, made deep like a draw-Well. The Bodies of their Dead, both Men, Women, and Children, are carried to those places, upon a Beer made of sleight round Iron Bars, (for they will not have dead bodies touch any wood, lest they should defile it, because that is fewel for their adored Fire) and thus brought thither, are laid round about near the inside of that Wall upon the ground, or pavements, covered with a thin white Cloth; the *Daroo*, or *Harboode*, accompanies the dead body near unto the door which enters that place (always kept fast shut, but when it is opened upon this occasion to let in their dead); and, comn thither, speaks these words in the audience of all those which are thither assembled, *That whereas the party deceased consisted of all the Four Elements, he desires that every one of them may now take his part.* And this is the form they use, when they there thus dispose of the bodies of their dead. Which being there so left in that open place, are presently laid bare by the Fowls of the Air, who in short time after pick all their flesh clear from their bones, by consequence their fleshly part having no other Sepulchres, Graves, or Tombs, but the Crows and Gorges of those ravenous Fowls. And when upon this occasion they enter that round stage of Mortality, the bare Skeletons they there find, which have parted with all their flesh, are by those bearers of the dead cast into that deep round pit, where they mix promiscuously together, and so make room for other dead bodies.

But now that my Reader may not conceive that I have endeavoured in some of these strange Relations to write a new *Romance*, I would have him to think, that for my part I do believe that there is very much of truth in the particulars I have inserted,

ed, if there be any credit to be given to some men of much integrity that lived amongst them, who made it a great part of their business to be satisfied in many of the particulars here spoken of, or if I might trust mine own Eyes and Ears that saw and heard much of it, which could have enabled me to have written a great deal more concerning the *Rites, Ceremonies, Customs, wild conceivings*, and mad Idolatries of this people, as of the *Hindoos* spoken of before, if I durst have thrown away more time upon them; all which would have made my Judicious Reader thus to have concluded with me, that those Mahometans and Heathens ground very many of their Opinions upon Custom, Tradition, and Phantise, not Reason, much less upon safe Rules that might lead them into, and after keep them in, the way of Truth. They esteeming it a very great boldness, a very high Presumption, to be wiser in their Religion than their Fore-fathers were (as many of the more ignorant sort of Papists will often say, though it be directly against themselves) and therefore are desirous to do, and to believe as their Ancestors have before them; to fare as they have fared, and as they have sped to speed; though they perish everlastingly with them, never considering of, or ruminating on those things which they hold and maintain for truths; being like unto unclean Beasts, *which chew not the Cudd*.

So much of that people in general: I come now more particularly to speak.

SECTION XXII.

Of their King the great Mogol, his descent, &c.

Now those Mahometans and Gentiles I have named, live under the subjection of the Great *Mogol*, which Name, or rather Title, (if my Information abuse me not) signifies Circumcised, as himself, and the Mahometans are; and therefore for his most general Title he is called the Great *Mogol*, as the chief of the circumcised, or chief of the circumcision. He is lineally descended from that most famous Conquerour, called in our Stories *Tamberlain*, concerning whose Birth and original Histories much differ, and therefore I cannot determine it; but, in this, all that write of him agree, that he having got together very many huge multitudes of Men, made very great Conquests in the South-East parts of the World, not onely on *Bajazet* the Emperour of the *Turks*, but also in *East-India*, and else-where; for, What cannot force by multitudes do? This *Tamberlain* in their Stories is called *Amir Timur*, or the great Prince and Emperour. *Timur*, who (as they say) towards his end, either by an hurt received in his Thigh, or

or else by an unhappy fall from his Horse, which made him halt to his Grave, was ever after that called *Timur lang*, or *Timur the lame*, from whence he is corruptly in our Stories named *Tamberlane*. The late *Mogol*, at whose Court we lived, was the ninth in a direct line, from that his great Ancestor.

And now that my Reader may see the Great *Mogol* in a Portraiture (which was taken from a Picture of his drawn to the life) I have caused that to be here inserted, which presents him in his daily unvaried Habit, as he is bedeckt, and adorned with Jewels, he continually wears; for the fashion of the Habit, in which he is here presented, it is, for the fashion, the Habit of that whole vast Empire; so that he who strictly views this, may see the dress of the Men throughout that whole great Monarchy.

After this I have set up the Royal Standard of the Great *Mogol*, which is a couchant Lyon shadowing part of the Body of the Sun.

And after that, I have caused his Imperial Signet, or Great Seal to be laid down before my Reader's Eyes; where in nine rounds, or Circles, are the Names and Titles of *Tamberlane*, and his lincal successors in Persian words: which I shall make presently to speak English, and (as I conceive) no more in English, than what is fully expressed in those original words.

This Seal (as it is here made in Persian words) the Great *Mogol*, either in a large, or lesser figure causeth to be put unto all *Firmanes*, or Letters Patents; the present Kings Title put in the middle, and larger Circle that is surrounded with the rest, the impression whereof is not made in any kind of Wax, but Ink, the Seal put in the middle of the Paper, and the writing about it, which Paper there is made very large, and smooth, and good, and in divers colours, besides white, and all to write on. And the words on the *Mogol's* Seal being imboss'd, are put upon both sides of his Silver and Gold Coin, (for there is no Image upon any of it.) And the like little Signets, or Seals are used by the great Men of that Country, and so by others of inferiour rank, having their Names at length engraven on them, with which they make impressions, or subscriptions by Ink put on them, to all their acts and deeds; which round Circle is their Hand and Seal too.

For *Timur lang*, or *Tamberlane*; he was famous about the year of Christ 1398. in the last year of the Reign of *Richard* the Second, King of *England*. And he the first of the Race of those great Monarchs, hath a Title, which speaks thus:

1. *Amir, Timur, Saheb Ceran*, that is, the great Conqueror, or Emperor; *Timur*, or *Tamberlain*, Lord possessor of the Corners, or of the four Corners of the World.

2. The second his Son was called *Mirath-Sha*, the King and Inheritor of Conquests, or the Inheritor of his Fathers Conquests.

3. The

3. The third, his Son, was called *Mirza, Sultan, Mahomeds*; *The Prince and Commander for Mahomet*; or, *The Defender of the Mahometan Religion*. For this King (as it should seem) was the first *Indostan Emperor* that professed *Mahometism*, which *Tamberlane* his Grand-father was a great Enemy to, and therefore ever strongly opposed it. But this third Monarch of that Line, and all his Successors since, have been Mahometans.

4. The fourth, his Son, was called *Sultan Abu Said, The Prince and Father, or Fountain of Beneficence*.

5. The fifth, his Son, was called *Mirzee Amir Scheick, The Imperial Princely Lord*.

6. The sixth, his Son, was called *Baba Padsha, The King the Father, or, The King, the Father of his Country*.

7. The seventh, his Son, was called *Hamasan Padsha, The King Invincible*.

8. The eighth, his Son, was called *Achabar Padsha, The great King, or, Emperour that is most mighty, or, The King most mighty*.

9. The ninth, his Son, was called *Almozaphar, Noor, Dein, Gehangeir, Padsha, Gaze*; *The most warlike and most victorious King, the Light of Religion, and the Conquerour of the World*.

Here are very high Titles taken by *Tamberlane* and his Successors, and the lower we go, the greater still they are; but the last of them swells biggest of all, calling himself amongst other Phantasies, *The Conquerour of the World*, and so he conceits himself to be; As they write of *Thrasylus the Athenian*, who believed that all the Ships on the Sea were his own, and therefore he would call them, *My Ships*, when ever he saw them floating on the waters; and thus the Great *Mogol* imagines all the Kings, Nations, and People of the World, to be his Slaves and Vassals.

And therefore when the Grand Signiour, or Great Turk, sent an Ambassador to the Great *Mogol*, who came unto him attended with a great train and retinue, and after, when he was ready to take his leave, desired of the *Mogol* to know what he should say to his Master when he was returned; Tell thy Master, said the *Mogol*, that he is my Slave, for my Ancestor conquered him.

The *Mogol* feeds and feasts himself with this conceit, that he is *Conquerour of the World*, and therefore (I conceive) that he was troubled upon a time, when my Lord Ambassador, having business with him (and upon those terms, there is no coming unto that King empty-handed without some Present, or other; of which more afterward), and having at that time nothing left, which he thought fit to give him, presented him with *Mercators* great Book of *Cosmography*, (which the Ambassador had brought thither for his own use) telling the *Mogol*, that that Book described the four parts of the World, and all several Countries in them contained. The *Mogol* at the first seem'd to be much taken with it, desiring presently to see his own Territories,

ritories, which were immediately shewen unto him; he asked which were those Countries about them, he was told *Tartaria* and *Persia*, as the names of the rest which confine with him; and then causing the Book to be turn'd all over, and finding no more to fall to his share, but what at first he saw, and he calling himself the *Conquerour of the World*, and having no greater share in it, seemed to be a little troubled; yet civilly told the Ambassador, that neither himself, nor any of his People did understand the Language in which that Book was written; and because so, he further told him, that he would not rob him of such a Jewel, and therefore returned it unto him again.

And the Truth is, that the Great *Mogol* might very well bring his Action against *Mercator* and others who describe the World, but streighten him very much in their Maps; not allowing him to be Lord and Commander of those Provinces, which properly belong unto him.

But it is true likewise that he, who hath the greatest share on the face of the Earth, if it be compared with the whole World, appears not great. As it was said of the Lands of *Alcibiades*, that, compared with the Globe of the whole Earth, they did not appear bigger then a small tittle. The *Mogol's* Territories are more apparent, large, and visible, as one may take notice, who strictly views this affixed Map, which is a true representation of that great Empire in its large dimensions. So that although the *Mogol* be not Master of the whole World, yet hath he a great share in it, if we consider his very large Territories, and his abundant riches, as will after more appear, whose wealth and strength makes him so potent, as that he is able, whensoever he pleaseth to make inroades upon, and to do much mischief unto any of his Neighbours; but I leave that, and come now to speak

SECTION XXIII.

Of the Mogol's Policy in his Government, exercised by himself and Substitutes.

AND it is that indeed, which is the worst of all Governments, called by *Aristotle* *Δυσκρατία*, Arbitrary, Illimited, Tyrannical, such as a most severe Master useth to Servants, not that which a good King administreteth to Subjects.

Which makes it very uncomfortable for those that live as Subjects there, under the command of others, taller then themselves by their swords length, or so to be fixed in any part of the World.

----- Where no Law resists
The sword, but that it acteth what it lists.)

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As in that Empire ; where the King measureth his power by his Sword or Launce , in making his will , his guide , and therefore any thing lawful that likes him ; which carriage of his might very well become that Emblem of illimited power, which is, a Sword waved by a strong arm and hand, and the Word *sic volo, sic jubeo*, or thus will I have it ; and if any there be so far discontented as to make any the least question at what he doth, he hath a far stronger argument still in readines, than all the force of Logick can make, and that is very many thousands of men, that are stout and able Souldiers, whom he keeps continually in arms, and pay, that can make any thing good, which he shall please to command.

There are no Laws for Government kept in that Empire upon record (for ought I could ever learn) to regulate Governours there in the administration of Justice, but what are written in the breast of that King and his Substitutes ; and therefore they often take liberty to proceed how they please, in punishing the Offender rather than the offence ; mens persons more than their Crimes ; *agrotum potius quàm morbum*.

Yet ever they pretend to proceed in their ways of judicature (which is the right progress in judgement) *secundum allegata & probata*, by proofs and not by presumptions.

The great *Mogol* will sit himself as Judge, in any matters of consequence that happen near unto him. And there are no Malefactors that lie more than one night in prison ; and many times not at all, for if the party offending be apprehended early in the day, he is immediately brought before him that must be his Judge, by whom he is presently either acquitted or condemned ; if he be sentenced to be whipt, he hath his payment, and that (usually with much severity) in the place (often,) where he received that sentence. If condemned to die, he is presently (which as I apprehend it is a very hard course, though used anciently among the Jews) carried from his sentence to his execution, which is done usually in the *Bazar*, or Market-place. And this round and quick Justice keeps the people there in such order and aw, as that there are not many executions.

Murder and Theft they punish with death, and with what kind of death the Judge pleaseth to impose : for, some Malefactors are hang'd, some beheaded, some impaled, or put upon sharp stakes (a death which hath much cruelty and extream torture and torment in it,) some are torn in pieces by wild Beasts, some kill'd by Elephants ; and others stung to death by Snakes.

Those which are brought to suffer death by Elephants (some of which vast Creatures are train'd up to do execution on Malefactors) are thus dealt withall. First, if that overgrown Beast be commanded by his Rider to dispatch that poor, trembling Offender presently, who lies prostrate before him, he will with his broad round foot immediately press him to death ; but

if

that wretched Creature be condemn'd *ita mori, ut se mori sentiat*; so to die, as that he may feel tortures and torments in dying (which are as so many several deaths.) The Elephant will break his bones by degrees (as men are broken upon the wheel) as first his Legs, then his Thighs, after that the bones in both his Arms; this done, his wretched Spirit is left to breathe its last out of the midst of those broken bones.

But it is a very sad thing, and very much unbeseeming a man, as he is a man, to seem to take pleasure in executing of punishment, as those appear to do, who make it their business to study, and invent tortures to inflict on others.

I have been told by some, who were eye-witnesses (whom I dare credit, and therefore I dare relate it) of strange kinds of death executed by the command of the King of *Japan* upon his subjects: where some are crucified or nail'd to a Cross: others rather roasted, than burnt to death; Thus, there is a stake set up, and a Circle of fire at a pretty distance, made round about it; the condemned person being naked, is so fastned to that stake, as that he may move round about it, and so doth as long as he is able to stir, till his flesh begins to blister; then he falls down, and there lies roaring till the fire, made about him, puts him to silence by taking away both his voice and life.

Now they say that one great reason, why they put men there unto such exquisite torments, is, because they hold it a thing of the greatest dishonour there for any man to die by the hand of an Executioner: therefore they are usually commanded, when they are sentenced to die, to rip up, or cut open their own bellies, and those who will not so do are tormented in dying. Hence most of that people, when as they have received that hard command to prevent death, by dying; call for their friends about them, eat, and seem to be merry with them, and then in the close of the meal, and in their presence, commit this sad slaughter upon themselves, as first those poor wretches make themselves naked to the middle, he, or they who are to die; then the most wretched self-murderer, who is to act that bloody part, strikes a sharp Knife into the bottom of his belly, then rips himself up, and after gives himself one other cut cross his belly, and when he hath done both these, if after he can but wipe his bloody knife upon a white paper, or napkin that is laid by him, he is believed to part with his life with a very great deal of honour, and immediatly (as he is made to believe) goes to *Fakaman*, whom they say is the God of war. So much power the Devil hath in those dark places of the world; to make the people there do what he please. Oh 'tis a misery of all miseries here to be a drudge, a bond-man, a slave to the Devil! as those, and so infinite multitudes more professing Christ, are, by obeying Satan in his most unreasonable commands, and yet will not be made sensible of that, their basest bondage.

But to return again to the place from whence I have made some excursion. When I was in *India*, there was one sentenced by the *Mogol* himself, for killing his own father, to dye thus; first he commanded that this Parricide should be bound alive by his heels fastned to a small iron chain, which was tied to the hind-leg of a great Elephant; and then that this Elephant should drag him after him one whole remove of that King, from one place to another, which was about ten miles distant, that so all his flesh might be worn off his bones, and so it was, when we saw him in the way following that King in his Progress; for he appeared then to us a Skeleton, rather than a body.

There was another condemned to dye by the *Mogol* himself (while we were at *Amadavar*) for killing his own Mother; and at this the King was much troubled to think of a death, suitable for so horrid a crime; but, upon a little pause, he adjudged him to be stung to death by Snakes, which was accordingly done. I told you before that there are some Mountebanks there, which keep great Snakes to shew tricks with them; one of those fellows was presently called for to bring his Snakes to do that execution, who came to the place where that wretched Creature was appointed to dye, and found him there all naked (except a little covering before) and trembling. Then suddenly the Mountebank (having first angred and provoked the venomous creatures) put one of them to his Thigh, which presently twin'd it self about that part, till it came near his Groin, and there bit him till blood followed, the other was fastned to the out-side of his other Thigh, twining about it (for those Snakes thus kept, are long and slender) and there bit him likewise; notwithstanding, the wretch kept upon his feet near a quarter of an hour, before which time the Snakes were taken from him; But he complained exceedingly of a fire that with much torment had possessed all his Limbs, and his whole body began to swell exceedingly, like *Nasidius*, bit by a Lybian Serpent, called a *Prestor*: Now much after this manner did the stinging of those Snakes work upon that wretch; and about half an hour after they were taken from him, the soul of that unnatural monster left his groaning Carkass, and so went to its place. And certainly both those I last named so sentenced, and so executed, most justly deserved to be handled with all severity, for taking away the lives of those from whom they had receiv'd their own. Some of our family did behold the execution done upon the later, who related all the passages of it; and for my part I might have seen it too, but that I had rather go a great way not to see, then one step to behold such a sight.

After the example of that King, his Governours, deputed and set over Provinces and Cities, proceed in the course of Justice, to impose what punishment and death they please upon all offenders, and malefactors.

That King never suffers any of his Vicegerents to tarry long
in

in one place of Government, but removes them usually (after they have exercised that Power, which was given unto them in place, for one year) unto some other place of Government, remote from the former, wherein they exercise their power: and this that King doth, that those, which be his Substitutes, may not in any place grow popular.

I told you before that this people are very neat, shaving themselves so often, as that they feel the Rasor almost every day; but when that King sends any of them unto any place of Government, or upon any other employment, they cut not their hair at all, till they return again into his presence; as if they desired not to appear beautiful, or to give themselves any content in this while they live out of the Kings sight; and therefore the King, as soon as he sees them, bids them cut their hair.

When the *Mogol* by Letters sends his Commands to any of his Governours, those Papers are entertain'd with as much respect as if himself were present; for the Governour having intelligence that such Letters are come near him, himself with other inferiour Officers ride forth to meet the *Patamar*, or Messenger that brings them; and as soon as he sees those Letters he alights from his horse, falls down on the earth, and then takes them from the Messenger and lays them on his head, whereon he binds them fast, and then returning to his place of publick meeting, for dispatch of businesses, he reads them, and answers their contents with all care and diligence.

The King oft times in his own person, and so his Substitutes appointed Governours for Provinces and Cities, Judge in all matters Criminal that concern Life and Death. There are other Officers to assist them, which are called *Cut-walls* (whose Office is like that of our Sheriffs in *England*) and these have many substitutes under them, whose business it is to apprehend, and to bring before these Judges such as are to be tried for things Criminal, or Capital, where the offender (as before) knows presently what will become of him. And those Officers wait likewise on other Judges there, which are called *Cadees*, who only meddle with Contracts and Debts and other businesses of this nature 'twixt man and man. Now these Officers arrest Debtors, and bring them before those Judges, and their Sureties too, bound as with us in Contracts, confirmed (as before) under their hands and seals; and if they give not content unto those which complain of them, they will imprison their persons, where they shall find and feel the weight of fetters; nay, many times they will sell their Persons, their Wives and Children into bondage, when they cannot satisfy their debts; And the custom of that Country bears with such hard and pitiless courses, such as was complain'd of by the poor Widow unto the Prophet *Elisba*; who when her husband was dead, and she not able to pay, the Creditor came and took her two sons to be bond-men, 2 Kings 4. 1.

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The *Mogol* looked to be presented with some thing, or other, when my Lord Embassadour came to him, and if he saw him often empty handed, he was not welcome; and therefore the *East-India* Company were wont every year to send many particular things unto him, in the name of the King of *England*, that were given him at several times, especially then when the Embassadour had any request unto him, which made a very fair way unto it.

Amongst many other things, when my Lord Embassadour first went thither, the Company sent the *Mogol* an English Coach, and Harness for four Horses, and an able Coach-man, to sute and manage some of his excellent Horses, that they might be made fit for that service. The Coach they sent was lined within with Crimson *China* Velvet, which when the *Mogol* took notice of, he told the Embassadour that he wondred the King of *England* would trouble himself so much, as to send unto *China* for Velvet to line a Coach for him, in regard that he had been informed, that the English King had much better Velvet nearer home, for such, or any other uses.

And immediately after, the *Mogol* caused that Coach to be taken all to pieces, and to have another made by it, for (as before) they are a people that will make any new thing by a pattern; and when his new Coach was made according to the pattern, his work-men first putting the English Coach together, did so with that they had new made; then pulling out all the *China* Velvet which was in the English Coach, there was in the room thereof put a very rich Stuff, the ground Silver, wrought all over in spaces with variety of flowers of silk, excellently well suited for their colours, and cut short like a Plush, and in stead of the brass-nails that were first in it, there were nails of silver put in their places. And the Coach, which his own Work-men made was lined and seated likewise with a richer stuff than the former, the ground of it gold, mingled like the other with silk flowers, and the nails silver and double gilt; and after having Horses and Harness fitted for both his Coaches, He rode sometimes in them, and contracted with the English-coach-man to serve him, whom he made very fine, by rich vests he gave him, allowing him a very great Pension; besides, he never carried him in any of those Coaches, but he gave him the reward of ten pounds at the least, which had raised the Coach-man unto a very great Estate, had not death prevented it, and that immediately after he was settled in that great service.

The *East-India* Company sent other Presents for that King, as excellent Pictures which pleased the *Mogol* very much, especially if there were fair and beautiful Women portrayed in them. They sent likewise Swords, Rapiers, excellently well hatcht, and pieces of rich Imbroidery to make sweet bags, and rich Gloves, and handsome Looking-glasses, and other things to give away, that they might have always some things in readiness

ness to present both to the King, and also to his Governours, where our Factories were settled: for all these were like those Rulers of Israel mentioned, *Hosea 4. 18. who would love to say with shame, give ye.* They looked to be presented with something, when our Factors had any especial occasion to repair unto them, and if the particular thing they then presented did not like them well, they would desire to have it exchanged for something else, haply they having never heard of our good and modest proverb, *That a man must not look into the mouth of a given Horse.* And it is a very poor thing indeed which is freely given, and is not worth the taking.

The Mogol sometimes by his *Firmauns*, or Letters Patents, will grant some particular things unto single, or divers persons, and presently after will contradict those Grants by other Letters, excusing himself thus, That he is a great, and an absolute King; and therefore must not be tied unto any thing, which if he were, he said that he was a slave, and not a free-man: Yet what he promised was usually enjoyed, although he would not be tied to a certain performance of his promise. Therefore there can be no dealing with this King upon very sure terms, who will say and unsay, promise and deny. Yet we Englishmen did not at all suffer by that inconstancy of his, but there found a free Trade, a peaceable residence, and a very good esteem with that King and People; and much the better (as I conceive) by reason of the prudence of my Lord Embassadour, who was there (in some sense) like *Joseph* in the Court of *Pharaoh*; for whose sake all his Nation there, seemed to fare the better. And we had a very easie way upon any grievance to repair to that King as will appear now in my next Section, which speaks,

SECTION XXIV.

Of the Mogol, shewing himself three times publickly unto his people every day, and in what state and glory he doth oftentimes appear.

First, early in the morning, at that very time the Sun begins to appear above the Horizon, He appears unto his people in a place very like unto one of our Balconies, made in his Houses, or Pavilions for his morning appearance, directly opposite to the East, about seven, or eight foot high from the ground, against which time a very great number of his people, especially of the greater sort, who desire as often as they can to appear in his eye, assemble there together to give him the *Salam*, or good morning, crying all out as soon as they see their King

King with a loud voice, *Padsha Salamet*, which signifies, *Live O great King*, or, *O great King, Health and life*. At Noon he shews himself in another place like the former, on the South-side; and a little before Sun-set, in a like place, on the West-side of his House, or Tent: but as soon as the Sun forsakes the Hemispher, he leaves his people ushered in and out with Drums and Wind-instruments, and the peoples acclamations.

At both which times likewise very great numbers of his people assemble together to present themselves before him: And at any of these three times, he that hath a suit to the King, or desires Justice at his hands, be he Poor, or Rich, if he hold up a Petition to be seen, shall be heard and answered.

And between seven and nine of the Clock at night, he sits within House, or Tent, more privately in a spacious place, called his *Goozalcan*, or bathing-house made bright, like day by abundance of lights, and here the King sits mounted upon a stately Throne, where his Nobles and such as are favoured by him stand about him: others find admittance to, but by special leave from his Guard, who cause every one that enters that place to breathe upon them; and if they imagine that any have drunk wine, they keep him out.

At this time my Lord Embassadour made his usual addressees to him, and I often waited on him thither; and it was a good time to do business with that King, who then was for the most part very pleasant, and full of talk unto those which were round about him, and so continued till he fell a sleep (oft times by drinking) and then all assembled, immediately quitted the place, except those which were his trusted servants, who by turns watched his person.

The *Mogol* hath a most stately, rich, and spacious house at *Agra*, his Metropolis, or chief City, which is called his Palace Royal, wherein there are two Towers, or Turrets about ten foot square covered with massie Gold (as ours are usually with Lead) this I had from *Tom Coryat*, as from other English Merchants, who keep in a Factory at that place. And further they told me, that he hath a most glorious Throne within that his Palace, ascended by divers steps, which are covered with plate of silver, upon the top of which ascent stand four Lions upon pedestals (of curiously coloured Marble) which Lions are all made of Massie silver, some part of them gilded with gold, and beset with precious stones. Those Lions support a Canopy of pure gold, under which the *Mogol* sits, when as he appears in his greatest state and glory.

For the beauty of that Court; it consists not in gay and gorgeous apparel, for the Country is so hot, that they cannot endure any thing that is very warm, or massie; or rich about them. The *Mogol* himself for the most part is covered with a garment (as before described) made of pure, white, and fine Callico-laune, and so are his Nobles; which garments are washed after

after one days wearing. But for the *Mogol*, though his cloathing be not rich and costly, yet I believe that there is never a Monarch in the whole world that is daily adorned with so many Jewels as himself is. Now, they are Jewels which make mens covering most rich; such as people in other parts sometimes wear about them, that are otherwise most meanly habited. To which purpose I was long since told by a Gentleman of honour, sent as a Companion to the old Earl of *Nottingham*, when he was imployed as an extraordinary Embassadour by King *James*, to confirm the peace made 'twixt himself and the King of *Spain*, which Embassadour had a very great many Gentlemen in his train, in as rich clothing as Velvets and Silks could make; but then there did appear many a great Don, or Grandee in the *Spanish* Court, in a long black bays Cloak and Cassack, which had one Hatband of Diamonds, which was of more worth by far, than all the bravery of the Ambassadors many Followers.

But for the *Mogol*, I wonder not at his many Jewels, he being (as I conceive) the greatest, and richest Master of precious stones that inhabits the whole earth. For Diamonds (which of all other are accounted most precious stones) they are found in *Decan* (where the Rocks are, out of which they are digged) the Princes whereof are the next Neighbours and Tributaries to the great *Mogol*, and they pay him as Tribute many Diamonds yearly; and further, he hath the refusal of all those rich stones they sell, he having Gold and Silver in the greatest abundance, (and that will purchase any thing but heaven) & he wil part with any mony for any Gems beside, that are precious and great, whether Rubies, or any other stones of value, as also for rich Pearls.

And his Grandees follow him in that fancy: for one of his great Lords gave our Merchants there, twelve hundred pounds sterling for one Pearl which was brought out of *England*. The Pearl was shaped like a Pear, very large, beautiful, and orient, and so its price deserved it should be.

Now the *Mogol* having such an abundance of Jewels, wears many of them daily; enow to exceed those women, which *Rome* was wont to shew in their Star-like dresses, who in the height and prosperity of that Empire

-----were said to wear
The spoils of Nations in one ear.

Or, *Lollia Paulina*, who was hid with Jewels. For the great *Mogol*, the Diamonds, and Rubies, and Pearls, which are very many, and daily worn by him, are all of an extraordinary greatness, and consequently of an exceeding great value. And besides those he wears about his *Shash*, or head covering, he hath a long Chain of Jewels hanging about his Neck (as long as an ordinary Gold-Chain); others about his wrists, and the

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Hilts of his Sword and Dagger, are most curiously enriched with those precious Stones ; beside others of very great value, which he wears in Rings on his fingers.

The first of *March*, the *Mogol* begins a royal Feast, like that which *Abasuerus* made in the third year of his Reign, *Esth. 1. wherein he shewed the riches of his glorious Kingdom.* This feast the *Mogol* makes, is called the *Nooroos*, that signifies Nine-days : which time it continues, to usher in the new year, which begins with the *Mahometans* there, the tenth day of *March*.

Against which Feast, the Nobles assemble themselves together at that Court in their greatest Pomp, presenting their King with great gifts, and he requiting them again with Princely rewards : at which time I being in his presence, beheld most immense and incredible riches, to my amazement, in Gold, Pearls, Precious stones, Jewels, and many other glittering vanities. This Feast is usually kept by the *Mogol* while he is in his Progress, and lodges in Tents.

Whether his Diet at this time be greater than ordinary I know not ; for he always eats in private amongst his Women, where none but his own Family see him while he is eating ; which Family of his consists of his Wives, and Children, and Women, and Eunuchs, and his Boys ; and none but these abide and lodge in the Kings Houses, or Tents, and therefore how his Table is spread, I could never know ; but doubtless he hath of all those varieties that Empire affords, if he so please. His food (they say) is served in unto him in Vessels of Gold, which covered and brought unto him by his Eunuchs, after it is proved by his Tasters, he eats, not at any set times of the day, but he hath provision ready at all times, and calls for it when he is hungry, and never but then.

The first of *September* (which was the late *Mogol's* birthday) he retaining an ancient yearly Custom, was, in the presence of his chief Grandees, weighed in a Balance ; the Ceremony was performed within his House, or Tent, in a fair spacious Room, whereinto none were admitted but by special leave. The Scales in which he was thus weighed were plated with Gold, and so the beam on which they hung, by great Chains made likewise of that most precious Metal, the King sitting in one of them was weighed first against silver Coin, which immediately after was distributed among the poor ; then was he weighed against Gold ; after that against Jewels (as they say) but I observed (being present there with my Lord Ambassador) that he was weighed against three several things, laid in silken Bags on the contrary Scale. When I saw him in the Balance, I thought on *Belshazzar*, who was found too light, *Dan. 5. 27.* By his weight (of which his Physicians yearly keep an exact account) they presume to guess of the present estate of his body, of which they speak flatteringly, however they think it to be.

When

When the *Mogol* is thus weighed, he casts about among the standers by thin pieces of Silver, and some of Gold, made like flowers of that Countrey, and some of them are made like Cloves, and some like Nutmegs, but very thin and hollow. Then he drinks to his Nobles in his Royal wine (as that of *Abasuerus* is called, *Esth.* 1. 7.) who pledge his health: at which solemnity he drank to my Lord Ambassadour, in a Cup of Gold most curiously enameled, and set all over the outside with stones (which were small Rubies, Turkeffes, and Emeralds) with a Cover, or Plate, to set in it in, both of pure Gold, the brims of which plate, and the cover were enameled, and set with stones as the other, and all these together weighed twenty and four ounces of our English weights, which he then gave unto my Lord Ambassadour, whom he ever used with very much respect, and would moreover often ask him, why he did not desire some good, and great gifts at his hands, he being a great King, and able to give it; the Embassadour would reply, That he came not thither to beg any thing of him; all that he desired, was that his Countrey-men the English might have a free, safe, and peaceable trade in his Dominions: The *Mogol* would answer that he was bound in honour to afford them that, we coming from the furthest parts of the world to trade there; and would often bid the Ambassadour to ask something for himself, who to this would answer, that if that King knew not better to give, then he knew to ask, he must have nothing from him. Upon these terms they continually both stood, so that in conclusion the Embassadour had no gift from him, but that before-mentioned, besides an horse or two, and sometimes a Vcst, or upper Garment, made of slight Cloth of Gold, which the *Mogol* would first put upon his own back, and then give it to the Embassadour. But the *Mogol* (if he had so pleased) might have bestowed on him some great Princely gift, and found no greater miss of it, than there would be of a Glass of water taken out of a great Fountain. Now although the *Mogol* had such infinite Treasure, yet he could find room to store up more still: the desires of a covetous heart being so unsatiable, as that it never knows when it hath enough: being like a bottomless purse that can never be fill'd; for the more it hath, the more still it covets.

See an image hereof in *Alcmaon*, who being will'd by *Cresus* to go into his Treasure-house, and there take as much Gold as himself could carry away; provided for that purpose a long Garment that was double down to his ankles, and great boots, and fill'd them both; nay, he stuffed his mouth, and tied wedges of Gold to the locks of his head, and doubtless, but for killing himself, he would have fill'd his skull and bowels therewith. Here was an heart set upon Gold, and Gold overlading an heart: for the man stowing so much about him, as that he could not stir with it, forfeited what he might have had,

and was turned out of the Treasury, as poor and empty as he came into it. He is a rich man whatever he hath (be it more, or less) that is contented. He is a poor man, who still wants more, in becoming poor by plenty, wanting what he hath as well and as much as what he hath not; and so do very many, who are the greatest engrossers of the worlds wealth.

SECTION XXV.

Of his Pastimes at home and abroad, &c. where, something of his Quality, and Disposition.

NOW what he doth, and how he behaves himself amongst his house-full of Wives and Women cannot be known, and therefore not related; but when he shews himself (as before) thrice openly to his people, every day, he had always something, or other presented before him to make him sport, and to give him present content.

As sometimes he delighted himself in seeing Horses ridden, the Natives there (as before) being very excellent in their well-managing of them. Sometimes he saw his great Elephants fight. And at other times he pleased himself in seeing wrestling, or dauncing, or juggling, and what else he liked.

* And it happened that (but a few years before our abode there) a Juggler of *Bengala* (a Kingdom famous for Witches, and men of that profession) brought an Ape before the King (who was ever greedy to please himself with Novelties) professing that he would do many strange feats: The *Mogol* was ready presently to make a trial of this, and forthwith called some boys about him (which he was conceived to keep for such use as I dare not name,) and plucking a Ring from his finger gave it one of them to hide, that he might make a trial, whether or no the Ape could find it out; who presently went to the boy that had it. The *Mogol* made some further trials like this, where the Ape did his part as before. And before the Ape was taken out of his presence, this strange, and unexpected thing following came into the King's thought. There are (said he) many disputes in the World about that true Prophet which should come into the World. We, said the *Mogol*, are for *Mahomet*. The Persians magnifie *Martins Hale* (but they are Mahometans for Religion likewise.) The *Hindoos*, or Heathens there, have many whom they highly extol and magnifie; as *Bremaw*, and *Bramon*, and *Ram*, and *Permissar*; the Parsees are for *Zertoost*, the Jews for *Moses*, the Christians for Christ; and he added three more whose names I have not, who make up the number of twelve, who have all their several followers in that part of the World; and then he caused those twelve Names to be written in twelve several Scrolls, and put toge-

together, to see if the Ape could draw out the Name of the true Prophet, this done, the Ape put his paw amongst them, and pull'd forth the Name of Christ. The *Mogol* a second time, caused those twelve Names to be written again in twelve other Scrolls and Characters, and put together; when the Ape as before pull'd forth the Name of Christ.

Then *Mahobet-Chan*, a great Nobleman of that Court, and in high favour with the King, said, that it was some imposture of the Christians (though there were none that did bear that Name there present) and desired that he might make a third trial; which granted, he put but eleven of those names together, reserving the name of Christ in his hand; the Ape searching as before, pull'd forth his paw empty, and so twice, or thrice together, the King demanding a reason for this, was answered, that haply the thing he looked for was not there: he was bid to search for it, and then putting out those eleven names one after the other, in a seeming indignation rent them; then running to *Mahobet-Chan* caught him by the hand where the Name of Christ was concealed, which delivered, he opened the Scroll, and so held it up to the King, but did not tear it as the former; upon which the *Mogol* took the Ape, and gave his Keeper a good Pension for to keep him near about him, calling him the Divining Ape, and this was all that followed upon this admirable thing, except the great wonder and amazement of that people.

There was one some years since wrote this story (but somewhat varied from that I have here related) in a little printed Pamphlet, and told his Reader that I had often seen that Ape while I lived in those parts, which particular he should have left out; but for the Relation it self, I believe it was so, because it hath been often confirmed there in its report unto me by divers persons, who knew not one another, and were differing in Religion, yet all agreed in the story, and in all the circumstances thereof.

Now for the disposition of that King, it ever seemed unto me to be composed of extreams; for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times he would seem to be exceeding fair and gentle.

For his cruelties; he put one of his women to a miserable death, one of his women he had formerly touched and kept Company withall, but now she was superannuated; for neither himself, nor Nobles (as they say) come near their wives, or women, after they exceed the age of thirty years, though they keep them, and allow them some maintenance. The fault of that woman, this: the *Mogol* upon a time found her, & one of his Eunuchs kissing one another; and for this very thing, the King presently gave command that a round hole should be made in the earth, and that her body should be put into that hole, where she should stand with her head only above ground, and the earth to be put in again unto her close, round about her, that so she might stand in the parching Sun, till the extream hot beams thereof did kill her, in which torment she lived one whole day, and the night following, and almost till the

next

next noon, crying out most lamentably while she was able to speak in her language, as the *Shunamits* Child did in his, 2 King. 4. *Ah my head, my head!* Which horrid execution, or rather murder was acted near our house: where the Eunuch by the command of the said King was brought very near the place where this poor Creature was thus buried alive, and there in her sight cut all into pieces.

That great King would be often overcome by Wine, yet (as if he meant to appropriate that sin to himself) would punish others with very much severity, who were thus distempered.

Sometimes for little, or no faults, the *Mogol* would cause men to be most severely whipt, till they were almost ready to die under the rod; which after they must kiss in thankfulness.

He caused one of his servants of the higher rank to be very much whipt for breaking a *China-Cup*, he was commanded to keep safe, and then sent him into *China*, (which is a marvellous distance from thence) to buy another.

Sometimes in other of his mad distempers he would condemn men to servitude, or dismember, or else put them to death, as sacrifices to his will and passion, not Justice. So that it might be said of him, *quando male nemo pejus*, that when he did wickedly none could do worse, as if it had been true of him which was spoken of that monster *Nero* observed before, who was called *Lutum sanguine maceratum*, Dirt soaked in blood.

For his good actions, he did relieve continually many poor people; and not seldom would shew many expressions of duty and strong affection to his Mother then living, so that he who esteemed the whole world as his Vassals would help to carry her in a Palankee upon his shoulders.

The *Mogol* would often visit the Cells of those he esteemed religious men, whose Persons he esteemed sacred, as if they had been *Demigods*.

And he would speak most respectfully of our blessed Saviour Christ; but his Parentage, his poverty, and his cross did so confound his thoughts, that he knew not what to think of them.

Lastly, the *Mogol* is very free and noble unto all those which fall into, and abide in his affection, which brings me now to speak

SECTION XXVI.

Of the exceeding great Pensions the Mogol gives unto his Subjects, how they are raised, and how long they are continued, &c.

Which great revenues that many of them do enjoy, makes them to live like great Princes rather than other men. Now for those Pensions, which are so exceeding great, the *Mogol* in his far extended Monarchy allows yearly pay for one Million of Horse; and for every Horse and Man about eighteen pounds sterling *per annum*, which is exactly paid every

every year, raised from Land, and other Commodities which that Empire affords and appointed for that purpose. Now some of the *Mogol's* most beloved Nobles have the pay of six thousand horse; and there are others (at the least twenty in his Empire) which have the pay of 5000 horse, exceeding large Pensions above the revenue of any other Subjects in the whole World, they amounting unto more than one hundred thousand pounds yearly unto a particular man. Now others have the pay of four thousand horse; others of three, or two, or one thousand horse, and so downward; and these by their proportions, are appointed to have horses always in readiness well mann'd, and otherwise appointed for the Kings service, so that he who hath the pay of five, or six thousand, must always have one thousand in readiness, or more, according to the Kings need of them, and so in proportion all the rest which enables them on a sudden to make up the number, at the least of two hundred thousand horse; of which number, they have always at hand one hundred thousand to wait upon the King wheresoever he is.

There are very many private men in Cities and Towns, who are Merchants, or Trades-men that are very rich: but it is not safe for them that are so, so to appear, lest that they should be used as fill'd Sponges.

But there is never a Subject in that Empire, who hath Land of inheritance, which he may call his own; but they are all Tenants at the will of their King, having no other title to that they enjoy besides the Kings favour, which is by far more easily lost than gotten; It is true, that the King advanceth many there, unto many great honours, and allows them (as before) marvellous great revenues; but no Son there enjoys either the Titles, or Means of his Father that hath had Pensions from that King, for the King takes possession of all when they are dead, appointing their Children some competent means for their subsistence, which they shall not exceed, if they fall not into the Kings affection as their Fathers did; wherefore many great men in this Empire live up to the height of their means; and therefore have a very numerous train, a very great retinue to attend upon them, which makes them to appear like Princes, rather than Subjects.

Yet this their necessary dependance on their King binds them unto such base subjection, as that they will yield with readiness unto any of his unreasonable and willful commands. As *Plutarch* writes of the Souldiers of *Scipio*, *Nullus est horum, qui non conscensa turri semet in mare precipitatus sit, si jussero*, There was never a one in his Army, by his own report, that would not for a word of his mouth, have gone up into a Tower, and cast himself thence head-long into the Sea: and thus the people here will do any thing the King commands them to do; so that if he bid the Father to lay hands of violence upon his

Son,

Son, or the Son upon his Father, they will do it, rather than the will of the King should be disobeyed. Thus forgetting Nature, rather than Subjection.

And this tye of theirs (I say) upon the Kings favour makes all his Subjects most servile flatterers, for they will commend any of his actions, though they be nothing but cruelty; so any of his speeches, though nothing but folly. And when the King sits and speaks to any of his people publickly, there is not a word falls from him that is not written by some Scriveners, or Scribes, that stand round about him.

In the year 1618. when we lived at that Court, there appeared at once in the moneth of *November* in their Hemispher two great Blazing-stars, the one of them North, the other South, which unusual sight appeared there for the space of one moneth. One of those strange Comets in the North, appeared like a long blazing-torch, or Launce fired at the upper end; the other in the South, was round like a pot boiling out fire. The *Mogol* consulted with his flattering Astrologers, who spake of these Comets unto the King, as *Daniel* sometimes did of *Nebuchadnezzars* dream, Dan. 4. 19. *My Lord, the dream is to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof unto thine enemies.* For his Astrologers told him that he needed not trouble himself with the thought thereof, for it concerned other places and people, not him nor his. But not long after this, their season of Rair, (before spoken of) which was never known to fail till then, failed them; and this caused such a famine and mortality in the South parts of his Empire, that it did very much unpeople it: and in the Northern part thereof (whither the *Mogol* then repaired) his third Son *Sultan Caroom* raised, and kept together very great forces, and stood upon his guard, and would not disband, till his Father had delivered his eldest Son *Sultan Coobseeroo* into his hands. And how, when he had him in his power he used him, you shall after hear.

In the mean time, take one admirable example of a very gross flatterer, but a great Favorite of that King, who was noted above others of that Nation to be a great neglecter of God, believing it Religion enough to please the *Mogol* his Master. This man was a Souldier of an approved valour: But upon a time he sitting in dalliance with one of his women, she pluckt an hair from his breast (which grew about his Nipple) in wantonness, without the least thought of doing him hurt. But the little wound, that small and unparalle'd instrument of death made, presently began to fester, and in short time after became a Cancer incurable; in fine, when he saw that he must needs dye, he uttered these words, which are worth the remembring of all that shall ever hear them, saying:

Who would not have thought but that I, who have been so long bred a Souldier, should have dyed in the face of mine Enemy, either by a Sword, or a Launce, or an Arrow, or a Bullet, or by some such
in-

instrument of death: But now (though too late) I am forc'd to confess that there is a great God above, whose Majesty I have ever despised, that needs no bigger Launce than an hair to kill an Atheist, or a despiser of his Majesty. And so, desiring that those his last words might be told unto the King his Master, he died.

The *Mogol* never advanceth any, but he gives him a new name, and this of some pretty signification; as *Pharoah* did unto *Joseph*, when he made him great in his Court, *Gen.* 41. 45. The new names (I say) that the *Mogol* gives unto those he advances and favours, are significant. As *Asaph Chan*, The gathering, or rich Lord; whose Sister the *Mogol* married, and she was his most beloved Wife: and her Brothers marvellous great riches, answered his name; for he died worth many Millions (as I have been credibly informed) the greatest Subject (I believe) for wealth that ever the World had. So another of the *Mogols* Grandees was called *Mahobet-Chan*, The beloved Lord. Another *Chan-Jahan*, The Lord of my heart. Another *Chan-Allaam*, The Lord of the World. Another *Chan-Channa*, The Lord of Lords. He called his chief Physician *Mocrob-Chan*, The Lord of my health; and many other names, like these, his Grandees had, which at my being there belonged to his most numerous Court.

And further for their Titles of honour there, all the Kings Children are called *Sultans*, or Princes; his Daughters *Sultanas*, or Princesses; the next title is *Nabob*, equivalent to a Duke; the next *Channa*, a double Lord, or Earl; the next *Chan*, a Lord. So *Meirsa* signifies a Knight, that hath been a General, or Commander in the Wars; *Umbra*, a Captain; *Hadde*, a Cavalier, or Souldier on horse-back: who have all allowed them means by the King (as before) proportionable for the supports of their Honours, and Titles, and Names.

His Officers of State are his Treasurers, which receive his revenues in his several Provinces, and take care for the payment of his great Pensions, which, when they are due, are paid without any delay: There his chief Eunuchs (which command the rest of them) take care for the ordering of his House, and are Stewards and Controulers of it; his Secretaries, the Masters of his Elephants; and the Masters of his Tents are other of his great Officers; and so are the keepers of his Ward-robe, who are entrusted with his Plate and Jewels. To these I may add those which take care of his Customs for Goods brought into his Empire, as for commodities carried thence. But these are not many, because his Sea-ports are but few. The Customs paid in his Ports are not high, that strangers of all Nations may have the greater encouragement to Trade there with him. But as he expects money from all strangers that Trade there: So it is a fault he will not pardon (as before) for any to carry any quantity of silver thence. He hath other Officers that spread over his Empire, to exact monies out of all the labours of that people,

O o o

who

who make the curious manufactures. So that like a great Tree he receives nourishment from every, even the least Roots that grow under his shadow; and therefore though his Pensions are exceeding great (as before); they are nothing comparable to his much greater revenues.

By reason of that Countries immoderate heat, our English-cloath is not fit to make Habits for that people: that of it which is sold there, is most of it for colour Red; and this they employ for the most part to make coverings for their Elephants and Horses, and to cover their Coaches, the King himself taking a very great part thereof; whose payments are very good, only the Merchant must get the hands of some of his chief Officers to his Bill, appointed for such dispatches, which are obtained as soon as desired. And this the King doth to prevent the abuses of particular, and single persons.

And now that I may present my Reader with the further glory of this great King, I shall lead him where he may take a view,

SECTION XXVII.

Of the Mogols Leskar, or Camp Royal, &c.

WHich indeed is very glorious, as all must confess, who have seen the infinite number of Tents, or Pavilions there pitched together; which in a Plain make a shew equal to a most spacious and glorious City. These Tents, I say, when they are all together, cover such a great quantity of ground, that I believe it is five English-miles at the least, from one side of them to the other, very beautiful to behold from some Hill, where they may be all seen at once.

They write of *Xerxes*, that when from such a place he took a view of his very numerous Army, consisting at the least of three hundred thousand men, he wept, saying, that in less than the compass of one hundred years, not one of that great mighty Host would be alive. And to see such a company then together of all sorts of people (and I shall give a good reason presently why I believe that mixt company of men, women, and children may make up such an huge number, as before I named, if not exceed it) and to consider that death will seize upon them all, within such a space of time, and that the second death hath such a power over them, is a thing of more sad consideration.

Now to make it appear that the number of people of all sorts is so exceeding great, which here get and keep together in the *Mogols Leskar*, or Camp Royal; first there are one hundred thousand Souldiers, which always wait about that King (as before observed) and all his Grandees have a very great train of fol-

followers and servants to attend them there, and so have all other men according to their several qualities; and all these carry their Wives and Children, and whole family with them, which must needs amount to a very exceeding great number. And further to demonstrate this; when that King removes from one place to another, for the space of twelve hours, a broad passage is continually fill'd with Passengers, and Elephants, and Horses, and Dromedaries, and Camels, and Coaches, and Asles, and Oxen, (on which the meaner sort of men and women with little children, ride) so full as they may well pass one by the other. Now in such a broad passage, and in such a long time, a very great number of people, the company continually moving on forward, may pass.

Thus this people moving on from place to place, it may be said of them, what *Salvian* speaks of Israel, while they were in their journey to the land of promise, that it was *Ambulans Respublica*, a walking Commonwealth. And therefore that ancient people of God were called *Hebrews*, which signified Passengers: their dwelling so in Tents, signified thus much to all the people of God in all succeeding ages, that here they dwell in moveable habitations, *having no continuing City here*, but they must look for one, and that is above.

The Tents pitch'd in that *Leskar*, or Camp Royal, are for the most part white, like the cloathing of those which own them. But the *Mogols* Tents are red, reared up upon poles, higher by much than the other. They are placed in the middle of the Camp, where they take up a very large compass of ground, and may be seen every way, and they must needs be very great to afford room in them, for himself, his Wives, Children, Women, Eunuchs, &c.

In the fore-front, or outward part, or Court within his Tent, there is a very large room for access to him, 'twixt seven and nine of the clock at night, which (as before) is called his *Goozulcad*.

His Tents are encompassed round with *Canats*, which are like our *Screens* to fold up together; those *Canats* are about ten foot high, made of narrow strong Callico, and lined with the same, stiffened at every breadth with a Cane; but they are strongest lined on their out-side by a very great company of arm'd Souldiers, that keep close about them night and day. The Tents of his great Men are likewise large, placed round about his. All of them throughout the whole *Leskar* reared up in such a due and constant order, that when we remove from place to place, we can go as directly to those moveable dwellings, as if we continued still in fixed and standing habitations, taking our direction from several streets and *Bazars*, or Market places, every one pitched upon every remove alike, upon such, or such a side of the Kings Tents, as if they had not been at all removed.

The *Mogol* (which I should have observed before) hath so much wealth, and consequently so much power, by reason of his marvellous great multitudes of fighting men, which he always keeps in Arms, commanding at all times as many of them as he pleaseth; that as the Moabites truly said of Israel, (while they had Almighty God fighting with them, and for them) so it may be said of him (if God restrain him not) That his huge Companies are able to *lick up all that are round about him, as the Oxe licketh up the grass of the field*, Numb. 22. 4.

When that mighty King removes from one place to another, he causeth Drums to be beat about midnight, which is a signal token of his removing. He removes not far at one time; sometimes ten miles, but usually a less distance, according to the best convenience he may have for water; there being such an infinite company of Men, and other Creatures, whose drink is water, that in a little time it may be as truly said of them, as it was of that mighty Host of *Sennacherib* that Assyrian Monarch, Esay 37. 25. *That they are able to drink up Rivers.*

But when the place he removed to afforded plenty of good water, he would usually stay there three or four days, or more; and when he thus rested in his Progress, would go abroad to find out pastimes; to which end he always carried with him divers kinds of Hawks, and Dogs, and Leopards, which (as before) they train up to hunt withall; and being thus provided for variety of sports, would fly at any thing in the Air, or seize on any Creature he desired to take on the Earth.

The *Mogol*, when he was at *Mandoa* (which was invironed with great Woods as before was observed) sometimes with some of his Grandees, and a very great company beside of Persian and Tartarian horse-men, his Souldiers (which are stout daring men) would attempt to take some young wild Elephants found in these Woods, which he took in strong toyls made for that purpose, which taken, were mann'd, and made fit for his service. In which hunting they likewise pursued on horse-back Lions, and other wild beasts, and kill'd some of them with their Bows, and Carbines, and Launces.

I waiting upon my Lord Embassadour two years, and part of a third, and travelling with him in Progress with that King, in the most temperate moneths there, 'twixt *September* and *April*, were in one of our Progresses 'twixt *Mandoa* and *Amadavar* nineteen days, making but short journeys in a Wilderness, where (by a very great company sent before us, to make those passages and places fit to receive us) a way was cut out and made even, broad enough for our convenient passage, and in the places where we pitched our Tents, a great compass of ground rid, and made plain for them, by grubbing a number of Trees and Bushes; yet there we went as readily to our Tents (the same order being still observed in the pitching of them.)

them) as we did, when they were set up in the Plains. But that which here seemed unto me to be most strange, was, that notwithstanding our marvellous great company of men, women, and children there together, that must all be fed, and the very great number of other creatures which did eat Corn, as we never there wanted water, so we had so many Victuallers with us, and so much Provision continually brought in unto us, that we never felt there the want of any thing beside, but had it at as low rates as in other places.

The *Mogols* Wives and Women, when as they are removed from place to place, are carried in Coaches (such as were before described) made up close, or in Palankees on mens shoulders, or else on Elephants in pretty Receptacles, surrounded with curtains, which stand up like low and little Turrets on their backs; and some of the meaner sort ride in Cradles, hanging on the sides of Dromedaries, all covered close, and attended by Eunuchs, who have many Souldiers, which go before them to clear the way as they pass, they taking it very ill if any (though they cannot see them) presume so much as to look towards them; and therefore, though I could never see any of them, I shall here take the liberty to speak somewhat I have heard and do believe

SECTION XXVIII.

Of the Mogols Wives and Women; [where something of his Children, &c.]

WHOM I conceive to be Women of good feature, though for their colour very swart, which that people may call Beauty, it being the complexion of them all, as the Crow thinks his bird fairest; but (as before) I never observed any crooked or deform'd person of either sex amongst them: For the honesty of those great Mens Wives and Women, there is such a quick eye of jealousy continually over them, that they are made so by force, though (as they say) they are never much regarded by those great ones after the very first, and prime of their youth is past.

For that great Monarch the *Mogol*, in the choice of his Wives and Women, he was guided more by his eye and phansie, than by any respect had to his Honour; for he took not the Daughters of neighbouring Princes, but of his own Subjects, and there prefer'd that, which he looked upon as beauty, before any thing else.

He was married to four Wives, and had Concubines, and Women beside (all which were at his command) enough to make up their number a full thousand (as they there confidently affirm'd.)

firm'd.) And that he might raise up, his beastly and unnatural lusts, even to the very height, he kept boyes as before, &c.

His most beloved Wife (when I lived at his Court) he called *Noor-Mahal*, which signified, *The Light of the Court*; and to the other of his Wives and Women, which he most loved, he gave new Names unto them, and such Names as he most fancied.

For his Wife I first named, he took her out of the dust, from a very mean Family; but however, she made such a through Conquest on his Affections, that she engrossed almost all his Love, did what she pleased in the Government of that Empire, where she advanced her Brother *Asaph-Chan*, and other her nearest Relations, to the greatest places of Command and Honour, and Profit in that vast Monarchy.

Her Brother *Asaph-Chan* was presently made one of the Stars of the first Magnitude that shined in that Indian Court; and, when he had once gotten, so kept the *Mogol's* Favour by the assistance of his Sister *Noor-Mahal*, that by the Pensions given, and many Offices bestowed on him, he heaped up a mass of Treasure above all belief (as before), and married his Daughter unto *Sultan Caroom*, who is now King.

The *Mogol* of all his so many Wives and Concubines had but six Children, five Sons and one Daughter. The Names he gave his Children, and others, were Names that proceeded from Counsel (as he imagined) rather than Chance. His eldest Son was called *Sultan Coobsurroo*, which signified the Prince with the good Face, his Person and Beauty answered his Name; for he was a Prince of a very lovely presence. His second Son he called *Sultan Perum*, Prince of the *Pleiades*, or of the sweet influences of the *Pleiades*. His third Son (now King) though that great dignity was never intended to him by his Father, was called *Sultan Caroom*, or; The Prince of Bounty. His fourth, *Sultan Shabar*, or, The Prince of Fame. His fifth, and last Son was called by him *Sultan Tanç*, *Tanç* in the Persian Tongue, signifies a Throne; and he was named so by the King his Father, because the first hour he sat peaceably on his Throne, there was News brought him of that Sons Birth.

Yet the first Son of that King, which he hath by any of his married Wives, by Prerogative of Birth, inherits that Empire, the eldest Son of every Man (as before) is called there (the great Brother.) And he that inherits that Monarchy, doth not openly slaughter his younger Brothers, as the Turks do; yet it is observed, that few younger Brothers of those *Indostan* Kings have long survived their Fathers.

Yet notwithstanding that long continued custom there for the eldest Son to succeed the Father in that great Empire; *Achabar Sha*, Father of that late King, upon high and just displeasure taken against his Son, for climbing up unto the bed of *Anarkelee*, his Fathers most beloved Wife (whose name signified the Kernel of a Pomegranate) and for other base actions of his, which stirred

stirred up his Fathers high displeasure against him, resolved to break that ancient custom; and therefore often in his lifetime protested, that not he, but his Grand-child *Sultan Coobsurroo*, whom he alwayes kept in his Court, should succeed him in that Empire.

And now, by the way, the manner of that *Achabar Sha* his death (as they report it in *India*) is worthy observation. That wicked King was wont often to give unto some of his Nobles (whom upon secret displeasure he meant to destroy) Pills prepared with Poyson, that should presently put them into incurable diseases. But the last time he went about to practise that bloody Treachery, he dyed himself by his own instrument of death: for then having two Pills in his Hand, the one very like the other, the one *Cordial* for himself, the other *Corrosive*, for one of his *Grandeess* he meant to purge, and flattering him with many proffers of Courtesie before he gave him the Pill, that he might swallow it down the better; at last having held them both in the palm of his Hand long, by a mistake took the poysoned Pill himself, and gave him the other, which Pill put the King immediately into a mortal flux of blood, which in few dayes put an end to his life in his City *Labore*.

-----*Neque enim lex justior ulla est,
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.*

Achabar Sha thus dead, *Sultan Coobsurroo* his Grand-Child, then aged about twenty years, took his opportunity at the first bound, and ascended the Regal Throne at *Labore*, where by a general Acclamation of that very great and populous City he was pronounced, and acknowledged King. His Father (the late *Mogol*) was thus acknowledged at *Agra*. Two great Armies were presently levied, and met together to decide the Controversie: and the generality of the people within that Empire, thinking it meet that the Father should be King before the Son, gave by far more to him then to his Son, by which means *Sultan Coobsurroo* was defeated and taken Prisoner, and a very great many of young Gallants with him, whereof his Father immediately after caused to be impaled, or put upon Stakes (that most cruel and tormenting death) eight hundred in two several ranks in one day, without the City *Labore*, and then carried his Son most disgracefully through them, bidding him to behold the men in whom he trusted. His Son told him, that he should have serv'd him so, and spared the other, who did nothing in that action but upon his Command; his Father replied, that he could serve him so presently (if he so pleased); his Son will'd and desired him so to do, telling his Father that he had no joy at all to live, after the beholding of so many gallant men dead. Notwithstanding, the King spared his Life, casting him into Prison, where his Eyes were sealed up, (by something put before them
which

which might not be taken of) for the space of three years; after which time, that seal was taken away, that he might with freedom enjoy the Light, though not his Liberty. And after his Father had taken him out of Prison, he kept him alwayes near about him, but with a very strong Guard upon him; so that he following the King his Father in his Progresses, we sometimes saw him. And once he called my Lord Ambassadour to him as we passed by him, asking him many Questions, as how far distant our Country was from them, and what we brought thither, and what we carryed thence, and how the King his Father had used him since his arrive there, whether or no he had not bestowed upon him some great gifts. The Ambassadour told him, that his business there was to obtain a free Trade for his Nation the English; and that being granted him, he had reward enough. The Prince replied, that this could not be denied us, we coming so far to trade there with him; and the Prince further asked him, How long he had been there, the Ambassadour told him, About two years; the Prince replied again, that it was a very great shame for the Successor of *Tamberlane*, who had such infinite Riches, to suffer a Man of his quality to come so far unto him, and to live so long about him, and not to give him some Royal Gift; and he further added, that for himself he was a Prisoner, and therefore could do him no good, but would pray for him, and so he departed.

For that Prince, he was a Gentleman of a very lovely presence and fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people, that, as *Suetonius* writes of *Titus*, he was *Amor & Delicia*, &c. the very love and delight of them. Aged then about thirty and five years. He was a Man who contented himself with one Wife, which with all love and care accompanied him in all his streights, and therefore he would never take any Wife but her self, though the Liberty of his Religion did admit of Plurality.

It was generally believed to be the intent of his Father (for he would often preface so) to make this Prince his first-born his Successor, though for the present out of some jealousy (he being so much beloved of the people) he denied him his Liberty.

His Father's Love, brings upon him the extream hatred of his Brother *Caroom*, the *Mogol's* third Son, who then lived in very great Pomp and Splendor at that Court, aiming at that Empire: to which end he put many jealousies into his Father's Head (now grown in years) concerning his Brother *Coobsurroo*, and that his Father might live more secure, and out of all present fear of him, if he so pleased; upon which insinuations, partly, by force, (as I observed before) and, partly, by intreaty of Friends about the King, he was by the King put into the Cruel Hand of his Brother *Caroom*; who told his Father that he would have both his Eyes upon him, and further so provide, that he should

should never have cause to fear him any more; and he was as good as his word: for, presently after he had gotten possession of him (though his Father had given him as great a charge as possibly he could to use him well, and to keep him honourably, and by no means to hurt him, which was all promised by *Caroom* to be faithfully observed) he caused his Second Brother, *Sultan Parveen*, to be poisoned; and, not long after that, strangled that most gallant Prince his eldest Brother: which did so trouble his Father, that the grief thereof (as it was strongly believed) shortened his days; who not long after this (much against his mind) made room for that Murderer to succeed him in that Empire, who lay'd the foundation of his high Advancement, in the Blood of his Brothers; and rather then he would have misused it, would certainly have made a way through the Blood of his Father likewise: All Laws of honesty, and of Nature were by him thrown down, trampled under foot, forgotten and made void, to compass and gain his most unjust ends; as if he resolved to practise that Language which *Polynices* out of the height of Ambition spake in the Tragedy,

----- *Pro Regno velim*

*Patriam, Penates, Conjugem flammis dare;
Imperia Precio quolibet constant bene*

Sen. Trag.

Fire on my Gods, Wife, Country for a Crown,
An Empire can the dearest price weigh down.

I shall add but a few things more to this Relation before I conclude it. And one shall be to give my Reader a taste, but very briefly,

SECTION XXIX.

Of the manner of the style or writing of that Court.

Which I shall here insert, and in some measure shew, by the Copy of a Letter written by the Great *Mogol* unto King *James*, in the Persian Tongue, here faithfully translated, which was as follows:

Unto a King rightly descended from his Ancestors, bred in Military Affairs, clothed with Honour and Justice, a Commander worthy of all Command, strong and constant in the Religion, which the great Prophet Christ did teach King *James*; whose Love hath bred such an impression in my thoughts, as shall never be forgotten, but as the smell of Amber, or as a Garden of

P p p

fragrant

fragrant flowers, whose Beauty and Odour is still increasing : so be assured, my Love shall still grow and increase with yours.

The Letters which you sent me in the behalf of your Merchants I have received, whereby I rest satisfied of your tender Love towards me, desiring you not to take it ill, that I have not wrote to you heretofore : This present Letter I send to you to renew our Loves, and herewith do certifie you, that I have sent forth my *Firmaunes* throughout all my Countries to this effect, That if any English Ships or Merchants shall arrive in any of my Ports, my People shall permit and suffer them to do what they please, freely in their Merchandizing-Causes, aiding and assisting them in all occasion of injuries that shall be offered them, that the least cause of discourtesie be not done unto them ; that they may be as free, or freer then my own People.

And as now, and formerly, I have received from you divers Tokens of your Love ; so I shall still desire your mindfulness of me by some Novelties from your Countries, as an argument of friendship betwixt us, for such is the custom of Princes here.

And for your Merchants, I have given expresse Order through all my Dominions, to suffer them to buy, sell, transport, and carry away at their pleasure, without the lett or hinderance of any person whatsoever, all such Goods and Merchandizes as they shall desire to buy ; and let this my Letter as fully satisfie you in desired Peace and Love, as if my own Son had been Messenger to ratifie the same.

And if any in my Countries, not fearing God, nor obeying their King, or any other void of Religion, should endeavour to be an Instrument to break this League of Friendship, I would send my Son *Sultan Caroom*, a Souldier approved in the Wars, to cut him off, that no obstacle may hinder the continuance, and increase of our Affections.

Here are likewise the Complements of two other Letters of later date, sent home by Sir Thomas Row, whereof the first doth thus begin:

When your Majesty shall open this Letter, let your Royal Heart be as fresh as a small Garden, let all People make Reverence at your Gate. Let your Throne be advanced higher. Amongst the greatness of the Kings of the Prophet *Jesus*, let your Majesty be the greatest ; and all Monarchs derive their Wisdom, and Counsel from your Breast, as from a Fountain, that the Law of the Majesty of *Jesus* may receive, and flourish under your protection.

The Letters of Love and Friendship which you sent me, the present Tokens of your good Affection towards me, I have received by the Hands of your Ambassadour, Sir *Thomas Row*, who well deserveth to be your trusty Servant, delivered to me in an acceptable and happy hour ; upon which mine Eyes were so fixed, that I could not easily remove them unto any other Objects, and have accepted them with great joy and delight, &c.

The

The last Letter had this beginning :

HOW gracious is your Majesty, whose greatness God preserve. As upon a Rose in a Garden, so are mine Eyes fixed upon you. God maintain your Estate, that your Monarchy may prosper and be augmented, and that you may obtain all your desires worthy the greatness of your Renown; and as the Heart is noble and upright: so let God give you a glorious reign, because you strongly defend the Law of the Majesty of *Jesus*, which God made yet more flourishing, for that it was confirmed by Miracles, &c.

What followed in both those Letters, was to testify his Care and Love towards the English. Now all these Letters were written in the Persian Tongue, the Court-Language there, and their Copies were sent to the Ambassadour, that he might get them translated. The Originals rowled up somewhat long, were covered with Cloth of Gold, sealed up on both ends, the fashion in that Court and Country to make up Letters, though they be not all cloathed there in such a glorious dress.

In which Letters, notice may be taken (what was observed before) how respectfully that King speaks of our *Blessed Saviour Christ*. And here it will not be impertinent to speak something of those who pretend to enlarge the Name of *Jesus Christ* in those parts, I mean,

SECTION XXX.

Of the Jesuits, sent thither by their Superiours to convert People unto Christianity, &c.

IN that Empire all Religions are tolerated, which makes the Tyrannical Government there more easie to be endured. The *Mogol* would speak well of all of them, saying, that a Man might be happy and safe in the profession of any Religion; and therefore would say, That the Mahometan Religion was good, so the Christian Religion good, and the rest good; and therefore, by the way,

The Priests or Ministers of any Religion find regard and esteem amongst the people. I shall speak something to this from my own particular usage there, then very young, while I lived in those parts; yet when I was first there brought into the presence of the *Mogol*, immediately after my arrive at his Court, I standing near the Ambassadour (for no man there of the greatest quality whatsoever, is at any time suffered to sit in his presence) and but a little distance from that King in his

Gozulcan, he sent one of his Grandees to me, to let me know, that the King bad me welcome thither, that I should have a free access to him when ever I pleased; and if I would ask him any thing, he would give it me (though I never did ask, nor he give) and very many times afterward when, (waiting upon my Lord Ambassadour) I appeared before him, He would still shew tokens of Civility and Respect unto me; and I never went abroad amongst that people, but those that met me, upon this consideration, that I was a *Padre* (for so they call'd me) a Father or Minister, they would manifest in their Behaviour towards me, much esteem unto me. But for the Jesuits there;

There was one of that Order, in *Goa* (a City of the *Portugals* lying in the skirts of *India*) of very much Fame and Renown called *Jeronymo Xaviere*, sent for by *Achabar-Sha*, the late Kings Father, in the year 1596. to argue before him the Doctrine of Christianity: there being alwayes present a *Moolaa*, or Mahometan Priest; and a Third Person, who followed no precise Rule, but what the Light of Nature meerly led him to; and these two were to obtain what they could against his Reasoning.

The Jesuit in the *Mogol's* own Language (which was a great advantage to him) began to speak first of the Creation, and then of the Fall of Man: in which the Mahometans agree with us. Then he laid down divers grounds to bottom his reasonings on;

That Man by Creation was made a most Excellent Creature, indued with the Light of Reason, which no other sublunary Creature besides himself had; then,

That Man thus endued, must have some Rule or Law to walk by, which he could not prescribe unto himself, and therefore it must be given him from above.

That this Law was first given unto Man from God, and afterward confirmed by Prophets sent into the World, in divers Ages, from God.

That this Law thus delivered must needs be one Law, in all things agreeing in it self. And so did not the Law of *Mahomet*.

That this Law thus delivered was most conformable to right son; And so was not the Law of *Mahomet*.

That Man fall'n from God by sin, was not able to recover himself from that Fall; and therefore it was necessary that there should be one, more than a Man, to do it for him, and that that One could not be *Mahomet*.

That this One was Christ, God as well as Man; God to satisfy (the Mahometans themselves confessing that Christ was the breath of God), and Man to suffer death as he did.

That Christ the Son of God coming into the World, about that great Work of satisfying Gods anger against Man for sin; it was necessary that he should live a poor and laborious life here

here on Earth (at which the Mahometans much stumble) and not a life, that was full of pomp, and pleasure, and delicacy.

That the Gospel of Christ, and other holy books of Scripture, which the Christians retain and walk by, contain nothing in them that is corrupt and depraved; But there is very much to be found in their Alcaron which is so.

That the great worth and worthiness shining in the Person of Christ, was by far more excellent than any thing observable in *Mahomet* (for they themselves confess that Christ lived without sin; when *Mahomet* himself acknowledgeth, that he had been a filthy person.)

That the feigned, foolish, and ridiculous miracles, which they say were done by *Mahomet*, were nothing comparable to the Miracles done by Christ, who (as the Mahometans confess) did greater Miracles than ever were done before or since him.

That there was a great deal of difference in the manner of promulgating the Gospel of Christ, into the world; and the introducing of the Laws of *Mahomet*.

That Christ hath purchased Heaven for all that believe in him, and that Hell is prepared for all others that do not rely on him, and on him alone, for Salvation.

There were many more particulars besides these, which that *Jeronymo Xaveere* laid down before the *Mogol*, to ground his arguments on: which that King heard patiently, at several times during the space of one year and a half; but at last he sent him away back again to *Goa* honourably, with some good gifts bestowed on him, telling him, as *Felix* did, after he had reasoned before him, that he would call for him again when he had a convenient time, Acts 24. 25. Which time or season, neither of them both ever found afterward.

These Particulars, which I have here inserted (with many more; I might have added to them; upon all which, that *Jeronymo Xaveere* enlarged himself before the *Mogol* in his arguments before him) were given unto me in Latine by *Francisco Corsi*, another Jesuit resident at that Court, while I was there, and long before that time. And further I have been there told by other people professing Christianity in that Empire, that there was such a Dispute there held; and for my part I do believe it.

For that *Francisco Corsi*; he was a Florentine by birth, aged about fifty years, who (if he were indeed what he seemed to be) was a man of a severe life, yet of a fair and an affable disposition: He lived at that Court, as an Agent for the Portugals; and had not only free access unto that King, but also encouragement and help by gifts, which he sometimes bestowed on him.

When this Jesuit came first to be acquainted with my Lord Ambassadour, he told him that they were both by profession

on Christians, though there was a vast difference betwixt them in their professing of it. And as he should not go about to reconcile the Embassadour to them: So he told him that it would be labour in vain if he should attempt to reconcile him to us. Only he desired, that there might be a fair correspondency betwixt them, but no disputes. And further, his desire was that those wide differences 'twixt the Church of *Rome* and us, might not be made there to appear; that Christ might not seem by those differences to be divided amongst men professing Christianity, which might have been a very main Obstacle, and hinderance unto his great design and endeavour, for which he was sent thither, to convert people unto Christianity there. Telling my Lord Embassadour further, that he should be ready to do for him all good offices of love and service there, and so he was.

After his first acquaintance, he visited us often, usually once a week. And as those of that society, in other parts of the world are very great intelligencers: so was he there, knowing all news which was stirring and might be had, which he communicated unto us.

And he would tell us many stories besides; one of which, if true, is very remarkable. And it was thus; There are a race of people in *East-India*, the men of which race have (if he told us true) their right legs extraordinary great and misshapen, their left legs are like other mens. Now he told us, that they were the posterity of those who stamped *S^t Thomas* the Apostle to death; come thither to preach the Gospel, and that ever since the men of that race have, and only they of that Nation, that great deformity upon them. Some few people I have there seen of whom this story is told, but whether that deformity be like *Gebeza's* leprosie, hereditary; and if so, whether it fell upon that people upon the occasion before-named, I am yet to learn.

The Jesuits in *East-India* (for he was not alone there) have liberty to convert any they can work upon, unto Christianity, &c. The *Mogol* hath thus far declared, that it shall be lawful for any one, perswaded so in conscience, to become a Christian, and that he should not by so doing lose his favour.

Upon which, I have one thing, here to insert, which I had there by report (yet I was bid to believe it and report it for a truth) concerning a Gentleman of quality, and a servant of the great *Mogol*, who upon some conviction wrought upon him (as they say) would needs be Baptized and become a Christian. The King hearing of this Convert sent for him, and at first with many cruel threats commanded him to renounce that his new profession: the man replied, that he was most willing to suffer any thing in that cause, which the King could inflict.

The *Mogol* then began to deal with him another way, asking why he thought himself wiser then his Fore-fathers, who lived and died Mahometans; and further added many promises

mises of riches and honour, if he would return to his Mahometism, he replied again, as they say (for I have all this by Tradition) that he would not accept of any thing in the world, so to do: The *Mogol* wondring at his constancy told him, that if he could have frighted, or bought him, out of his new profession, he would have made him an example for all waverers; but now he perceived that his resolution indeed was to be a Christian, and he bid him so continue, and with a reward discharged him.

The late *Mogol* about the beginning of his reign, caused a Temple to be built in *Agra*, his chief City, for the Jesuits, wherein two of his younger Brothers Sons were solemnly Baptized, and delivered into their hands to be trained up in Christianity. The young Gentlemen, growing to some stature (after they had had their tuition for some years) desired them to provide them Wives out of Christendom fitting their Birth; in which having not sudden content, they gave up their Crucifixes again into the Jesuits hands, and so left them. Who had these conjectures upon this their revolt, that either the King their Uncle caused them to be Baptized, to make them more odious to the Mahometans, being so near of his blood; or else, it was his plot to get them beautiful Wives out of *Europe*, which himself meant to take if he had liked them.

The Jesuit I last named, *Francisco Corfi*, upon a time (at our being there) having his house, amongst very many more consumed by a sudden fire, it so was that his wooden Cross, set on a Pole near the side of his house, was not (as he said) consumed. Upon which he presently repaired to that Court, carried that Cross with him, and told the King thereof. The Prince *Sultan Ca-room* (who was no favourer of the Christians) being then present, and hearing him talk how his Cross was preserved, derided him, saying, that it was one of his fabulous miracles; and further added, that he would have a fire presently made before the King, whereinto he would have that Cross cast; and if it consumed not, his Father, himself, and all the people there would presently become Christians; but if it did, himself should be burnt with it. The Jesuit not willing to put himself upon so sudden and so hot a trial, answered that he durst not tempt God, who was not tyed to times; and it might be that Almighty God, would never shew that people that infinite favour to make them Christians, or if he had such a great mercy for them in store, it might be that the time of manifesting it, was not yet come; and therefore if he should now submit to that trial, and Almighty God not please to shew a further and a present miracle, his Religion would suffer prejudice there for ever after; and therefore he refused.

It should seem that the Jesuits there do exceedingly extol the Virgin *Mary*, which I have gathered from poor people there, Natives of that Country, who have often asked Alms of me, when I stirred abroad amongst them; and whereas one hath desired
me

me to give him some relief for Christs sake, there are many who have begged it for the Virgin *Mary's* sake.

Well known it is, that the Jesuits there, who like the Pharisees, Mat. 23. 25. *That would compass Sea and Land to make one Proselyte*, have sent into Christendom many large reports of their great Conversions of Infidels in *East-India*. But all these boasts are but reports; the truth is, that they have there spilt the precious water of Baptism upon some few Faces, working upon the necessity of some poor men, who for want of means, which they give them, are contented to wear Crucifixes; but for want of knowledge in the Doctrine of Christianity are only in Name Christians. So that the Jesuits Congregations there are very thin, consisting of some Italians, which the *Mogol* entertains (by great pay given them) to cut his Diamonds, and other rich Stones; And of other European strangers which come thither; and some few others of the Natives, before mentioned. So that in one word I shall speak this more of the Jesuits in *East-India*, that they have there *Templum*, but not *Ecclesiam*.

When I lived in those parts it was my earnest desire and daily prayer, to have put my weak hands unto that most acceptable, but hard labour of washing Moors, that the Name of Jesus Christ might have been there enlarged (if God had pleased to honour me so far) by my endeavours. But there are three main and apparent obstacles (besides those which do not appear) that hinder the settlement and growth of Christianity in those parts. First, The liberty of the Mahometan Religion given the people there in case of Marriage. Secondly, The most debauch'd lives of many coming thither, or living amongst them who profess themselves Christians, *per quorum latera patitur Evangelium*, by whom the Gospel of Jesus Christ is scandalized, and exceedingly suffers. And lastly, The hearts of that people are so confirmed and hardned in their own evil old ways, their ears so sealed up, their eyes so blinded with unbelief and darkness, that only he, *who hath the Key of David that shuts when no man can open, and opens when no man can shut, can open to them the door of life.*

FINIS.

